

A HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA

Stephen Neill

*A History of Christianity in India
From the Beginnings to AD 1858*
(in two volumes)

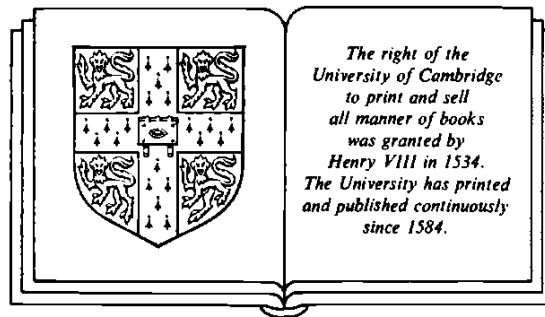
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The Beginnings to AD 1707

STEPHEN NEILL F.B.A.



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Preface

This work is the first instalment in the accomplishment of a project entered into more than half a century ago.

In 1930, as a young missionary in South India, I became aware that no coherent and comprehensive account of Christianity in India was available. Protestant writers had dealt cursorily, if at all, with Roman Catholic missions; Roman Catholic writers hardly mentioned Protestant endeavour. Both agreed in regarding the ancient church of the Thomas Christians as a subject for special and separate treatment. Professor K.S. Latourette's great *History of the Expansion of Christianity* still lay in the future. As that work appeared, with ample bibliographical material in each volume, it inaugurated a new epoch in missionary studies. Yet even Latourette did not feel it in accordance with his purpose to devote space to detailed study of the Thomas Christians.

Hoping that one day I might be able to make some contribution towards filling the gap, I set myself with ardour to the study of the subject. During the next forty years and more, a number of chapters had been written and abandoned in the light of fuller knowledge. Only after retirement from full work in other areas have I been able to make Christianity in India a matter of central concern.

The Christian church has existed in India for at least 1,500 years. It antedates the coming of the first Muslims by two centuries, and the formation of the Sikh religion by a thousand years. It has lived and maintained itself in constant action and reaction with the non-Christian world by which it is surrounded. It is now firmly rooted in Indian soil. Christians form the third largest religious community in India. This being so, it has been my aim, not to write mission history – in my opinion a very dull subject – but to survey the whole history of the Indian sub-continent in relation to the presence and growth in India of a fellowship which, foreign in its origins, has increasingly established itself as a part of Indian life. For this reason I have devoted considerable space – too much, perhaps, in the opinion of some readers – to the social, political and religious experience of the Indian peoples, and to the non-Christian reactions to the Christian presence.

The literature on India, and even on Christian India, is gigantic. With the exception of chapter 4, for which the materials are exiguous, each chapter of this work could easily have been expanded into a book. From the coming of the Portuguese in 1498 the mass of printed materials is daunting in its range and volume. Selection and compression have throughout presented major difficulties. My aim in each section has been to make clear the main lines of development, and to add as much illustrative detail as considerations of space have permitted. Footnotes have been kept within such limits as are consistent with academic precision, and more technical matters have been consigned to appendices.

The bibliography makes no claim to completeness. But almost all the works included are themselves provided with extensive and valuable bibliographies. It is hoped that with their aid the student may be able to find his way to the more detailed studies of which he may stand in need.

This volume brings the story up to AD 1707, the year of the death of Aurungzīb, the last of the really great Mughul emperors, and the year after the arrival of the first Protestant missionaries in South India.

It remains to express my gratitude to the many who have helped me in various ways. I have made extensive use of the libraries of the Indian Institute, Oxford; of the Day Missions Library at Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Conn.; of the Library of the Theological Faculty of the University of Hamburg; of the Cambridge University Library; the London Library; the Missionary Research Library at Union Theological Seminary, New York; the libraries of the Church Missionary Society, the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, all in London; and of the United Theological College, Bangalore, South India. To the courteous and helpful members of the staffs of all these various institutions my thanks are due.

Dr Percival Spear, Bishop L.W. Brown, Professor Van den Berg, Sir John Lawrence Bart., and other less expert friends have greatly helped me by reading and commenting on a number of chapters. Earlier drafts were typed by the veteran Miss G.I. Mather, who had typed a number of my earlier books. The later work has been carried out by Mrs John McCandlish, who has shown wonderful patience in the typing and retyping of drafts, and in bringing the text into conformity with the requirements of the publisher. It gives me great pleasure to add here the name of the Cambridge University Press, which published a work of mine in 1930; members of the staff of the Press have rendered inestimable service.

My missionary parents Dr Charles Neill (*d.* 1949) and Dr Margaret Penelope Neill (*d.* 1951) carried me off to India in 1901. Since that time India has been at the very heart of my concerns and affections.

The Spelling of Indian Names

Indian names are spelt in such a vast variety of ways in both English and other European languages that it is almost impossible to be perfectly consistent.

If an Indian name, such as Oudh or Benares, has become to all intents and purposes part of the English language, little seems to be gained by writing Avadh or Varanasi. But in most cases both forms of the name, with cross-references, will be found in the index. In the case of less familiar names, the Indian form is generally followed, though here also both forms will be found in the index. In doubtful cases I have generally followed the spelling given in the *Times Atlas*. Christian names have almost invariably been given in the English form – *Francis Xavier* has become almost an English name.

Diacritical marks have been in many cases added, where they are needed to indicate to the reader what the pronunciation should be. Where pronunciation is hardly affected, they have in a number of cases been omitted.

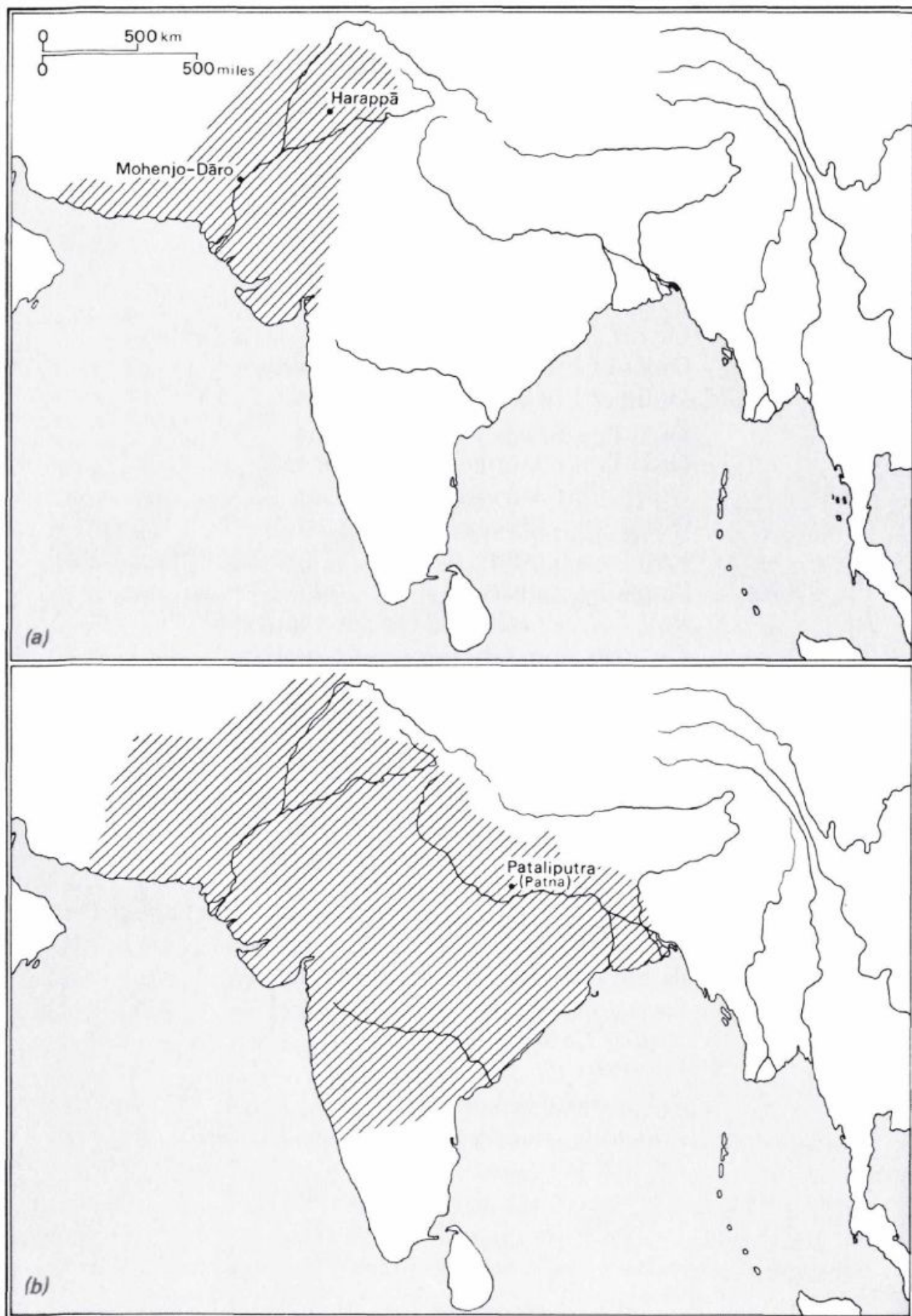
In quotations from sources, the form used by the original writer has generally been maintained. But this does not always apply to works written in languages other than English, where the forms show considerable variety. Where the name of a translation or of a printed English version is not given, the translation has in most cases been made by myself.

Abbreviations

<i>AA</i>	<i>Ā'in-i-Akbarī</i>
<i>Anal. Aug.</i>	<i>Analecta Augustiniana</i>
<i>AHSI</i>	<i>Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu</i>
<i>ARSI</i>	<i>Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu</i>
<i>ASB</i>	See <i>MASB</i>
<i>Bibl. Miss.</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Missionum</i>
<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
<i>BSOS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies</i>
<i>Bull. App.</i>	<i>Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum: Appendix</i>
<i>CAH</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
<i>CHI</i>	<i>Cambridge History of India</i>
<i>CMedH</i>	<i>Cambridge Medieval History</i>
<i>CMS</i>	<i>Church Missionary Society</i>
<i>CR</i>	<i>Clerks Regular of the Divine Providence (Theatines)</i>
<i>DCB</i>	<i>Dictionary of Christian Biography</i>
<i>DI</i>	<i>Documenta Indica</i>
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>Encycl. Brit.</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia Britannica</i>
<i>Epigr. Ind.</i>	<i>Epigraphia Indica</i>
<i>ERE</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics</i>
<i>EX</i>	<i>Epistolae Xaverianae</i>
<i>Gr. Chr. Schr.</i>	<i>Griechische Christliche Schriftsteller</i>
<i>ICHR</i>	<i>Indian Church History Review</i>
<i>i.p.i.</i>	<i>in partibus infidelium</i>
<i>IRM</i>	<i>International Review of Missions [of Mission]</i>
<i>ISPCK</i>	<i>Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge</i>
<i>JASB</i>	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i>
<i>JESHO</i>	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
<i>JIH</i>	<i>Journal of Indian History</i>
<i>JPASB</i>	<i>Journal of the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i>
<i>JPASB NS</i>	<i>JPASB New Series</i>
<i>JPHS</i>	<i>Journal of the Panjab Historical Society</i>

Abbreviations

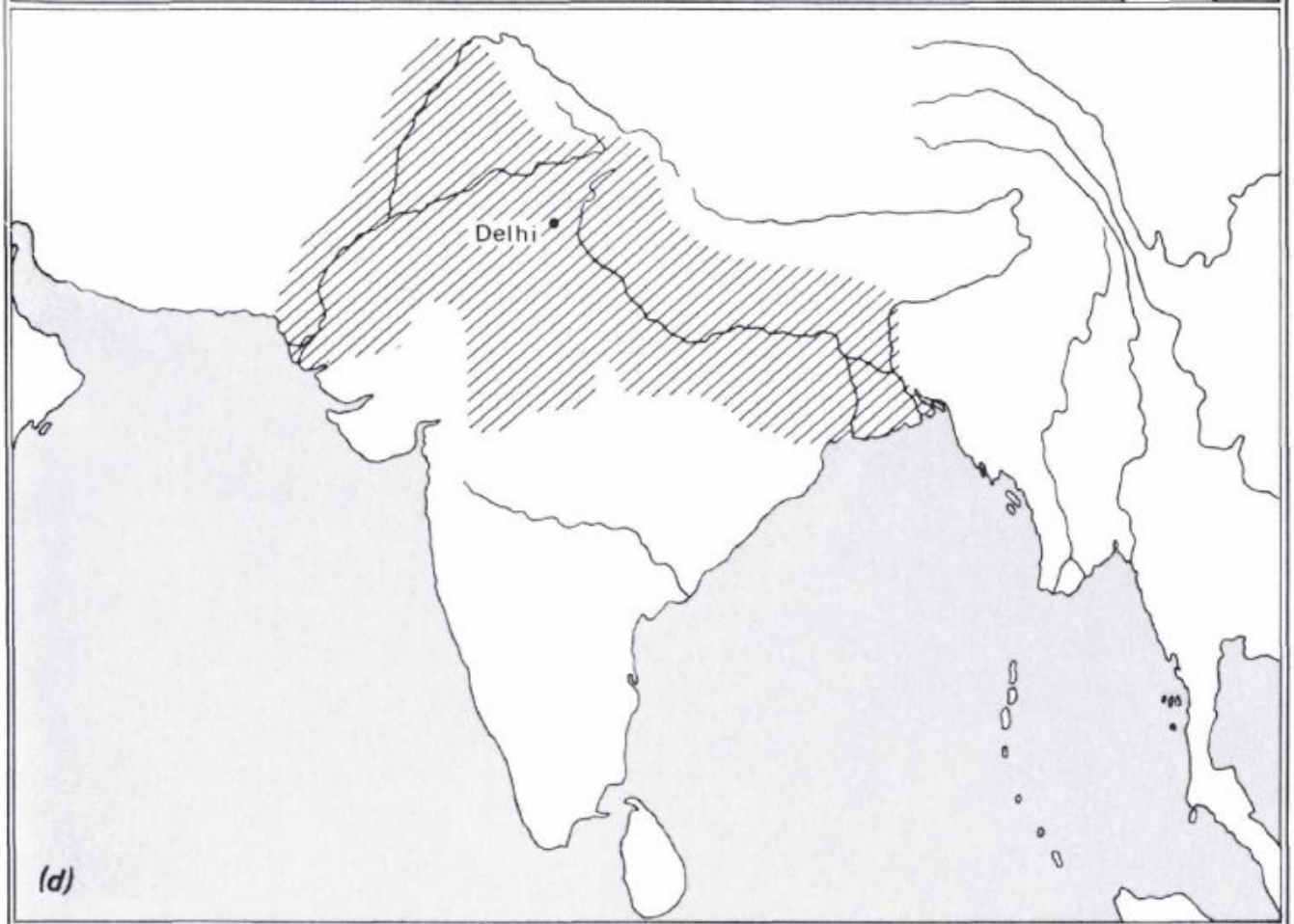
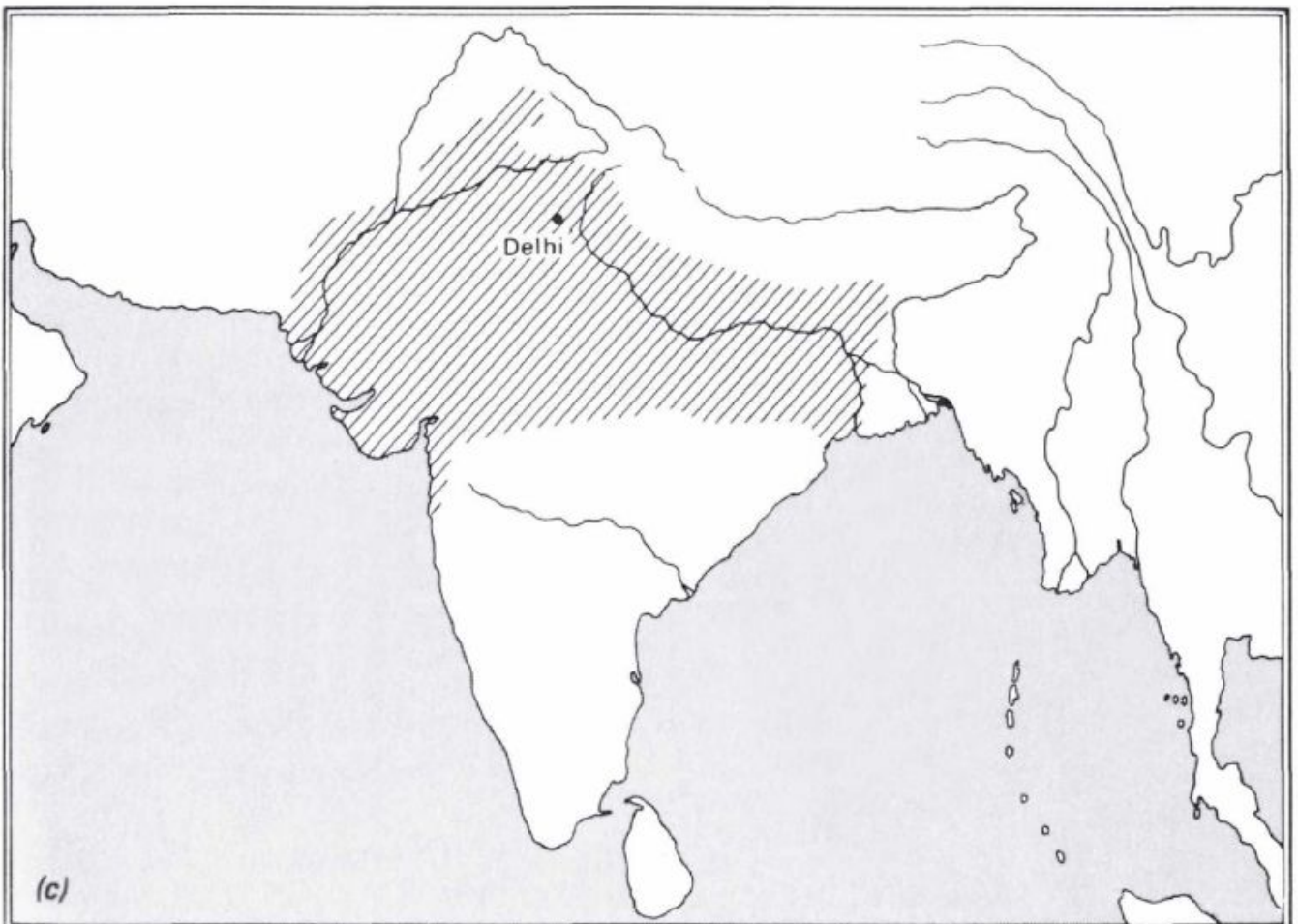
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland</i>
LMS	London Missionary Society
MASB (ASB)	Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
<i>Mon. Xav.</i>	<i>Monumenta Xaveriana</i>
<i>New CMH</i>	<i>New Cambridge Modern History</i>
NZM	<i>Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft</i>
OCC	Order of Calced Carmelites
ODC	Order of Discalced Carmelites
ODCC	<i>Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church</i>
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
OFM	Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans)
OFM. Cap.	Order of Friars Minor (Capuchins)
OMI	Oblates of Mary Immaculate
OP	Ordo Praedicatorum. Order of Preachers (Dominicans)
OSA	Order of St Augustine
OSB	Order of St Benedict
PG	Patrologia Graeca
PL	Patrologia Latina
<i>RE</i>	<i>Real-Encyclopädie für Theologie und Kirche</i>
<i>RGG</i>	<i>Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i>
<i>RHM</i>	<i>Revue de l'Histoire des Missions</i>
<i>RV.</i>	<i>Rg Veda</i>
SBE	Sacred Books of the East
SCPF	Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (Propaganda)
SJ	Society of Jesus
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies
SPG	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts
SR	da Silva Rêgo
SR, <i>Doc.</i>	da Silva Rêgo, <i>Documentação</i>
SVD	Society of the Divine Word (Societas Divini Verbi)
<i>Vig. Chr.</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
ZMR	<i>Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft</i>
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>



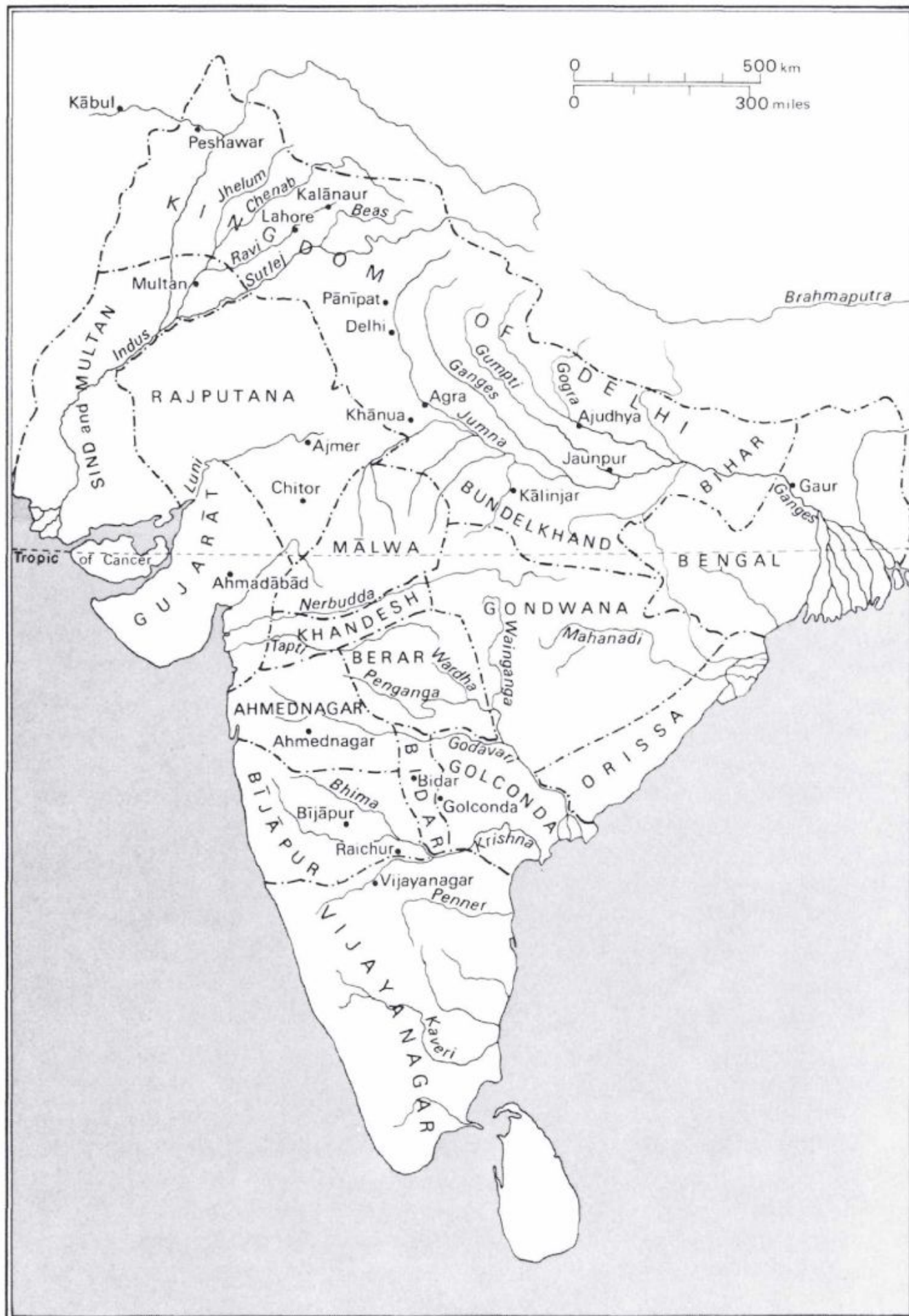
Map 1 Pre-European Indian Empires

(a) Indus Valley Empire

(b) Mauryan Empire in the Reign of Aśoka (272–232 BC)



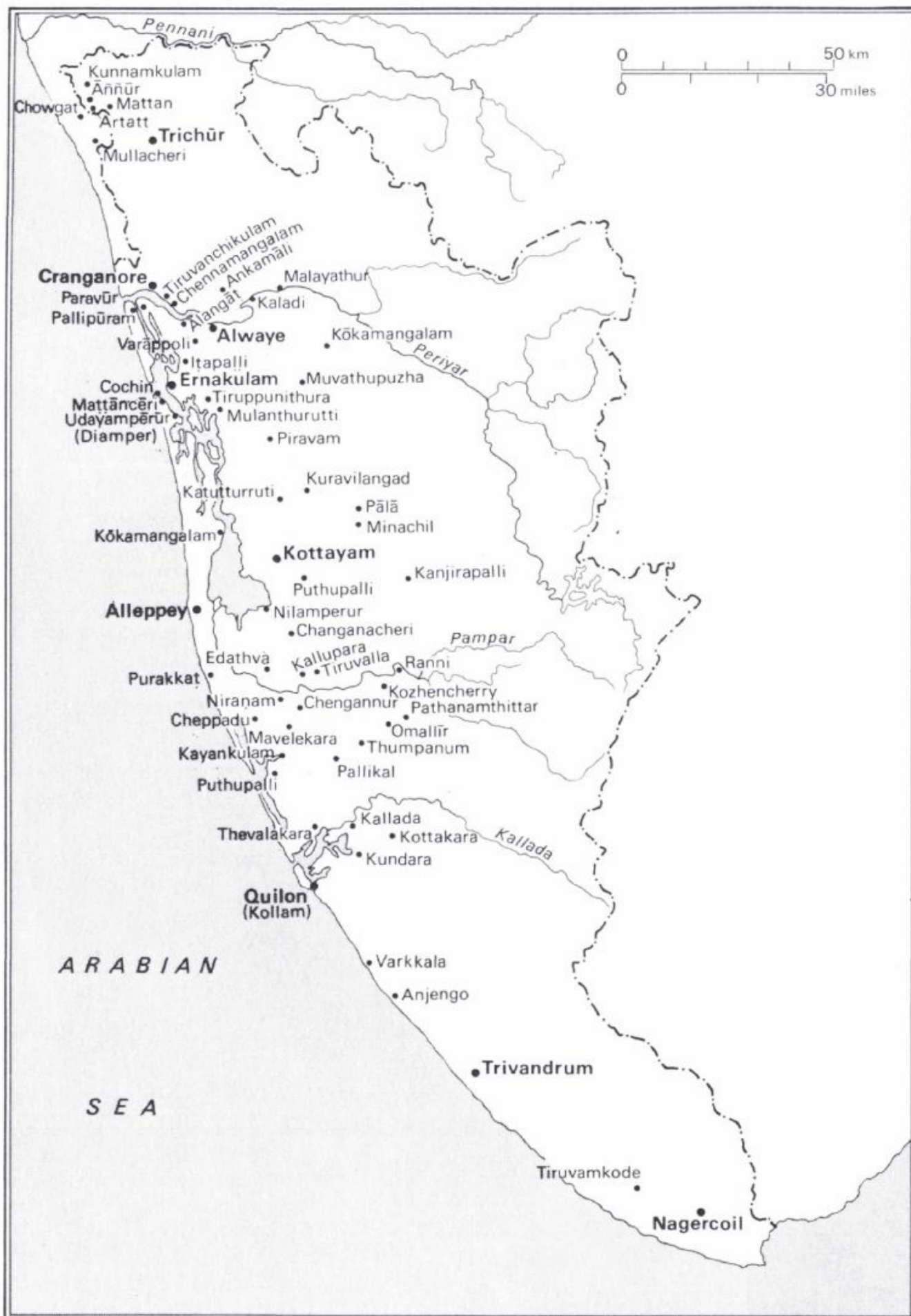
(c) Gupta Empire under Chandragupta II
(d) Delhi Sultanate in 1236



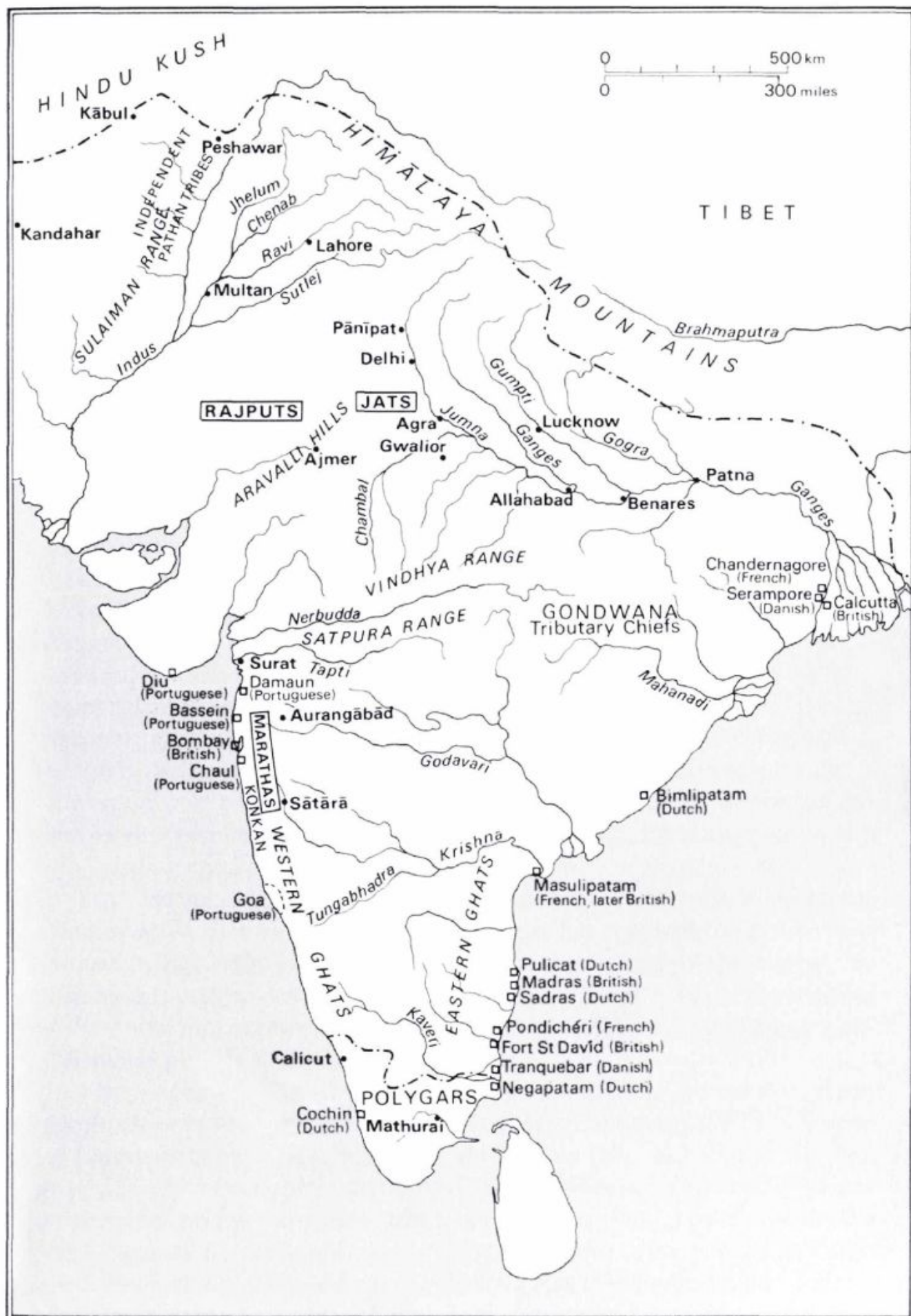
Map 2 India in 1525



Map 3 The Fisher Coast in 1544



Map 4 Syrian Christian Centres



Map 5 India at the Death of Arungzeb (1707)

PART ONE

I · The Indian Background

I LAND, PEOPLE AND LANGUAGE

When the Christian faith first made contact with the Indian sub-continent, the peoples of that area had already had a long experience of life – political, intellectual and religious. It is against this background that the story of Christianity in India has to be displayed.

The sub-continent enjoys a startling variety of scenery and climates, from the highest mountains in the world to the flat Gangetic plain, from the freezing climate of the high mountain valleys to the perpetual summer of Kerala, from the stark dryness of the desert to the exhausting humidity of Bengal.

It might seem that nature intended the great peninsula to be cut off from human habitation. The long coast-line can boast of only one first-class harbour, Bombay, though there are many smaller havens and roadsteads adequate to the needs of the small ships of past ages. A mountain chain almost unbroken for two thousand miles places formidable obstacles in the way of the traveller. The matted jungle of the eastern frontier poses no less serious an impediment to immigration.

Yet from very ancient times human beings have found ways to overcome the obstacles. The spade of the archaeologist has revealed the presence of human beings in the palaeolithic and neolithic ages; some of the present day inhabitants may be descendants of these ancient peoples. In consequence of these invasions continued over many centuries India is a land of many races belonging to at least five different stocks.

The peoples of Mongol or Mongoloid stock are found almost entirely in the north-eastern regions and are closely akin to the other peoples of eastern or south-eastern Asia. Scattered throughout the sub-continent, but especially in the mountainous regions, are the peoples of Austric or proto-Australoid origin, so-called from real or imagined kinship with the aborigines of Australia – dark in colour, small in stature, stocky in build. The Dravidians, belonging to what is known as the Mediterranean family, are also found everywhere, though with the greatest concentration in the south. These form the largest section of the population. But behind them

one can discern an older people, commonly called the Ādivāsīs, whom the Dravidians, after their coming to India, were able to drive away into the mountains or to reduce to subservience. Finally there are the Āryans, whose arrival in India we can date with some certainty about the middle of the second millennium BC. Their place of origin is uncertain, but there is some probability that they had moved eastwards in a number of separate groups from the great Hungarian plain.

Corresponding to this diversity of race is a great diversity of languages.¹

Fifteen principal languages are in use in the sub-continent today. Of these, eleven belong to that Indo-European family which is traceable in different areas from Central Asia to the Atlantic Ocean; Bengālī is perhaps spoken by a larger number of people than any other Indian language; western Hindi is perhaps the nearest to the original proto-Āryan tongue spoken by the Āryans when they entered India rather more than three thousand years ago. The other four – Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese and Malayālam, all spoken in the southern part of the peninsula – belong to what is known as the Dravidian group. No near relations to this family of languages have been found in any other part of the world; but philological opinion seems to be coming back to the view put forward by Bishop Caldwell more than a hundred years ago that the congeners of the Dravidian languages are to be sought in the Ugro-Altaic languages spoken in central Asia.²

Many diverse forms of speech are found especially in mountainous regions. Among these are distinct languages, spoken in many cases by only small groups of people, and for the most part never reduced to writing until the nineteenth century. Some belong to the Munda or Kherwari family,³ a branch of the Austric family, which has been found to exist as far apart as Easter Island and Madagascar, and from New Zealand in the south to the Punjāb in the north. Khasi, spoken in the hills of Assam, may be the one representative in India of the wide-spread Mon-Khmer family. Mention should be made of the remarkable language Burushaski, spoken by 20,000 people where the Hindū Kush and Karakoram mountains meet, for which no affinity has been found with any other language in the world.⁴

India has never had a language which has performed the same unifying service as has been carried out by Mandarin in China, or by Arabic in the middle east. This diversity of languages presents a major political problem in India and Pakistan. It is also a source of perplexity to the would-be religious propagandist, whether Hindu, Christian or Muslim.

Of religion in very ancient times in the sub-continent it is possible to speak only by way of speculation. With the palaeolithic and neolithic peoples it is impossible to establish any communication, since what signs they have left of artistic achievement seem to have no religious significance.

Undoubtedly very ancient ideas and practices survive among the peoples which have had till recent times no written language, and where everything has been handed on by word of mouth from generation to generation – though these have been more subject to change than is often supposed. But direct awareness of ancient religion becomes possible only with the survival of written sources, and for these we have to await the coming of the Āryans, with their highly developed forms of speech and their notable religious utterances.

2 A VERY ANCIENT PAST

Until recently it was taken for granted that our knowledge of India and its faiths begins with the *R̥g Veda* and the arrival of the Āryans in India. A chance archaeological discovery and its consequences have carried our knowledge back a thousand years in time.⁵

In 1922 the excavation of the mounds at Mohenjo-dāro in the Lārkanā district of Sind revealed to the excavators an ancient city civilisation where nothing of the kind had previously been supposed to exist. The impulse once given, exploration advanced with an ever accelerated rhythm, and now more than eighty sites spread over an immense area of north-western India have been identified. The two sites, Mohenjo-dāro and Harappā, which so far surpass all others in size and elaboration as to suggest that they were the twin capitals of an imposing realm, are both in the Indus region. For this reason it has become customary to refer to the civilisation there brought to light as the Indus valley civilisation. But it is already clear that this is an unduly restrictive title. Alamgīrpur is on the eastern side of the watershed between the Indus valley and the Gangetic system. Lothal is far to the south, in the area later to be known as Gujarāt. The culture now revealed influenced an area wider than that of Egypt or Mesopotamia, or indeed of any empire earlier than the conquests of Alexander.⁶

The Indus civilisation seems to have reached its maturity in a short period of time; perhaps as a result of this it is marked by a certain lack of inventiveness and of the spirit of adventure. It must have lasted for the best part of a thousand years; yet during all that time there is hardly a trace of experiment and change, of new discovery, and of the working out of new forms for the expression of ideas. The miles of brickwork which have been uncovered, ‘however impressive quantitatively and significant sociologically, are aesthetically miles of monotony’,⁷ ‘from an aesthetic point of view as barren as would be the remains of some present-day working town in Lancashire’.⁸

One exception must be made to this rather harsh judgement. The Indus valley craftsmen had developed to a notable height of perfection the art of

carving. This is revealed specially in the steatite seals, or rather intaglios, of which a considerable number has been recovered from various sites. The skill displayed on these generally minute surfaces carries them to a level equal to the finest manifestations of art from any ancient civilisation.⁹

Knowledge of this ancient civilisation is steadily increasing, as previously unknown sites are excavated and the archaeological data are classified and studied. The progress of discovery can be followed in the successive volumes of the periodical *Ancient India*. But there is still one uncrossed barrier in the way of our understanding the mind and life of these peoples – their language has so far resisted all attempts to decipher it and remains unknown to us. The available evidence is much less than copious; on a number of the beautifully carved seals there are brief inscriptions, in many cases consisting of no more than a single word. It is reasonably certain that a single language prevailed throughout the whole area covered by the culture, that its script is syllabic in character, and that it was read from right to left. Beyond that it is hardly possible at the present time to go.¹⁰

This gap in our knowledge makes it necessary to speak with hesitation on the subject of the religion of this ancient people. Our museums now contain many specimens of their art. On the seals, and on the numerous terra-cotta figurines or statuettes, many human shapes and the forms of animals and birds are depicted; but it is impossible to say with any certainty whether these have religious significance or no. Some speculations are more credible than others. The large number of identifiably female figures suggests that ideas of fertility played a large part in the thoughts, and perhaps in the worship, of the Indus folk, as of so many ancient peoples. The horned female figures on trees are reminiscent of the *yakṣīs* of later Indian art, and may indicate a belief in, and possibly worship of, tree-spirits and spirits of vegetation. The presence of the bull, in every possible form and posture, may be related to the Mesopotamian cult of the bull as the symbol of fertility and power.

These are no more than reasonable conjectures. Of one figure it can be said that there is general agreement as to its religious character. This is the three-faced seated figure surrounded by animals, which to many recalls *Śiva-paśupati*, Śiva the lord of animals, familiar in much Hindu devotion of later years. Wheeler writes of the ‘brooding minatory power of the great god of historic India. Here, if anywhere, may be recognised one of the pre-Āryan elements which were to survive the Āryan invasions and to play a dominant role in the so-called Āryan culture of the post-Vedic period.’¹¹ Such a judgement involves a number of unproved assumptions. It is not perfectly clear that there is a connection between this striking figure and the god whom later ages called Śiva. Nor is it clear that the animals depicted on the seal are those which in later times were specially associated with Śiva. All we

can say is that in this very ancient form of Indian religion there appear to be elements which are to be found again much later in the developed cults of India in the period that we call historic.

To the question whether any direct connection can be drawn between the life, art, and religion of the Indus civilisation and the later ages of Indian development, no certain answer can be given. The civilisation, centred on the great cities of Harappā and Mohenjo-dāro, lasted for at least eight hundred years, perhaps rather more, and then disappeared from the face of the earth. For this disappearance various causes have been put forward – extensive flooding; gradual desiccation of the area as a result of which it was unable to support so large a population; attacks by enemies, a view to which the signs of mass slaughter at Mohenjo-dāro lend plausibility. Some have identified these enemies with the invading Āryans. Connections with the later developments of Indian civilisation are at best tenuous; future discoveries may provide more definite answers than can be given at the present time.¹²

3 ĀRYAN SOCIETY, LITERATURE AND RELIGION

Lucida tela diei. The contrast is great between the ambiguities of the Indus valley and the clear light which shines on the coming of the Āryans and their settlement in India. The great collection of more than a thousand hymns known as the *R̥g Veda* was not made to give us historical or sociological information. Yet so vast a corpus of material cannot but afford a great deal of information about the peoples and their ways – where they went and what they ate and drank, what they owned and what they desired, how they worked and fought, how they played, and how they worshipped. These are real people, whom we feel that we can come to know.¹³ The *R̥g Veda* lays the foundation of that continuity which underlies the whole of Indian history through three thousand years.

We find, then, a vigorous people entering a land of which they intend to take permanent possession. A nomad folk is on the move, with their wives and children, their flocks and all that they have. Much of their time is taken up with fighting the other and perhaps earlier inhabitants, the Dasyus (Dāsas), who may represent a higher civilisation but are compelled in the end to submit to the invaders and to accept a position of inferiority. Geographically, we can locate the invaders in the days of the *R̥g Veda* almost exactly on the map of India. They know the lion but not yet the tiger; they are familiar with wheat and barley but not yet with rice. The wide plains of the Punjab, overhung by the ever-present mountains, provide exactly the setting required by the evidence of the hymns.

The religion of the Vedic Indians holds a special fascination for the

student of such things, since here, as hardly anywhere else, we are able to trace the progress of a gifted and intelligent people from a religion of nature to a vigorous polytheism, behind which the outlines of monotheism can be somewhat dimly discerned. Uṣas, the dawn, is recognisably a goddess, to whom some of the most beautiful hymns in the whole collection are directed.¹⁴ But she appears also as *Uṣases*, the dawns (*RV*. iv.51:4). How far has thought moved, from the physical phenomenon of the welcome day after darkness, in the direction of a being separable from phenomena and to be worshipped in her own right? Among the many deities of the Vedic Indians we encounter the sun (under a variety of names), the winds, the waters; there are gods of the storm, deities hardly more individualised than elemental spirits.

But gods with a certain individuality are beginning to appear.

First and foremost among these is, naturally, Indra the great warrior of the Āryans, who aids them and gives them victory in their endless battles with the Dasyus. He, too, is not unrelated to natural phenomena. When the demon Vṛtra has imprisoned the waters, it is Indra who smites him with his thunderbolt and sets the waters free.¹⁵ But he is well on his way to becoming a personal deity, as in the great hymn *RV*. ii.12, with its recurring refrain, 'that, ye people, is Indra':

the wise god, who as soon as he was born surpassed all the other gods in understanding, before whose immense power heaven and earth trembled by reason of the greatness of his virile strength . . . he that is so mighty, concerning whom the people ask 'Where is he?', and of whom they say also 'he is Not', . . . the one without whom none can gain victory, on whom the warriors call for help, who is an adversary equal to any enemy, who shakes that which cannot be shaken – that, ye people is Indra.¹⁶

M. Winternitz is right in saying that, though other gods at times lay claims to primacy, 'Indra is in the earliest times undoubtedly a king among the gods, just as was Zeus among the Olympian deities of Greece.'¹⁷

The nearest and friendliest of the gods is Agni, the fire. He is known in three forms – as the domestic god on the hearth of every home, the literal fire; as Agni born of the waters, the lightning that flashes in the clouds; as the supreme Agni, the sun, from which all other fire is kindled. Yet Agni is perhaps less than half personalised; about him there is still a good deal of that literal fire which men have under their control.

Varuṇa comes nearer than any other Vedic god to the idea of God as conceived by Jews and Christians. His messengers speed everywhere and none on earth can escape them:

Two persons may devise some plot, together sitting,
And think themselves alone; but he the King is there –

A third, and sees it all. His messengers descend
Countless from his abode; for ever traversing
This world, and scanning with a thousand eyes its inmates.
Whate'er exists within this earth and all within the sky,
Yea, all that is beyond King Varuṇa perceives.¹⁸

Among the Vedic gods, it is Varuṇa who not only watches over all things but watches over evil to visit it with its appropriate penalty; he teaches men the nature of repentance and the need for forgiveness: 'If, Varuṇa, we have at any time harmed companions who are near and dear to us, or brothers or neighbours, if we have done harm to fellow-citizens or strangers, forgive what we have done ['remove from us the trespass', Griffith].'¹⁹ The sinner afflicted with dropsy pleads his case: 'O Varuṇa, whatever fault, men that we are, we have committed against the people of the gods, if we through lack of understanding have transgressed thy laws, O god, bring not upon us any suffering by reason of this sin'.²⁰

Here there are foreshadowings of personal intimacy with a god, and a sense of moral values, that have been fulfilled in some later Hindu developments, but not in all.

The Vedic Indian maintained an attitude of almost genial friendliness towards his gods; he will pay them that which is their due; he expects that in return the gods will do their duty by him, multiplying his cattle and giving him all that his somewhat limited imagination demands. This *do ut des* philosophy accounts for the dominant role that animal sacrifice plays in the worship of the Āryans:

Inextricably bound up with this conception of the divine relation is that other which regards the gods as subject to control by the worshipper, if he but knows the correct means, a motive clearly seen in the selection of the horse as a sacrifice, whereby the swift steed, the sun, may regain his strength and favour his worshippers.²¹

It would, however, be unfair to the Vedic Indians to suppose them incapable of any spiritual ideal beyond the satisfaction of their own desires. In the *R̥g Veda* three notable terms look beyond the nature gods and the rites by which their favour is sought and maintained – *r̥ta*, *brahman* and *dharma*. The second and third of these have had a long and famous history in Indian religion – *brahman* as the hidden mysterious reality which is the inmost being of all things; *dharma* as that complex of rights and obligations which holds the social order together. In the Vedic period *r̥ta* is the most important of the three and the most difficult to define. It is that invisible moral order by which things have their rightness, the 'so-it-ought-to-be', which is there from the beginning, and which the gods cannot alter. At times *r̥ta* appears as a great self-contained independent power; at others 'it is the expression, guided and protected by the gods, of their will directed towards

the establishment of the *ṛta* in the world . . . The man who is loyal to *ṛta* finds his wishes come to fulfilment, for him the winds blow softly.’²²

A small number of philosophical hymns show that the Vedic Indians were not incapable of abstract thought.²³ Most famous of all is the so-called Hymn of Creation (*RV*. x.129):

- (1) There was not the non-existent nor the existent then; there was not the air nor the heaven which is beyond. What did it contain? Where? In whose protection? Was there water, unfathomable, profound?
- (2) There was not death nor immortality then. There was not the beacon of night, nor of day. That one breathed, windless, by its own power. Other than that there was not anything beyond.
- (3) Darkness was in the beginning hidden by darkness; indistinguishable, this all was water. That which, coming into being, was covered with the wind, that One arose through the power of heat.
- (6) Who knows truly? Who shall here declare, whence it has been produced, whence is this creation? By the creation of this (universe) the gods (come) afterwards; who then knows whence it has arisen?
- (7) Whence this creation has arisen; whether he founded it or did not; he who in the highest heaven is its surveyor, he only knows – or else he knows not.²⁴

The story of the Vedic religion is in one respect peculiar. It is still to the devout Hindu inspired revelation; yet the vast majority of those who call themselves Hindus know little, if anything, of it. Many have read not a single Vedic hymn. The names of the Vedic gods are unfamiliar. Most of its rituals belong only to history and not to practice. And yet it would be a grave mistake to under-estimate its influence on all that was to follow. Many of the *mantras* used today in solemn ceremonies go back to Vedic or to early post-Vedic times. The pious Brāhman begins every day with the recitation, in Sanskrit, of the *Gāyatrī*, ‘let us meditate on that excellent glory of the Divine Vivifier [Sun]; may he enlighten our understandings’.²⁵ And every Hindu is touched at some point or another by one of the three branches of development out of which classical Hinduism grew in the post-Vedic age.

4 CLASSICAL DEVELOPMENTS OF HINDUISM

These three branches of development correspond almost exactly to what have come to be known as the three ways – the *karma-mārga*, the way of action; the *jñāna-mārga*, the way of wisdom; and the *bhakti-mārga*, the way of adoring devotion.

The way of action finds expression in the series of books called the *Brāhmaṇas*, sprawling works, which contain a great variety of elements, including folk tales;²⁶ but the greater part of which is taken up with the sacrifices and their significance in the life of man. Sacrifice holds the centre

of the picture; every part of the ritual must be carried out with careful circumspection, lest some trivial error may deprive the sacrifice of its effective power. Only the Brāhmanas know the ritual in full; this explains their demand for full supremacy in all the affairs of the people – kings may rule, but only by favour of the Brāhmanas whom it is their first duty to support. Indeed,

of a truth there are two kinds of gods; the gods indeed are the gods, and the Brāhmanas who have heard and recite what they have heard are the gods upon earth; . . . the offerings of the sacrifice are for the gods, presents for the gods upon earth . . . These two kinds of gods, if they are satisfied bring (the offerer) to the blessedness of heaven.²⁷

M. Winternitz draws a contrast between these Brāhman claims and the modesty of the Hebrew seer, who asks, ‘Lord, what is man that thou considerest him, and the son of man that thou rememberest him?’ (Psalm 8).²⁸ Such expressions are not wholly lacking in the Indian books, but it is not from utterances such as these that these writings derive their special character.

A tradition of such rigid formality as that of the *Brāhmaṇas* could hardly satisfy all the spiritual needs of a vigorous and gifted people. A reaction was bound to come, and come it did in the development of the second way, the way of wisdom. The *Upaniṣads*,²⁹ the books of secret wisdom, are the record of this quest. A number of hints in the more ancient of these works suggest that they record also episodes in the struggle for leadership between the Brāhmanas and the second order, the Kṣatriyas or warriors, from among whom the rulers are chosen. The Brāhmanas had established a monopoly of the ritual and external manifestations of Āryan religion; the Kṣatriyas will take the lead in the search for ultimate reality and truth and for a religion based on these.

As for the *Vedas*, so for the *Upaniṣads*, no exact chronology can be established; but it is probable that the more ancient among these works belong to the period between the composition of the *Brāhmaṇas* and the rise of Buddhism in the second half of the sixth century BC. They belong, that is to say, to that extraordinary period of creative genius, which was marked in Greece by the earlier Ionic philosophers, in Israel by the greatest of the writing prophets, in Iran by Zarathustra, and in China by Confucius and his predecessors.

It is impossible to reduce the *Upaniṣads* to system. They contain much that is traditional and much that is trivial; in places they still move in the world of the Vedic sacrifices. But this should not be allowed to obscure the adventurousness of the thinkers of the *Upaniṣads*, and the radical newness of

the worlds of philosophy and religion which they explored. The essential questions put by all of them are the same: What really is? What is the unity behind the multiplicity of phenomena? What is the nature of man, and what his place in the universe? The central answer of all is the same – the real self in man, the *Ātman*, is essentially the same as the inmost being of the universe, the *Brahman*. He who comes to apprehend this will be set free from the phenomenal world and from separate being, and will recover that inward unity with true being which he had lost or allowed to become atrophied through absorption in the temporal. A concentrated expression of this view is to be found in *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* III.14:

This soul of mine within the inmost heart is smaller than a grain of rice or a barley-corn, or a mustard-seed or a grain of millet, or the kernel of a grain of millet; this soul of mine within the inmost heart is greater than the earth, greater than the atmosphere, greater than the sky, greater than all these worlds; containing all activities, all desires, all odours, all tastes, it encompasses all the world; it speaks not, is concerned for nothing. This soul of mine within the inmost heart is this same *Brahman*. When I depart from this body, I shall be united with him. If anyone attains this knowledge, for him of a truth there is no further doubt.

So spoke Śaṇḍilya, yea, Śaṇḍilya.³⁰

In a great variety of expressions, parables, illustrations this teaching of the mysterious unity of the Soul with the All is repeated. Indian philosophy and religion have followed many separate paths. But at the heart of almost all of them is this same teaching. The great *Upaniṣads* have laid their hand on all that is to follow in the world of India, and even on the minds of some who have professed the Christian faith.

The Āryan Indians were a hardy people, courageous in the face of life and carefree in the face of death, without a trace of that *Weltschmerz*, that abiding melancholy, which has rested upon so much of the Hindu tradition in life and thought. It is in the later *Upaniṣads* that the shadows begin to fall.³¹ The law of *karma*, the deed, the principle of inexorable retribution and its consequences in the endless wheel of birth and repeated existence, is beginning to cast its long shadows on the Indian mind:

‘Yaiñavalkya’, says Ārthabhāga, ‘when a man dies and all the parts of him are scattered in different directions, where is that man?’ [summary].

‘Ārthabhāga, my dear, take me by the hand. We two alone desire to have knowledge of this. It is not convenient to speak of this, when others are present’.

So they two went apart and spoke with one another. What they spoke of was the Deed (*karma*); what they praised was the Deed. Of a truth by the good deed man becomes good, and by the evil he becomes evil.³²

Yet with all this sadness the *Upaniṣads* are a message of deliverance. When a man has attained to this secret wisdom, so runs the formula, ‘he comes not back’; he has been delivered from the chain and the burden, from

Divergent Streams

the wheel of endless existence. At times the expression of this sense of deliverance comes near to ecstasy:

Therefore, having this knowledge, having become calm, subdued, quiet, patiently enduring and collected . . . free from evil, free from impurity, free from doubt, he becomes a Brāhman (knower of *Brahman*) . . . Verily that great unborn Soul, undecaying, undying, immortal, fearless, is *Brahman*. Verily *Brahman* is without fear; he who knows this becomes the fearless *Brahman*.³³

5 DIVERGENT STREAMS

Historical order now directs attention to three movements – Jainism, Buddhism, the influence of Greece or rather Macedon – each of which might have become a determinative force in the development of Indian religion, but each of which, through the chances of historical circumstance, became marginal rather than central in the process of development.

Jainism and Buddhism have been described as twin sisters, arising in the same period and on the basis of similar presuppositions; each in part, no doubt, as a reaction against the esoteric wisdom of the *Brāhmaṇas* and the difficult philosophical propositions of the *Upaniṣads*, and providing for the ordinary man a way of salvation that will be within his intellectual grasp.

But how different has been their development. The one has become a world religion, the other limited to the country of its birth; one has shewn itself capable of extension, development and expansion, the other has remained unalterably in its traditional system. Outside India hundreds of millions of human beings confess themselves to be Buddhists. Between a million and a quarter and a million and a half in western India look back to Mahāvīra (more shortly Vīra), the hero or the overcomer, the *Jina*.³⁴

In basic principle Jainism is simple. Its final and highest law is that of *ahimsā*, doing no harm to any. It carries to extreme lengths the principle that no life is to be destroyed; the conscientious Jain guards with the most extreme care against the possible destruction of even the lowest form of life, though he is not allowed to carry this to the point at which his own life might be destroyed. There are, moreover, exacting rules of asceticism, especially in the field of sexual chastity.

Man is alone and is cast back upon himself. It is his actions which bring reward or punishment here below or in the world beyond. A thousand rules for the winning of the one and the avoidance of the other hem in the daily life of the Jaina . . . The almost grotesque exaggeration (of the rules) in Jaina practice must not be allowed to rob them of their original nobility.³⁵

In spite of the achievements of scholarship, Mahāvīra remains a somewhat shadowy figure. In the study of the origins of the religion of the Buddha we

are nearer to historical reality. Although the traditions of early Buddhism were written down several centuries after the events which they profess to record, and though the historical core is everywhere encrusted with a mass of legendary material, the careful work of scholars over a century has been successful to a considerable extent in enucleating the historical from the legendary.³⁶ It is possible to make, with reasonable confidence, the following affirmations:

The life of Siddhārta, better known as Gautama the Buddha, falls within the sixth and fifth centuries before Christ. 563 and 483 are generally given as approximately the dates of his birth and death, though this chronology has not commended itself to all the experts.

Siddhārta was born of an aristocratic clan at Kapilavastu in the *terai*, that part of Nepal which lies in the Gangetic plain. For some years he sought deliverance along the traditional Hindu path of extreme asceticism; but, finding no salvation there, he adopted the middle path between absorption in the world and asceticism carried to intolerable lengths.

Then there came to him, in a period of intense meditation at Bodh-gayā, the Awakening in which he saw the solution of all human problems – the centrality of suffering in human life. This understanding came to be crystallised in the four Noble Truths, and the doctrine of the Noble Eight-fold Way.

Not long after this experience, the Awakened One began to preach;³⁷ this ministry lasted for a period of about forty years. The content of all this preaching was *deliverance*; one of the sayings which can with great probability be ascribed to the founder is this – as in all the seas there is but one taste, the taste of salt, so in all the *dhamma* (teaching), there is but one taste, the taste of deliverance.

Since this doctrine is intended for the ordinary man, it is given in Pāli, a much simplified form of the classical Sanskrit. This rule is observed in the southern (*Theravāda*) form of Buddhism, whereas the northern (*Mahāyāna*) finds expression in Sanskrit, Chinese, and other tongues.

By the time of the death of the founder, his followers were well organised in a monastic order, to which, with the rather reluctant consent of the founder, an order of nuns had been added.

The final deliverance which the Buddhist seeks is known by the term *nirvāṇa*, which is sometimes understood as implying extinction as complete as that undergone by a flame when it is blown out; but at other times seems to mean perfect and incomparable bliss. A similar apparent paradox is well known in various forms of mystical religion.³⁸

From the maze of the traditions emerges a figure, distinct, recognisable and attractive. The Buddha is genial, patient, courteous, not without an occasional gleam of humour, tranquil, benevolent and kind. What he has left

to his followers, in spite of constant emphasis on suffering as the dominant element in human life, is no cheerless or depressing doctrine. On the contrary, Buddhism as a religion has always been marked by serenity, as the founder was serene. In this life *nirvāṇa* may escape me; but it is no unattainable ideal, and if I follow the last recorded words of the Master, 'Strive without ceasing', in due course I shall attain.

Buddhism differs from almost all other forms of religion in India in that it has had from the beginning a strong missionary emphasis. In the *Mahā-parinibbānasutta* the Awakened One is quoted as saying, 'I shall not die, O Evil One, until this pure religion of mine shall have become successful, prosperous, widespread, and popular in all its full extent – until in a word it shall have been well proclaimed among men.'³⁹ The Buddha himself set the proclamation in motion over a limited area of northern India, and, as a gospel of deliverance for ordinary men and women, it soon became popular in all ranks of society. For a wider extension it had to await the coming of the philosopher king, who would make the propagation of this faith one of the main purposes of his royal rule.

Asoka (272–232 BC) came nearer than any early ruler to establishing in India the authority of a single monarch. He has made known to us the limits of his dominions in a multitude of inscriptions which have been found in places as far apart as valleys overshadowed by the Himālayas and the Hindū Kush, the territory later known as Mysore, the borders of Assam, and the shores of the Arabian sea.⁴⁰

The most important event in the life of Asoka was his conversion to the Buddhist faith. According to his own account this took place as a result of the horror inspired in his mind by the slaughter and devastation caused by the Kalinga wars. The rest of his life was largely occupied in the dissemination of the faith in which he himself had found satisfaction.

In Rock Edict XIII he tells us that he had written to 'the Greek king named Amtiyoga, and beyond the realm of that Amtiyoga in the lands of the four kings Tulamaya, Antekina, Maka and Alikyashudala'.⁴¹ The kings have been identified with a good deal of plausibility as Antiochus II of Syria (261–246 BC), Ptolemy II of Egypt (285–247 BC), Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia (276–239 BC), Magas of Cyrene (*d.* 252 BC), and Alexander of Epirus (276–255 BC). It is not evident whether Asoka's recommendation of the Buddhist way had any effect on the minds of these sovereigns. Asoka had greater success with another of his missionary enterprises. It may be taken as historical fact that he sent his son (or possibly his brother) Mahinda (Mahendra) to King Tissa of Ceylon (253–213 BC). Both king and inhabitants seem to have been readily accessible to the message which Mahinda brought; it was not long before Ceylon became, as it has remained, in the main a Buddhist country.

Buddhism has undergone the same strange fate as Christianity – of being extinguished in its original homeland, and prospering far beyond its limits.⁴² Through recent conversions there are once again Buddhists in India; but for the best part of a thousand years there were very few.⁴³

Sixty years before Aśoka came to the throne the waters of Macedon had flowed into the Indus. The Greeks had appeared in India. In 326 BC Alexander and his soldiers stood on the banks of the river Beas. In the following year they began the long withdrawal to the West.

The invasion of Alexander has left a permanent mark on the study of religion in India, in that it has provided us with a reasonable chronological framework for the history of India as a whole. Indian writers were uninterested in matters of chronology. The Greeks were much more concerned for accuracy in this field, and the events of Alexander's campaigns can be dated with almost perfect precision. Working backwards and forwards from these data, the patient labour of scholars has produced a good deal of order out of the pre-existing chaos. Much still remains obscure; but the epochs of India's religious history have become reasonably clear to us.

The Greeks maintained kingdoms in north-west India for almost three centuries. Yet their influence was surprisingly limited. Knowledge of the existence of the Greek-speaking world was doubtless of advantage to India. Some splendid coins were produced. Other forms of Greek art may have exercised a measure of influence. But, in the religious sphere, there is hardly any trace of influence; indeed, such evidence as we have suggests that the Greeks were more likely to accept Indian influences and to turn Buddhist than were the Indians to become Stoics or Epicureans.⁴⁴

Buddhism eventually died out in India.⁴⁵ Jainism, after a period of extensive prosperity, dwindled to its present limited effectiveness. The Greeks came and went, and left hardly a trace. The main stream of Indian religious development flowed in other channels. To that main stream we now return; and this brings us directly to the most famous of all Indian religious classics, the *Bhagavadgītā*, the Lord's Song.

6 THE CENTRAL TRADITION

The wide-spread success of both Buddhism and Jainism seemed to threaten the very existence of Hinduism. It became clear that, if Hinduism was to survive as a generally accepted form of faith, it must find a way to take shape as a gospel for the ordinary man. This need was met by the *bhakti* movement, the way of personal devotion. Quintessential as the expression of North Indian *bhakti* is the *Bhagavadgītā*.

The *Gītā*, as we know it today, lies embedded in the *Mahābhārata*, the first of the two great epics of ancient India. This immense work is in essence the story of the eighteen-day battle in the civil war between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas on the plains of Kurukṣetra; but, in its full extent and as it exists today, it contains material of every shape and kind, and drawn from the experience of many different periods. The *Gītā* is simply an episode at the beginning of book VI. Various views have been held as to the date of the poem. Similarities between the language of the *Gītā* and Johannine phraseology have led some Christian scholars to suppose that the *Gītā* may be post-Christian and indebted to the teaching of the New Testament.⁴⁶ Closer investigation has shewn this view to be extremely improbable, and it is not held by any serious scholar today. While certainty is not to be had, there is at least a probability that the work dates from the second century BC.

Ostensibly the poem records a dialogue held on the field of battle between the Pāṇḍava hero Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa, who, acting as charioteer to the hero, gradually reveals himself as the incarnation of the supreme reality. Arjuna, horrified at the carnage imminent in a civil war, declares his intention not to fight. The theme unfolds itself in the form of a series of arguments by which Kṛṣṇa sets himself to persuade Arjuna that he must lay aside his scruples and do his duty on the field of battle. Killing and being killed are illusory experiences – the inmost soul is not affected by either. Arjuna is a Kṣatriya, a warrior, and caste-duty, that *dharma* by which all things are held together in order, demands that he should do his duty. This means action, and action is held to bind man to the wheel of rebirth. But this is not necessarily so, since action without regard for consequences and without desire for the fruit of action loses its binding power.

Gradually these secondary arguments yield place to the central theme of the poem. The way of *bhakti*, of unconditional devotion to the god of a man's choice, is the road to deliverance, and this can be found by anyone who truly seeks it, without regard to origin, to caste-affiliation, to sex, and even to ethical disposition (IX.30–3).

The philosopher Śaṅkara (eighth century AD) finds the quintessence of the *Gītā* in XI.55:

Whose work is unto me, whose goal I am, my votary, free from attachment, void of enmity to any being, he comes to me, O son of Pāṇḍu (trans. W.D.P. Hill).

A fuller statement of the same truth is found in XII.13–16:

He who hates not any being, he who is friendly and compassionate, without a thought of mine or I, regarding pain and pleasure as all one, long-suffering, ever content, ascetic, self-restrained, of firm conviction, with mind and reason dedicated to me – that man is dear to me, my worshipper devout. He by whom the world is not

disturbed and who is not disturbed by the world, free from joy, impatience, fear and agitation – that man is dear to me.

He who hopes for nothing, pure, adept, impartial, free from trembling, abandoning (the fruit of) every enterprise – that man is dear to me, my worshipper devout (trans. W.D.P. Hill).

‘That man is dear to me’. This seems to strike a new note in Indian religion, in which the idea of a personal relationship to the divine only slowly came to birth. In the final Reading (xviii), this becomes even more intimate; several times over, Kṛṣṇa says to Arjuna, ‘Thou art dear to me.’⁴⁷

This teaching is introduced by the magnificent theophany in Reading xi, in which Arjuna in answer to his own request is allowed to see Kṛṣṇa as he really is, the Supreme from which all things issue and into which all things pass away. This passage, unique or almost unique in Hindu religious literature, may be compared to the theophanies in the religious literature of the Jews, in which we find the same combination of terror and delight.

It is impossible to over-estimate the part which the *Gītā* has played in the religious life of India. It has been translated into all the main languages of the sub-continent, as well as into many languages of both West and East. Philosophers of many schools have expounded it, and found in it their own deepest apprehensions of reality. Countless Hindus know it by heart, and recite it daily in their devotions. Christians, while recognising differences of conviction at certain points, yet find in it a language that they can understand, and thoughts to which in large measure they can assent. It was *bhakti* of the type set forth in the *Gītā* which made Hinduism again a viable faith for ordinary men, which enabled it slowly to emerge successful from its conflicts with rival faiths, and to re-establish itself as the inspiration of large sections of the Indian population.

7 CHANGE WITHIN CONTINUITY

There is continuity in the religious history of India, but this should not conceal from us the magnitude of the revolution which has taken place since early times.

The changes that have taken place may be considered under five aspects:

The religion of the Āryans was aniconic. We have no record of any visual representation of the divine from ancient days. Today India is a land of innumerable images.

The Āryans had no temples. Their worship was carried out under the open sky, in the place of sacrifice arranged according to the requirements laid down by the priests.⁴⁸ India is today *par excellence* the land of temples; especially in the cities of the south they break the skyline in impressive majesty.

In Āryan religion animal sacrifice was deeply embedded, with the horse-sacrifice as its culmination and its crown. Though blood sacrifice continues today in the darkness of night in countless Indian villages, the offerings in the daylight temples are of flowers and fruit and ghee, and any shedding of blood is strictly forbidden.

In the *Veda* there is little sense of any personal relatedness to a god understood and worshipped as personal. Gods were revered and feared because they are strong. In those early days the expression 'the love of God' would hardly have been understood. Today in every part of India there are *bhakti* movements, characterised by an intense desire for self-fulfilment through devotion to a god recognised and worshipped in at least quasi-personal terms.

In the *R̥g Veda* there is only one reference to the caste system, and that in the tenth book (*R̥V.* x.90) which is generally thought to be later than the others. Contemporary Hindu society is still dominated by the system of many castes, to one of which every Hindu belongs by birth and which he cannot change.⁴⁹

Whence did all these changes come? Some developments may have come about through Jain or Buddhist influence. But we cannot exclude the possibility that some at least are due to the older Dravidian traditions which the Āryans found in existence when they entered India, the continuing influence of which may have been greater than has been generally recognised.⁵⁰

Language provides the first evidence that this kind of influence was exercised upwards from below. The main Dravidian languages have a number of consonants, to be found in hardly any other group of languages, produced by turning the tongue as far back as possible in the direction of the throat. These 'cerebral' or retroflex consonants are not encountered in any other Āryan language; the presence of all of them in Sanskrit suggests that both intonation and vocabulary have been affected by the speech of those whom the Āryans were pleased to regard as an inferior people.⁵¹

Dravidian influences may perhaps be recognised in Indian attempts to represent divinity in one and another of the many possible iconic forms.

The Āryans in India, over a period of many centuries, seem to have felt no need for any visual representation of the gods whom they worshipped. The earliest surviving monuments of Indian religious art, all related to the Buddhist tradition, do not go beyond the representation of the Teacher in purely symbolic form – the wheel of doctrine, the blazing pillar, the trident of the Buddha, the doctrine and the community – symbols which have maintained their vitality in the Buddhist tradition up to the present day. But gradually piety began to demand an object of adoration more akin to the

warmth of the devotion which the worshipper directed towards him; visual representation of the Buddha began. The artist in India had little doubt of the direction in which he should look for inspiration and guidance. The art of Gandhāra was skilled in the depiction of the human form. It used to be held that Gandhāra art was derived directly from the Greek. Now the view more commonly held is that this art is Roman rather than Greek in its origins, maintained in being by the still continuing contacts between the Rome of the emperors and north-west India; it was thus derived from an art which was itself derivative. Western art, as has been well said, 'sought to make an aesthetically beautiful form by portraying human figures which were models of physical perfection and athletic vigour'.⁵² This tradition was able to produce figures of striking beauty, a kind of Apollonian Buddha; but it had no roots in India, and, though its influence was extensive and long-lasting, this was not the religious art that was to endure in India.

There was another tradition already existent not far from the centres where Gandhāra art was being produced; it is associated especially with the city of Mathurā. Whereas Gandhāra art is for the most part static, this other tradition sought after skill in the representation of movement, and in its extraordinary vitality reflects living and careful attention to the surrounding world of nature. When art of this type turns to religious themes, it is concerned with abstract spiritual concepts which have to be translated into physical shapes.⁵³ This means that such art can never be primarily or exclusively representational. The image of the Buddha was so far fixed by tradition that the artist could not depart too far from it; but he used his own inspiration to impart to the figure an awe-inspiring quality appropriate to the one who was now regarded as the manifestation of divine perfection. In many of the sculptures of the period there is a striking contrast between the statuesque tranquillity of the central figure and the vigour, variety and at times distortion of the secondary figures by which it is surrounded. It seems that we have here evidence of a tension between the Āryan world and a more ancient world in which the specifically Indian genius finds its expression.

In Amarāvathī and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, the greatest centres of the Āndhra culture, we are already in South India, and see art carried a step further in the direction of purely Indian inspiration. The Buddha is still present, but it is the subordinate figures that catch the eye in the dramatic character of their groupings and the subtle variety of their movements. 'Quite unique to this art is an element that apparently derives from southern India: fondness for slender and supple figures, shown either in movement, in a dance posture, or standing in a graceful and nonchalant attitude.'⁵⁴ Once again there is a startling contrast between the serenity of the central figure, who has passed beyond all the changes and chances of human life, and the wild and flexible variety of the other figures, human, animal, or purely fantastic, by which it is surrounded.

As we travel still further south, the Āryan recedes yet further into the background, and is replaced by elements of fantasy and distortion. We are clearly on the way to the most characteristic of all the Indian images of the divine – the Natarāja, the heavenly dancer,⁵⁵ endlessly and magnificently shewn forth in stone and bronze and every other material on which the hand of the plastic craftsman has been able to take hold.⁵⁶

The Vedic Indian was content to worship under the clear vault of heaven in the place appointed for sacrifice. Climatic conditions may have suggested the advantage of having certain covered places for worship; but this could hardly have been the source of so radical a change. The devout Muslim is not likely to regard the mosque as a place in which God is specially present: it is simply a convenience to the worshipper to have a place set apart in which the people of God can become visible, and carry out its ceremonies as a community. The Hindu regards the temple as a place in which God dwells. Once again the origin of the change may be sought in Buddhist religion; the Stūpa grew out of the distribution of the relics of the Buddha and the development of great edifices in which the relics could be housed in a dignity suited to their pre-eminence. In the same way the Hindu temple contains something regarded as specially holy, and generally guarded from the eyes of the profane. Not every image will be housed in a temple; many stand by the wayside, usually under the shade of a tree, but otherwise unprotected from sun or wind or rain. Nor is every image to be worshipped. If it is to be set up for worship, it will first undergo the ceremony called the *prāṇa-prathisthā*, the invocation (lit. establishment) of life; from then on it is neither wood nor stone but a habitation of the divine. So the Hindu can make pilgrimage to the temple, and in the rite of *darshan* can experience the divine as visible reality. It cannot be shewn with certainty that this process of development was purely Dravidian, but no certain explanation lies ready to hand elsewhere; the process is consonant with the Dravidian mentality and the Dravidian understanding of the world.

Animal sacrifice, so prominent in the Vedas and in the older sections of the Vedānta, has entirely disappeared from later orthodox Hindu practice. Jain and Buddhist influences may have been at work. Respect for all life and the avoidance of harm to any (*ahimsā*) is a cardinal doctrine of both these religious systems. But it is doubtful whether the change can be entirely accounted for by such influences. In the *Bhagavadgītā* (IX.26) Kṛṣṇa says ‘If any earnest soul makes offering to me with devotion, of leaf or flower or fruit or water, that offering of devotion I enjoy’ (trans. W.D.P. Hill). Does not the *Gītā* here look away from the long tradition of blood-sacrifice and forward to the bloodless offerings, the *pūjā*, which is carried out in the countless temples of the later Hindu tradition? This may be reckoned as part of the Hindu answer to the Jain and Buddhist challenge; but the answer may have been drawn from an older and pre-Āryan phase of Indian religion.

In the Vedic tradition there is little that could be called personal religion or devotion to a personal god. In the *Gītā* we find, fully developed, the devotion to a particular god which is expressed in the Sanskrit term *bhakti*. *Bhakti* – the word can hardly be translated into English – has been well characterised by Jan Gonda as signifying

not a belief, but a loving and sincere adoration and self-surrender, a burning personal devotion, a deeply emotional and mystical attachment, together with a desire to be united with the object of this adoration, that object being a personal god of whose reality the worshipper is convinced – or more correctly, because the worshipper holds firmly that he himself is essentially a part of that reality.⁵⁷

If the origins of *bhakti* are not to be found in the ancient Hindu tradition, where are they to be sought? The possibility of Buddhist influence cannot be excluded. But it is likely that the devotion to the person of the Buddha, which is so marked a feature of the *Mahāyāna* form of Buddhism, developed later than the date at which the *Bhagavadgītā* was written. It is possible that, in *bhakti*, we are dealing with something that is non-Āryan and authentically Dravidian.

In the *Bhagavadgītā* the teacher and the object of *bhakti* is Kṛṣṇa, serving as the charioteer of the Pāṇḍava hero Arjuna. It is by no means incredible that, in the progress of the Āryans across north India, there may have taken place an immense and fratricidal conflict, of which racial memories persisted after much else that was historical had been forgotten. This suggests, though it does not necessarily imply, that there may have been a real and historical Kṛṣṇa.

If so, how are we to think of him? Has a purely human hero become confused with a pre-existing local divinity, and so been gradually raised to the level of the Supreme? Or is the doctrine of *avatāra*, incarnation, startlingly introduced in the Fourth Reading of the *Gītā* (IV.5–8), invoked to account for the special prowess of a hero in terms of a divine indwelling such as could hardly have been imagined by an Āryan?⁵⁸

In later Indian art and legend Kṛṣṇa almost always appears as ‘the Dark One’. Now the Dark People are the Dasyus, by contrast with the fair Āryans. What more likely than that the Pāṇḍavas in their extremity should have called in to aid them a chieftain and warrior of the other race, that this warrior by his services in battle secured incorporation into the family of the conquerors, but that his distinctiveness was never forgotten? If so, it may be thought possible that the intruder brought in with him a concept of the divine unknown to the Aryans, of a god who could say to his worshipper ‘thou art dear to me’ (*BG*, XVIII.64), and make the promise that ‘by his grace thou shalt win to peace supreme, the eternal resting place’ (XVIII.62). We shall have occasion later to note the strength of the affirmation in Hindu

tradition that *bhakti* was born in the south – and the south is *par excellence* the land of the Dravidian. It is at least possible that this crowning achievement of Hindu faith came about through the union of the Āryan awareness of the transcendence of the divine with a Dravidian sense of the possibility of its immanence.

For more than two thousand years Hindu society has been held together by the caste system. Amid all the shifting complexities of Hindu life and thought this remains constant. To be a Hindu, no more is necessary than to believe in transmigration and reincarnation, and to have been born into one of the Hindu castes. There is no other way of becoming a Hindu; into one caste a man is born, and in that he must remain. His greatest merit, and the possibility of reward in another existence, arises from the punctilious fulfilment of the duties of his caste. The system has given to Indian society immense stability and has enabled it to hold firm through all the vicissitudes of invasion, disaster and change. Man and woman alike know their appointed place in society and can fulfil with rectitude the duties enjoined upon them in the moment of birth.⁵⁹

In the *Rg Veda* there is only the one allusion to the traditional division of society into four castes.⁶⁰ By the time of the *Bhagavadgītā*, caste and caste-duty are recognised as firmly established. Much of the argument, especially in the Second Reading, turns on the duty laid on Arjuna by his birth as a Kṣatriya to fight and to kill. Many theories of the origin of caste have been held; none perhaps is adequate to account for all the complex phenomena of the system. It is possible, however, that we have here again to do with the age-long tension between Āryan and non-Āryan. *Varṇa*, one of the commonest terms for caste, means 'colour'. Āryans are white: Dravidians are black, or as near as makes no difference.⁶¹ The Āryans had come into India as roving pastoral bands, in which presumably there were many more men than women. Inevitably the conquerors took wives from among the darker people. The Āryans saw their distinctiveness disappearing, being swamped in the ocean of the darker people. It would seem a simple solution to decree that, in the event of such unions taking place, the children would belong to the group of their mother and not to that of their father. The distinction between the 'twice-born' and the rest, once made, was to become a deeply rooted part of the Indian view of society, and an essential part of the Indian religious consciousness.

For a century the eyes of scholars have been so dazzled by the brilliance of Āryan civilisation that little attention was paid to the Dravidian world, and to what may have been happening in it in the period under survey. But the suggestions made in these pages as to the possible effects of the Dravidian presence on Āryan language, culture and religion make it desirable to round

off the picture of the Indian background by giving some attention to what was happening in the mainly Dravidian areas of the south, in which Āryan penetration had begun before the end of the period we are surveying but was still far short of total dominance.

It had come to be taken almost for granted that the south had no civilisation of its own, and that it entered into the civilised world only through stimulation from the Āryan north. This is a view that can no longer be sustained. The study of the megalithic monuments of the Deccan, as yet very imperfectly carried out, indicates the presence of a considerable civilisation centuries before the beginning of the Christian era. Recent studies of the diffusion of iron in India indicate that the art of smelting was known in South India from a very early date, and quite possibly through local discovery rather than through a process of cultural diffusion from the north.⁶²

The somewhat tenuous evidences of bare archaeology have now been reinforced by the discovery and elucidation of inscriptions in the Brāhmī script, some of which certainly date from a period earlier than the beginning of the Christian era. The first discovery was made in 1903. In the course of the next sixty years sixty-six inscriptions from twenty-one sites have become known. The script in which they are written is almost identical with the Maurya Brāhmī script as this is known from the Aśoka pillars found at Yerragudi, Brahmagiri and other sites in the south. The inscriptions support the evidence of the most ancient Tamil literature that the language has undergone comparatively few changes in the course of two thousand years.⁶³

In the field of religion the evidence of the inscriptions is of special interest. They make it plain that at this early date both the Buddhist and the Jain faiths had penetrated South India. Our chief authority Dr S. Mahādevan writes: 'There is clear evidence in the inscriptions that the natural caverns with the rock-cut beds were occupied by monks as well as nuns of both the Buddhist and the Jain religions.'⁶⁴ The term *thavira* (Sanskrit *sthavira*) is used for a monk; and *amannan* (Sanskrit *śramana*) for a Jain ascetic.

When the Āryans reached the south, they found a strong pre-Āryan tradition in both language and culture. As to the pre-Āryan religion of the Dravidian peoples, few confident assertions can at present be made. The earliest existing Tamil literature belongs to a period later than that dealt with in this chapter, and archaeology has so far yielded little that is relevant. We may conjecture that the early Dravidians had gods many and lords many, and that they worshipped the powers of nature and of fertility. But language suggests that the idea of a single supreme deity was not absent from the Dravidic mind.

What has been recorded so far has been based mainly on written records, many of them of the highest literary quality, and on religious manifestations as these are seen in architecture, statuary and painting. It has to be remembered that this is, in reality, only a small part of the picture. In India, the vast mass of the population still lives, from the religious point of view, on the level of what used to be called 'animism'.⁶⁵ Characteristic of religion on this level is belief in local and localised spirits, many of which are evil, malicious and harmful to man, and therefore have to be propitiated, often by the shedding of blood. Some spirits, however, are beneficent, though they may turn against their worshippers if their due claims to honour are not recognised. Belief in magic, both black and white, in witchcraft, and in the power of the evil eye, is almost universal. There is belief in survival after death, but in most cases in misty rather than in definite form. The idea of one supreme god is not wholly absent, but in most cases such a god is thought of as remote, and no worship is offered to him. Since many of the cults are local, and great variety obtains from district to district, generalisation is difficult.⁶⁶ And, since change and development belong to religion, in its simpler as well as in its more elaborate forms, it is impossible to infer with certainty from the present to the past, and to say that, because things are so today, they were so also three thousand years ago. But the study of artistic traditions, genuinely Indian and uninfluenced by forces from outside, does suggest a real continuity. The extraordinarily vivid sculptures which are to be found on village temples and shrines all over India, some of which appear to be ancient, suggest that some at least of the deities and spirits whom we encounter in the Indian village of today stand in a line of direct descent from ancestors who existed long before the beginning of the Christian era.⁶⁷

The religious systems and movements of which mention has so far been made were of indigenous growth, if not of indigenous origin. The Āryans had come in as foreigners and invaders; but they had been in India so long that any sense of foreignness had long since worn off. The religion with which they entered India was in all probability closely related to the general religious traditions of the Āryan peoples;⁶⁸ but all the developments of the *Vedānta* and of later Hinduism took place on Indian soil, and are without close parallels in other parts of the Āryan world. Greek influences were present for a considerable period, but these were less profound than might have been expected, and such influences as there were can hardly be traced at all in the sphere of religion. The Indian religious scene is a scene of *Indian* religions. In the period which followed, India was to be exposed to religious, no less than to military and cultural, invasion. Islam and Christianity were to penetrate the Indian world, and to establish themselves as significant features of the common life of India. A small Zoroastrian community was

also to find a home in India. All this happened after the beginning of the Christian era. But there may be one small exception to the general rule, and of this brief notice should be taken.

Small communities of Jews have certainly existed in India for a very long time. There are the Bene-Israel in and around Bombay, and the separated but related communities of the White and the Black Jews in Cochin in Kerala.

Various views are held as to the date at which Jews first arrived in India. Some, taking the loan words for apes and peacocks in the Hebrew Old Testament (1 Kings 15: 22, 2 Chronicles 9: 22) as Tamil in origin, have dreamed of an active commerce between the realm of King Solomon and South India, at about the time at which the hymns of the *R̥g Veda* were being composed. There is no corroborative evidence.

The Indian scholar G.M. Moraes has put forward the view that the Bene-Israel must have come to India before the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem. He adduces the fact that this Jewish community has retained the custom of animal sacrifice, which has been abandoned in the rest of the Jewish world ever since the destruction of Herod's temple by the Romans in AD 70.⁶⁹

The Cochin Jews claim that their ancestors came to India shortly after the destruction of the Temple. This has been accepted by a number of writers; among whom Moraes mentions among other sources the report of Galetti and others on *The Dutch in Malabar* (Madras, 1911). There is nothing inherently improbable in this tradition; without doubt there was a wide dispersion of the Jews in the years following the great disaster of the Jewish war of AD 66–70. Mr Moraes elaborates a good deal further when he writes

St Thomas must also have come to Muziris [Cranganore] drawn by the existence of a well-established colony, for though the documents now in possession of the Jews do not go back to a remote antiquity, there is no reason why they should not be considered as having migrated to India along with the Yavanas [Greeks], if not earlier.⁷⁰

This is to strain the evidence further than it will go. All that we can say is that the tapestry of India's religious life may have been enriched before the beginning of the Christian era by the presence of a number of Jews,⁷¹ and of a religion very different in character from those of Indian origin.

If Christianity came to India, as some believe, in the first century AD, it was confronted by a wide range of religious beliefs and traditions. Hinduism was there in all of its many varieties, especially in the three major forms which have been outlined above. Jainism and Buddhism had expanded from the areas of their first foundation, until in some parts of India they threatened to

undermine Hinduism completely. Beneath the religions with a great literary tradition there were the usages of the village folk, with many elements of terror and only a few of hope and consolation. In every confrontation of religions there will be elements of attraction and repulsion. The Christian, with his unvarying emphasis on the unity of God, could not but be repelled by what he understood as polytheism in all its forms. He could allow no place for magic, and for the cruelty which sometimes accompanies belief on that level. But, as he became aware of the preoccupation of the Hindu mind with the One and with the monotheism that seemed to be striving to come to birth, and still more as he became aware of the deep Hindu longing for fellowship with the unseen, of the yearning of the Buddhist for release, of the striving of the *bhakta* for oneness with the divine, he could not but be attracted, and feel the possibility of dialogue in place of denunciation.

But the history could not be simple. There were long periods of mutual misunderstanding, making anything more than a rather uneasy co-existence impossible. The natural tendency of the human mind to reject the strange and new made difficult any ready acceptance by India of the alien ideas of the Gospel. Indifference sometimes turned into hostility, hostility occasionally to active persecution. But the Christians held on; and willy-nilly the Indian faiths and the Christian faith were influenced and modified by one another. The story which follows is one of ups and downs, of constantly shifting lights and shadows, and not of victorious and triumphant Christian advance. But Christianity has maintained itself in India through the centuries, and has established its right to be regarded as one of the Indian faiths. It is this that makes imperative the attempt to see it at all times against the Indian background, and to interpret its history as that of an endless dialogue with the other forms of religious faith by which it has been surrounded.

2 · Christianity Comes to India

I THE THOMAS TRADITION AND NORTH INDIA

And while he thus spake and thought, it chanced that there was there a certain merchant come from India whose name was Abbanes, sent from the King Gundaphorus, and having commandment from him to buy a carpenter and bring him unto him.

Now the Lord seeing him walking in the market-place at noon said unto him: Wouldest thou buy a carpenter? And he said to him: Yea. And the Lord said to him: I have a slave that is a carpenter and I desire to sell him. And so saying he showed him Thomas afar off, and agreed with him for three litrae of silver unstamped, and wrote a deed of sale, saying: I, Jesus, the son of Joseph the carpenter, acknowledge that I have sold my slave, Judas by name, unto thee Abbanes, a merchant of Gundaphorus, king of the Indians. And when the deed was finished, the Saviour took Judas Thomas and led him away to Abbanes the merchant; and when Abbanes saw him he said unto him: Is this thy master? And the apostle said: Yea, he is my Lord. And he said: I have bought thee of him. And the apostle held his peace.

The story of the coming of Christianity to India cannot start in any place other than the opening chapters of the *Acts of Thomas*.¹ This extensive and interesting work was almost certainly written in Syriac, perhaps in the third century after Christ. It exists also in Greek, in two late and considerably interpolated Latin versions, and in Armenian; some sections have been found also in Ethiopic. This variety of versions indicates the popularity of the work in ancient times. In its present form the *Acts* is a Gnostic work, and among other things may be described as a strong dissuasive against marriage.

The section that deals with the coming of Thomas to India reports that, when the apostles were together in Jerusalem and divided the world among them, the lot to go to India fell to Thomas, who in Syriac sources alone is called Judas Thomas. He refused, saying 'I am a Hebrew man; how can I go among the Indians and preach the truth?' Whereupon the Lord devised the plan described in the paragraph quoted above, and, in spite of his refusal,

Thomas finds himself constrained to go to India.

On arrival, he is brought before King Gundaphorus, and asked what crafts he understands. He replies: 'In wood: ploughs, yokes, goads, pulleys and boats and oars and masts; and in stone: pillars, temples, and court-houses for kings.' The apostle is accordingly commissioned to build a palace for the king; but, instead of doing so, distributes all that he receives as alms to the poor. When this is brought to light, the king is naturally dissatisfied by the apostle's affirmation: 'Thou canst not see [the palace] now, but when thou departest this life *then* thou shalt see it.' Thomas is thrown into gaol, but released when Gad the king's brother, who had died, is allowed to return to earth and report on the palace which he has seen in heaven (c. 22). So the story ends happily, with the liberation of Thomas and the baptism of the king and his brother.

Later in the work Thomas is found in the kingdom of Misdaeus (Syr. Mazdai), where his successful preaching of the way of sexual abstinence arouses the anger of the king. Misdaeus decides to put him to death: 'and when they had walked one mile, he delivered him unto four soldiers and an officer, and commanded them to take him into the mountain and there pierce him with spears and put an end to him, and return again to the city' (c. 164). So, when the apostle had prayed, 'he said unto the soldiers: Come hither and accomplish the commandments of him that sent you. And the four came and pierced him with their spears, and he fell down and died' (c. 168).

Students of early Christian writings had come to regard the *Acts of Thomas* as valuable evidence for the views of Christians in Mesopotamia in the third century, but to discount the possibility of there being any historical element in its highly romantic stories² – until King Gondopharnes emerged from the mists of fancy on to the clear stage of undeniable history.

The wizard who performed the remarkable feat of bringing Gondopharnes back to life was that most enigmatic of European adventurers on the north-west frontier of India, Charles Masson. Though this was the name under which he passed, and though he claimed to be an American citizen, Masson was almost certainly an Englishman, James Lewis (though this may also have been an assumed name), who somewhere about 1826 deserted from the Bengal European Artillery, but made himself so useful to the British as an agent in Afghanistan that in 1835 he was granted a royal pardon and was eventually able to return to England.³ Masson was clearly a man of some education and of great though untrained ability. During an extended stay in the Kabul Valley he devoted himself to the study of antiquities, with the success of a pioneer in an almost untrodden field. In 1833 he began digging at Begram, the ancient Kāpisa, and brought back from it 1,565 copper coins and 14 of gold and silver.⁴ Masson brought back to history a

number of kings who were unknown or had been entirely forgotten. Among them was Vindapharna ('the winner of glory', Persian), the varieties in the form of whose name as written on the coins (Gūdnaphar in Syriac, Hindopheres in Greek) are due simply to the attempts to represent in various tongues a name derived from an unfamiliar language.

With the help of the coins alone it has been possible to reconstruct a good deal of the history of the 'king of India' of the *Acts of Thomas*. It is almost certain that Gondopharnes, who calls himself 'the Great King, Supreme King of Kings', came to the throne in AD 16 and was still reigning in AD 45, including in his dominions a part of what is now Iran, Afghanistan, and areas of north-western India. But by AD 78 the line of the Parthian kings had come to an end, having been supplanted by the people from Central Asia, the Yueh-chi, better known by their Indian name as the Kuṣāṇa rulers, the most notable of whom, Kaniṣka, appears to have reigned from AD 78 onwards.⁵ We have no means of knowing how it came about that the name of Gondopharnes,⁶ whose line and succession had wholly vanished from the earth, was still remembered in a Syriac-speaking country at least a century, and perhaps considerably more than a century, after his death. It appears that there had been more contact between north-west India and the countries now known as Iran and Iraq than had been generally supposed.

The historic coincidence is certainly remarkable; but it is important not to build on it a structure heavier than it will bear. A number of scholars, among whom are to be mentioned with respect Bishop A.E. Medlycott,⁷ J.N. Farquhar⁸ and the Jesuit J. Dahlmann⁹ have built up on slender foundations what can only be called Thomas romances, such as reflect the vividness of their imaginations rather than the prudence of rigid historical critics. Fr Dahlmann himself has given us the warning: 'It might well be that some geographical and historical features – names of historical personalities, events the historical reality of which is undoubted, geographical indications which correspond to reality – might be woven into the web of the story, and in spite of this the tradition in itself might be entirely lacking in historical credibility.'¹⁰

Among the historical realities, the following may be recognised:

Just at the time in which the New Testament was taking shape, there existed a powerful Parthian kingdom in north-west India and some lands adjacent to it.

There is every reason to believe that this was a cosmopolitan kingdom, in which Greeks and Bactrians, Scythians and Indians and others rubbed shoulders with one another.

Taxilā (Takṣaśilā) was a great city in which there may have been a considerable amount of intellectual activity. We know from the Buddhist work *Milinda-pañha* that Buddhism, which had recently been introduced

in this area but was making great strides, was a subject of living discussion.¹¹

Almost certainly trade was active between the realm of Gondopharnes and the lands of Central Asia and of the Middle East, both across the mountain passes and from the Persian Gulf by sea to the mouth of the Indus.

It is probable that there would be communities of Mesopotamian merchants in the great cities of the area, and especially in the capital. The presence of Christians among them at an early date is possible, though there is no direct evidence to support the suggestion.

Such communities, if they existed, may well have been disrupted in the course of the disorders resulting in the replacement of the Parthian by the Kuṣāṇa rulers. Persian Christian merchants, returning to their homeland, may have carried with them recollections of the time that they had spent in India, and the name of the king under whom they had lived.

The presence of Christians in cities at or near the mouth of the Indus cannot be regarded as unlikely. Traffic between the Persian Gulf and that area has always been active. If Christian merchants had come from Persia and settled in that area, they would almost certainly bring with them the Thomas tradition.

It is impossible to show any continuity between such communities and the scattered groups of Nestorians found in various parts of India in later times; but the existence of such groups does suggest a quiet penetration of India by Christians from the Middle East over many years.

Early Christian communities, if they ever existed, may have been gradually eliminated, as the Arabs took complete possession of the Indian seas.

Bishop Medlycott has collected many references to Thomas and India from Syriac breviaries, hymns and other liturgical sources. One striking example may be quoted by way of illustration; in one of the hymns of Ephrem, who died in AD 373, we read:

Lo, in India are thy miracles, O Thomas,
and in our land thy triumph,
and everywhere thy festival . . .
The sunburnt India thou has made fair . . .
a tainted land of dark people thou hast purified.
More than snow and white linen
the dark bride of India thou hast made fair . . .
the crown of light has obliterated India's darkened shades.¹²

This confirms what we know already from the *Acts of Thomas* – that from the middle of the third century there was a strong tradition in Edessa linking

India with the work of the apostle Thomas. But we are no nearer identifying the part of India which Thomas is supposed to have visited. If there were Christian communities of Persian origin in the Indus region, they may well have laid claim to a share in the Thomas tradition, and so followed the example of many other churches in trying to establish for their own church links with an apostolic origin.

There are a few indications in other sources of a connection between the Thomas story and the presence of Christians in north-western India.

Too much stress must not be laid on Bishop John, who at the council of Nicaea signed himself as 'bishop of the Great India and Persia'. Some have supposed this solitary Persian at an assembly of Greek bishops¹³ to be no more than an invention, intended perhaps to convey the truly ecumenical character of the great gathering. It is not, however, necessary to carry scepticism quite so far. Eusebius of Caesarea, who was present at the council, says expressly that 'a certain bishop from Persia took part in the synod'.¹⁴ But the interpretation of the brief notice is not easy. We are not told of what See John was bishop. It is, of course possible that there were Christians in India at the time of the council of Nicaea. If so, it seems probable that they were Persian or Mesopotamian merchants resident in India for the purpose of trade rather than Christians of Indian ethnic origin. In that case, they would naturally come under the jurisdiction of a Persian prelate.¹⁵ To assume the existence of flourishing Indian churches with bishops and clergy from among their own people goes beyond the evidence that we have.

2 THE THOMAS TRADITION AND SOUTH INDIA

Some of the available evidence points to the presence of Christians in north-west India, or in neighbouring territories which do not form part of India or Pakistan as these are defined today. A different tradition associates the apostle Thomas not with north India but with the south; those who call themselves by the honourable name of the Thomas Christians were till recently found exclusively in the south-western region known as Kerala.

If the apostle Thomas, one of the twelve apostles of Jesus of Nazareth, had wished to take ship and go to India, there was nothing to prevent his doing so. Ample evidence exists to show the range and vigour of the commerce between India and the western world in the first two centuries of our era.

The history of this commerce reaches back into a far distant past. But a new period opened when Greek navigators became aware of the two monsoons, and of the practicability of journeys to India far more rapid than those of earlier days.

Tradition has identified one Hippalus as the first mariner bold enough to set his tiller and his sails, and to sally forth into the open waters of the Arabian sea. Since the monsoon wind came to be called the 'Hippalus wind', it is possible that Hippalus is the name not so much of an identifiable individual as of an 'ancient mariner'.¹⁶ The date at which the discovery was made is of some historical importance. A date in the reign of Claudius (AD 41-58) has been assigned to the discovery by a number of scholars; but there is reason to think that the process started a good deal earlier than this, perhaps even before the beginning of the Christian era. The working out of the direct route took place in stages. Those who first abandoned the tedious coast-route sailed across from the south coast of Arabia to Patala at the mouth of the Indus. At a later stage the voyage was shortened by taking a route which led to the Indian coast at or in the neighbourhood of Barygāza (Broach). Finally the mariners discovered that, leaving the Red Sea in July, 'they could by throwing the ship's head off the wind with a constant pull of the rudder and a shift of the yard (thus sailing in an arc of a circle) go across to Malabar marts in forty days'.¹⁷

That these calculations are not far from the mark is made evident by the discoveries of Roman coins, all of gold and silver, which have been going on in South India for just two centuries (the first was made in 1775). The most notable feature in these hoards, some of them very large, is that among the coins those of the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius predominate. Those from a period after the reign of Nero are much less numerous. This brings the high point of Roman commerce with India precisely into that period in which we are specially interested, the first sixty years of the first century AD.

Further confirmation has been afforded by the discovery in 1945 of a Roman commercial settlement at Arikkamedu in the neighbourhood of Pondichéri. Fragments of pottery of the Arretine ware from Italy make it possible to date the settlement in the early years of the first century.¹⁸ Sir Mortimer Wheeler, the first excavator, is able to state confidently that

the Hippalus may now be assumed therefore to have been in full and undisguised use at the end of the reign of Augustus (died AD 14): and coincidentally the assumption gives a new actuality to the statement of Strabo, writing under Augustus, that from the Egyptian port of Myos Hormos alone 120 ships left for the East every year.¹⁹

In one other respect the discovery is important. The presence of a Roman settlement on the east coast of India shows clearly that the Western merchants of those days had discovered the existence of the Pālghāt gap.²⁰ The mountains of India run almost as far as its southern tip, ending in the magnificent cliff known as the Nose of Comorin, not much less than 6,000

feet (1,830 m) in height and a landmark for sailors far out to sea. But at one point, a hundred and twenty miles to the north, the mountain chain is broken by a gap in which the land does not rise above 1,200 feet. In modern times this is naturally the route followed by both railway and high road from west to east. A map showing the places at which Roman coins have been discovered (such as that given by Mortimer Wheeler in fig. 16, p. 130), makes it evident at a glance that in Roman times this was a great trade route, and that one of the points at which that trade route would debouch on the Bay of Bengal would be precisely Arikamedu.

Our main source of information for the voyage from the Roman world to India is the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, the *Circumnavigation of the Red Sea*, a work written apparently in the last quarter of the first century AD.²¹ It is clearly based on personal knowledge, and is full and accurate as far as Cape Comorin; for the further reaches of India and for what lies beyond, the writer's information is scrappy, and depends on what he has heard from others rather than on what he has seen himself. This strengthens the view that, once the Pālghāt gap was known to exist, mariners from the West avoided the long and dangerous route round Ceylon,²² just as the Greek sailor preferred the isthmus of Corinth to the stormy seas of Cape Matapan, and carried on one important stage of his commerce by land. The Western trader in India lived in almost total ignorance of Ceylon. The *Periplus* is very much a mariner's handbook. It gives only such information as is likely to be of value and interest to sailors and merchants. It tells us little of the manners and customs of the peoples of India in that period, and the subject of religion is not even so much as mentioned.

The *Periplus* indicates that the regular landfall for sailors coming with the Hippalus wind was Muziris. This has been identified, almost certainly, with Cranganore (Malayālam: Koṭuṇaḷḷūr), today through the shifting of the coastline only an insignificant village but for centuries one of the great ports of southern India and a place of considerable importance in the Christian history of Kerala. A name which constantly appears in the later sources is Quilon (Malayālam: Kollam), and this is even at the present day a port of some importance. The Greek and Roman mariners, after their voyage from Myos Hormos with the monsoon, would probably arrive in Indian waters about the end of August. Having done their business in three months or so, they would return with the other monsoon in November and December, thus completing the round trip in six months or a little more. They would carry with them merchandise of many kinds, but above all spices and pearls, and would leave behind them vast quantities of the precious metals, of which only a small part has so far been revealed by the spade of the archaeologist.

This is the world into which it is alleged that the apostle Thomas penetrated.²³

None of the written accounts concerning the mission of Thomas which have been preserved in India is ancient. It would not, however, be wise to sweep them all away as having no historical value. Oral traditions linger long in the East. In all the Syriac sources relating to the early history of the Thomas Christians and to the coming of Thomas to India, certain features constantly recur, and through all the differences a common pattern appears.

A Syriac manuscript of the year 1770 may serve as a starting point for inquiry.²⁴

Here it is reported that Thomas went first to Mylapore (Mayilāpuri), a place on the Coromandel Coast just south of Madras. Then he passed to the hill country of Chērakōn.²⁵ At that time there was no king, but there were thirty-two *grāmas* (village communities) and thirty-two chieftains held sway.²⁶ There many believed and were baptised. In each of the two *grāmas*, Sāṅkarapuri and Pakalomarṛam,²⁷ the apostle appointed one priest. And setting forth again he preached the Way, and he built there seven churches – Kōtta-Kāyalil, Gōkamangalam, Niranam, Chayil, Kurakēni, Quilon and Palūr.

After this he itinerated in Malabar for thirty years; and, having gone again to preach the Gospel in the Pāṇḍi (Tamil) country, on the way as he went an Embran (Brāhman) casting a dart smote him, and he was buried in the little mount of Mylapore. And angels carried him to Urāha (Edessa).

The number of seven churches constantly recurs, though there are variations in the names. G. Milne Rae gives the list as Cranganore, Quilon, Palūr, Parur, Pallipuram or Kokamangalam, Niraṇam, Nellakkal also called Chael or Shail.²⁸ A. Mingana translates a letter written in Syriac by Mar Thomas the bishop of Malabar in 1721 to the Dutch scholar Charles Schaaf of Leiden.²⁹ Here the list appears in another form – Mailapo, Corignalore, Parakar, Irapalli, Kokamaglam, Niraṇam and Tiribancore.³⁰

Thomas the apostle is represented in this source as having spent the greater part of his time in India in Kerala and there to have had great success in his mission. Of the seven churches he is said to have founded, all with one exception are to be found not far from the coast and in the areas in which to this day Christians form a large part of the population.³¹ On the other hand, none of the traditions speaks of his having suffered martyrdom in Kerala. This is everywhere reported as having taken place in the Pāṇḍiyan country, that is on the Coromandel or eastern coast of India, and the name of Mylapore, the city of peacocks, constantly recurs in the story. The assassination of the apostle is invariably ascribed to a Brāhman or Brāhmans. European travellers who managed to reach India before the opening of the sea-way by Vasco de Gama in 1498 report the presence of Nestorian Christians in the neighbourhood of Mylapore. Thus Marco Polo, who was there in 1293, asserts without hesitation that 'the Body of Messer

St Thomas the Apostle lies in the province of Maabar at a certain little town having no great population . . . Both Christians and Saracens also do hold the Saint in great reverence.’³² The state of the case at a later date was summed up by Paulinus da San Bartolomeo (John Philip Wesdin), who writes: ‘All the Christians of the East, Catholics and heretics like the Nestorians, Jacobites, Armenians, the Catholics of Bengal, Pegu, Siam, Ceylon, Malabar and Hindustan, come to make their devotions, and this alone is sufficient to confirm the ancient and universal tradition that St Thomas died at Mylapore.’³³

3 THE PORTUGUESE TAKE A HAND

When the Portuguese arrived in India, they found the Thomas tradition widely accepted, and were shown the church at Mylapore in which it was held that the apostle had been buried in a chapel on the gospel side;³⁴ it was affirmed that in a corresponding chapel on the epistle side was a grave of a Christian king named Thomas Mudaliyar.³⁵ The church was in a ruinous condition, but the choir with a dome above it was still standing. This first report dates from 1517.

In 1523 it was feared that the dome might collapse, and it was decided that the grave of the apostle, which formed part of the foundation of the dome, must be excavated. This was duly carried out on a Saturday and Sunday in July 1523.³⁶ The investigators first found loose earth to a depth of three spans; the four walls (of the grave) had been built up with bricks and whitewashed.³⁷ When this had been removed, they came upon a layer of bricks and mortar two spans thick, then upon a further depth of loose earth three spans thick, then on a second layer of bricks and mortar like the first. Here they were inclined to stop the work, thinking that they had reached the bottom of the grave. But Diogo Fernandes urged his companions to go deeper yet. So they broke through the brick covering and found underneath it three spans of earth, and under that a layer of cement two spans thick, so hard that they had difficulty in breaking it up with their iron crowbars. When they had removed the cement, they found two slabs of stone bound together and without any inscription, which covered the entire space. These were removed, and then a further layer of loose earth was revealed. (Here the work of Saturday ceased; but next morning, Sunday, all came again to the work.) At this point the brick lining of the walls came to an end. Then three or four more spans of earth were removed, and they had reached a depth of 15/16 spans.³⁸ Here they found a bed of sand, and of lime which had crumbled into dust. Then they came at once upon bones – of a skull, then of ribs, then parts of a whole body. They found also an earthenware jar, which could hold an *almude* (16.54 litres), full of earth, at the foot of the

grave. A thigh bone was sticking out from it; and inside it was the blade of a 'Malabaric' lance or spear in the shape of an olive-leaf (text B), perfectly preserved, and in the shaft part of a piece of wood.

They took all the fragments of bone, which were very much decayed, and the Rev. Fathers placed them in a chest, which they did not fill. The bones together made up far less than a complete human skeleton. These bones, and others found in the course of the excavations, were carefully placed in a Chinese chest, which had two silver locks.

The original simple story of the martyrdom came gradually to be encrusted with all manner of legends. There are two hills at Mylapore. All tradition points to the smaller hill as the scene of the martyrdom. But, when in 1547 an ancient cross was discovered on the larger hill rather more than a mile away from the smaller, the two hills were combined in the tradition, in the form that the apostle was wounded to death on the smaller hill but managed to escape to the larger hill and died there. Marco Polo records a strange story which he had heard when he visited Mylapore:

The Saint was in the wood outside his hermitage saying his prayers; and round about him were many peacocks, for these are more plentiful in that country than anywhere else. And one of the idolaters of that country, being of the lineage of those called Govi that I told you of,³⁹ having gone with his bow and arrows to shoot peafowl, not seeing the Saint, let fly an arrow at one of the peacocks; and this arrow struck the holy man in the right side, insomuch that he died of the wound, sweetly addressing himself to his Creator.⁴⁰

A yet more bizarre version reports that a hunter, seeing a number of peacockes, aimed at a specially handsome bird and pierced it with an arrow. 'All the birds rose up, but the wounded one turned into a man and fell down to the ground. When the body was examined, it was found to be that of St Thomas. Impressions of human feet were also found in the slab from which the bird had risen when wounded.'⁴¹

To discern what measure of truth underlies this curious collection of legends is no easy task.

It is certain that the Portuguese excavated a tomb, that all the evidence suggests that this was a genuinely ancient tomb of a rather unusually elaborate kind, and that in the tomb they found human bones in an advanced state of decay. But whether these were Christian bones, and if so, who was the Christian whose bones they were, there is no evidence of any kind to show.

Some would sweep away the evidence of the tomb as affording no ground for certainty of any kind. A Jesuit historian of considerable experience in India, Fr H. Heras SJ, writes: 'Some early Portuguese writers have kept the details of the original account, and these details are quite enough for disclosing the untruthfulness of the discovery.'⁴²

An Indian scholar, T.K. Thomas, has gone even further. Pointing out that the tomb excavated by the Portuguese lay north-south, according to Muslim custom, and not east-west, as in the Christian tradition, he maintains that the grave was that of a Muslim holy man, and that the Muslims who venerated the tomb were right in thinking that they were reverencing one of their own, a Saracen holy man who came from Nubia.⁴³

Few would perhaps go so far in a negative direction. A mediating position is well expressed by Bishop L.W. Brown:

We cannot prove that the Apostle worked in south India any more than we can disprove that fact; but the presence of Christians of undoubtedly ancient origin holding firmly to the tradition [and other favourable factors] may for some incline the balance to belief that the truth of the tradition is a reasonable probability. The evidence we have cannot do more than this.⁴⁴

4 EVIDENCES LITERARY AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL

If we turn from the world of tradition and legend to that of written history and of archaeology, and ask at which point the existence of an ancient Church in India can be established by these more solid evidences, the answer cannot be in any doubt; the earliest evidence which can be regarded as fully convincing is to be found in the *Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes, a Greek writer of the sixth century AD.⁴⁵

‘Cosmas’, to give him the name by which he has come to be generally known, was a merchant, a man of not very extensive education, a Nestorian living in that home of orthodoxy Alexandria, who in the years AD 547–9 gave expression to his rather unusual views of cosmography and of the nature of the universe in a work called *Christian Topography*.

In spite of the name by which he has come to be known, it is almost certain that Cosmas had never visited India⁴⁶ and that he was dependent for his information on what he had heard from others. He had travelled widely, but of a voyage to India he gives not a single piece of evidence. This explains why he has so little to say, and that little so vague and unsatisfactory.

In the whole work only two passages come under consideration.

In III.64, where he is dealing with the fulfilment of prophecy, Cosmas writes with enthusiasm of the progress of the Gospel and of the expansion of the church throughout the world:

The church, far from being destroyed, is multiplying, and in the same way the whole world has been filled and continues to be filled with the doctrine of Christ the Master, and the Gospel is being proclaimed in the whole world . . . Even in the Island of Taprobane in inner India, where also the Indian sea is, there is a church of Christians, clergy and believers. I do not know whether there are Christians even beyond Taprobane. The same is true in the place called Male, where the pepper

grows, and in the place called Kaliaana, and there is a bishop appointed [lit. 'consecrated'] from Persia. The same is true of the island called Dioscorides [Socotra] in the same Indian sea.

Book XI, chap. 13 is called 'Concerning the island of Taprobane':

This is the great island in the ocean situated in the Indian sea. By the Indians it is called Sielendipa, among the Greeks Taprobane. There the jacinth stone is found. It lies beyond the country where the pepper grows . . .

This same island has a church of Persian Christians who are resident⁴⁷ in that country, and a priest sent [lit. 'ordained'] from Persia, and a deacon, and all that is requisite for the conduct of the worship of the Church. But the natives and their kings are heathens.⁴⁸

The first problem that confronts the inquirer is that of geographical identification. Male appears to conceal the name Malabar. No other area in the ancient world was so closely associated with the production of pepper and with the spice trade. Kaliaana may well be Quilon, that port town on the coast of Kerala which appears in so many of our sources and in such a diversity of forms.⁴⁹ But what and where is Taprobane? The name, and the identification of this island with Ceylon, go back at least as far as Megasthenes (300 BC). But the evidence must be regarded as very dubious. The ancients show themselves astonishingly ignorant of the exact location of the island, and make ludicrous guesses as to its extent and its size. Apart from this one passage of Cosmas, there is no reference to Christians in Ceylon; if they had existed earlier, they must have died out before the period at which information about the island becomes more plentiful. In no eastern source is the name Taprobane given to Ceylon. Cosmas himself shows that he knows the correct name Sielendīpa. In the second half of this word there is no difficulty in recognising the Sanskrit *dvīpa*, island.⁵⁰ The first half is near enough to the Zeilon or Ceylon, by which later Western writers regularly refer to the island.

There is, however, one strong candidate for identification with Taprobane. The last of the great rivers of South India, the Tāmraparṇī, never goes completely dry even in the most burning of hot seasons, and is therefore held sacred by the inhabitants. At its mouth were the great trading centres of Korkai (the 'Kolchoi' of the Greeks) and Kāyal. The Greeks and Romans had only vague information as to anything which lay beyond Cape Comorin. But if traders, avoiding the long and stormy voyage round Ceylon, had taken the land-route and established themselves at Arikkamedu, not many years would pass before they would become aware of these southern ports. If there were groups of Christian merchants in other seaport towns, why not also in those of the Tāmraparṇī estuary? Word of such groups might have penetrated westwards, and they might have been wrongly

located in Ceylon owing to the false identification of Taprobane made by the Greek and Roman writers long before.⁵¹

The two passages of Cosmas continue to stress one of the most remarkable features in the life of the church of the Thomas Christians of South India. Through the centuries this church has never managed to become either wholly independent or wholly indigenous. Until comparatively recent times its metropolitan was always a foreigner sent by the patriarch of Babylon (later, of Antioch). Through the centuries it retained Syriac as its liturgical language, and never translated, in written form, into Malayālam, the language understood of the people, even so much as the liturgical Gospels. Dr Percival Spear has given what is probably the correct explanation for this strange phenomenon – these were measures of self-protection. A small Christian community surrounded by masses of Hindus would be in constant danger of inanition by assimilation. Contact with a foreign country and the use of a foreign language would be elements of distinctiveness very useful in such a situation, just as the continued use of the Welsh language has done much to preserve the distinctiveness of the remarkable community of Welsh farmers in Patagonia.

Some questions still remain to be answered. Cosmas depicts for us a church of foreigners, merchants who had come to India on their business just as he himself had travelled on his affairs, and some of whom had settled down without thereby losing their national identity. When the Portuguese discovered the ancient church at the beginning of the sixteenth century, it was clearly an Indian church, though not without memories, and some evidences, of origins elsewhere. When did the change from foreign community to indigenous church take place? Was the Indian church in its origins purely a body of foreign traders? Was Garbe right in attributing the presence of Christians in India to violent persecutions in their homeland of Persia?⁵² Or were there, as recorded in the Thomas legends, strong indigenous elements among Christians in India from the very beginning?

The answer to this question must be sought in the story of the relations between India and the West in the first five centuries of the Christian era.

It is possible that Christian interest in India has left its imprint even in the text of the New Testament. In Acts 2: 9–11 the author provides a list of the many peoples represented in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost. Between the eastern peoples and those of Asia Minor we find sandwiched 'Judaea', an inappropriate name, since that was precisely the country in which they were all standing. That the inappropriateness was early felt is shewn by a diversity of readings. Tertullian read 'Armenia' and Jerome 'Syria'. But in the works of Chrysostom we find 'India'. This interesting reading has not been found in any manuscript of the Greek New Testament. In the absence

of direct confirmation of this kind, prudence suggests that it should be taken as evidence of an awareness of India in the mind of the great preacher of fourth-century Antioch rather than as a witness from the apostolic age of the church.⁵³

The same must be said of another passage in the writings of the same Father. In his *Homily on John 2: 2* he tells us that 'Syrians and Egyptians and *Indians* and Persians and Ethiopians and thousands of other races have translated the teachings that have been received from him into their own languages, and so men of barbarian speech have learned to be lovers of wisdom.'⁵⁴ No fragment of any Indian translation of scripture has been preserved from so early a date; Garbe is undoubtedly right when he says that 'this is not historical evidence, but an unconsidered rhetorical expression'.⁵⁵

If one city of the ancient world rather than another is to be selected as a point of contact between West and East, the palm must undoubtedly be assigned to Alexandria, that great cosmopolitan city of trade and commerce, of scholarship and later of Christian controversy.

An amusing light is cast on the possibilities of contact between Alexandria and India by a papyrus of the second century found at Oxyrhynchus in Egypt,⁵⁶ on one side of the which are to be found considerable sections of a farce written probably in the late Hellenistic age. The lady Charition has suffered shipwreck, and finds herself in the hands of barbarians. That these are Indians is made clear by a reference to the Indian sea (l. 215), and also by the king, who speaks quite good Greek as well as some unintelligible jargon, when he addresses his companions as 'Indian chiefs' (l. 90). Various attempts have been made to identify the unknown tongue. G.A. Grierson thought that in *οὐμβρετί* (*oumbreti*) could be recognised the Sanskrit *amṛta*, nectar, and this suits the context remarkably well, since the aim of the shipwrecked Greeks is to effect their escape by making the simple Indians drunk: 'wine is not for sale in these parts' (l. 52). But Professor E. Hultsch has given reasons for thinking that the language is old Kanarese, a not unreasonable suggestion.⁵⁷

We know from an oration of Dio Chrysostom (AD 40–115) that there were Indians in Alexandria in the time of Trajan, but not in large numbers.⁵⁸ In a later oration Dio makes uncomplimentary remarks about Indians; but he is referring not to Indians in Alexandria but to the coastal peoples encountered by Greeks who had made the voyage to India; these peoples did not enjoy a good reputation even among Indians of better social standing. His words afford no evidence as to the social status of Indians in Egypt.

When we look for evidence of Christian, as distinct from general contacts between East and West, we shall naturally turn again to Alexandria.

Not surprisingly it is from Alexandria that one valuable piece of evidence relating to the second century comes down to us. Eusebius of Caesarea tells us that Pantaenus, predecessor of the more famous Clement as head of the catechetical school at Alexandria (c. AD 179),

penetrated even as far as the land of the Indians. He there found his arrival anticipated by the Gospel of Matthew in the hands of some of the local inhabitants who had come to know Christ. It was said that Bartholomew, one of the apostles of Christ, had preached to them, and had left to them the writing of Matthew in Hebrew letters, and that this had been preserved among them till the time of which we speak.

Pantaenus, having carried out many reforms, after his return served as head of the Alexandrian school, commenting on the treasures of divine doctrine, both orally and in his writings.⁵⁹

This note of Eusebius gives rise to a number of questions, which have been answered diversely by scholars.

First, where did Pantaenus go? Some, supposing it unlikely that Pantaenus would have gone so far from home, have opined that he went to Arabia Felix. But there is little to be said in favour of this view. When ships in hundreds were going from Egypt to South India, it is unlikely that anyone in Alexandria would be the victim of such a confusion. A fifth century work, the *Passion of Bartholomew*, tells us that three Indias were known to the Greeks – one near to Ethiopia, that is South India; one nearer to the Medes, that is the Indus delta and the adjoining lands; and one at the end of the world, that is ‘farther India’, which as we are told by Ptolemy (I:14) was discovered by a merchant named Alexander, and is the most easterly of the inhabited lands, beyond it there being nothing but the outermost ocean. It must be taken as probable that South India is the India of Pantaenus.

Even so, it is hardly the case that Pantaenus can be reckoned as among the ‘apostles of India’.⁶⁰ It seems clear that he went at the request of the Christians in India who had heard of the fame of his learning. He went not to make Christians but to find them. In this there is nothing unlikely; many of the early Christians were small traders, and in those days travel was rapid and easy. If Christians who had stayed in India and had become isolated from their base felt the need of fellowship and teaching, Alexandria would be the place to which they would most naturally look, especially if that had been the original home of some of them.

The reference to Bartholomew is perplexing. The name of this apostle does not occur in any other early source relating to India, and in legend he is usually associated with Armenia. Nor is the Gospel of Matthew in Hebrew letters easy to interpret. It has been suggested that this has its source in some tradition recording the presence of strong communities of Jews in the area, presumably Kerala, visited by the preacher.

Not all problems can be solved; but the balance of probability seems to be on the side of the presence of Christians, though probably not of Indian Christians, in India in the second century, and of a visit from a well-known scholar resident in Egypt. There is no mention of Thomas in this tradition.

Not much time need be spent on the view that the earliest 'Christians' in India were in fact Manicheans. This view was put forward a hundred years ago by the distinguished orientalist A.C. Burnell, on the basis of rather flimsy evidence.⁶¹ Manicheanism was from the start a missionary religion. There may have been Manicheans in India at an early date; but such evidence as there is would not justify any more positive statement; and there is no evidence for the existence of Manichean communities in later times.

A faint ray of light reaches us from the end of the third century in a Syriac document translated by Mingana. This tells us that 'during the patriarchate of Shaḥlūpha and Pāpa (AD 293–300), Dudi (David) bishop of Basra (Charax) left his see and went to India, where he evangelized many people'.⁶²

The region in India visited by this bishop cannot be determined with certainty, but some conjecture is possible. Before the end of the third century the Parthians and the Arabs emerged on the Red Sea; travel became dangerous, and communication between Egypt and India was much reduced. If a bishop from the Persian Gulf visited Indian communities *in the Indus region*, the fact would not be so remarkable as to deserve special mention in a chronicle. But if the Persian churches, learning of the destitution of the churches *in South India*, decided to send an emissary to their help, this would indeed indicate a new departure, which could have great significance for the future, and which therefore might be thought worthy of record.

Of the next recorded visitor to India, this time not from an Eastern church but from the very centre of the Roman world, a rather clearer picture can be given. Theophilus the Indian was a native of Socotra (though some think rather of the Maldivé Islands). We are told that about the year 354 the emperor Constantius, whose confidant he was, sent him on a mission first to Arabia and then to India. Unfortunately, we are dependent for information concerning this mission on the Arian Philostorgius, (3: 5), whose history of the Church from AD 313 to 425 was described, perhaps less than charitably, by the patriarch Photius as 'not so much a history as an encomium on the Arians and a vilification of the orthodox'.⁶³ Theophilus on arriving in India,

reformed many things which were not rightly done among them; for they listened to the reading of the Gospel in a sitting position, and did other things which were repugnant to the divine law. So, having reformed everything according to the holy usage as was most acceptable to God, he approved the doctrine of that church. But in doctrine he found that they were in no need of correction, since from the beginning they had confessed the Son to be of another substance than the Father.

The circumstantial reference to a detail of liturgical usage sounds as though it was derived from actual observation; it is just the kind of divergent practice that might well grow up in a small and isolated church, though standing for the Gospel seems to have been one of the earliest and most widely observed elements in the liturgical order of the churches. When it comes to the question of doctrine, we are on less certain ground. Is it likely that the earliest Christians in South India were ever Arians? No other text suggests this. But if some of these Christians did come originally from Alexandria, it is possible that what later developed as Arian doctrine had begun to affect their point of view.

The story of the strengthening of the Indian Church by the coming of Thomas of Cana (or rather *Knāyil*, the merchant) with a large number of immigrants from Jerusalem, Baghdad and Nineveh seems still to dwell in the uncertain land between history and fiction. The tale is told in a great many forms, and all existing accounts are of comparatively recent origin. One account, recorded by W.J. Richards,⁶⁴ runs as follows:

The godly merchant Thomas of Jerusalem was sent to Malabar to investigate the state of the churches there. On his return he reported that they were in a depressed state through the lack of clergy. Not long after, the patriarch sent Joseph the bishop of Urāha (Edessa) with the honoured merchant, and together with him several priests and deacons, and many men, women and children; and they all landed safe at Malabar in the year of our Lord 345. Knāyil Thomas paid a visit to Cherumān Perumāi, king of Malabar, and was favourably received by him, being granted the 72 marks of distinction enjoyed by Brahmans and others of high caste. Moreover they received a grant of land at Kodungalur [Cranganore], and a stake was placed to mark the site for a church.

A different form of the tradition, recorded by Mingana,⁶⁵ adds that 'he invested them also with royal honours inscribed on pieces of copper, which are preserved with us down to the present day'. Copper-plates of a rather later period are in the possession of the Thomas Christians; but nothing has survived from the date to which the arrival of Thomas of Cana is assigned.

Some radical critics would deny to the story any historical basis. They hold that it came into existence simply through a chronological error of nearly five centuries, and by confusion with a later band of immigrants whose coming can be dated with some probability in the first half of the ninth century.

Such radical surgery is not needed. The supposed date of the arrival of Thomas of Cana and his companions coincides with the reign of the Sassanian king, Sapor III, during which persecution of Christians was particularly violent. There are precedents and parallels for emigration in such circumstances. Some have concluded that these refugees were the first Christians in Kerala. But this is not a necessary supposition. We may reckon

with at least the possibility that there were in Kerala Christians of earlier settlements, perhaps still belonging to the Bartholomew tradition. If Thomas of Cana had heard of the existence of these churches, this might be a powerful factor in directing his steps to that region of India. What is certain is that any emigrants from the Mesopotamian regions would have brought with them the Thomas tradition, and the proud assertion of the apostolic origin of their church; if they found that the local Christians were ignorant of this tradition, they would have imparted it to them, and so shared with them the conviction of apostolic origin.

In the fourth century the Christian community in Malabar may have been strengthened by a considerable body of immigrants from Persia or Mesopotamia. Somewhat obscure traditions give a hint of similar strengthening through the coming in of Christians from the Coromandel coast.

The tradition has been handed down in at least two forms.

One states that in the year AD 293 there was a great persecution of Christians in the Coḷa country. This caused the Christians to flee; seventy-two families reached Quilon in safety, and were successfully incorporated into the existing Christian community. It is remarkable that the Malayālam documents in which this story is preserved gives the name of the place from which they came as Kāvēri-pūm-paṭṭanam, the form of the name of this great port town, otherwise known as Puhār, which occurs frequently in the ancient Tamil romances but is rarely found in later sources; and that the believers are specifically identified as belonging to the Vellāḷa community, the great landholding and agricultural caste of the Tamil country which is generally ranked second after the Brāhmans.⁶⁶

The other story is linked to Mylapore and the preaching of St Thomas. Here also the believers are Vellāḷas, traders in gold, silver and precious stones. Sixty-four families accepted the faith. When the local king ordered them to recant and threatened them with death, they fled by night and made their way to Tiruvankōṭ in Kerala. There the king treated them kindly, and gave them land for their houses and for a church.

So far the traditions bear some marks of historical truth. Then follows an addition which lacks all credibility. It is said that a generation later the well-known sorcerer Māṇickavāṇagar arrived among them to subvert their faith, and was so successful that a number of Christians learned Hindu ways and reverted to their old faith. This is clearly absurd. Māṇickavāṇagar was one of the greatest of Tamil poets. But he belonged to a period considerably later than that referred to in the tradition, perhaps as late as the tenth century; and to describe him as a sorcerer must have required a considerable effort of the imagination. Clearly this expansion of the tradition is aetiological. This

immigrant community was known as the Maṇigrāmmakkār. When the true meaning of the term, as a community of tradesmen, was forgotten, the similarity of sound suggested the insertion of the name of one of the most famous of Tamil saints.⁶⁷ But this legend does seem to contain a kernel of historical truth. This immigrant community became divided, one section remaining faithful to its Christian tradition, the other gradually seeking re-incorporation into the Hindu community and acceptance as Nāyars, the high-caste community which most closely corresponds to the Vellālas of the Tamil country. In the census of 1837 they claimed to be Nāyars.⁶⁸ This claim seems to be now accepted; intermarriage with the Nāyars is permitted, and their separation from the Christian community is complete. Those who adhered to the Christian tradition seem in recent times to have achieved complete incorporation into the Jacobite section of the ancient church.⁶⁹

From the seventh century we have a faint gleam of light in a letter from the Nestorian patriarch Isho 'Yahb III (650–60) to Simeon, metropolitan of Riwārdeshir.⁷⁰ The patriarch complains:

As far as your district is concerned, from the time you showed recalcitrance against ecclesiastical canons, the episcopal succession has been interrupted in India, and this country has since sat in darkness, far from the light of divine teaching by means of rightful bishops: not only India that extends from the borders of the Persian empire, to the country which is called Kaleh, which is a distance of one thousand and two hundred parasangs, but even your own Fars.

The identification of Kaleh causes difficulty. A strong case can be made out for Quilon, the name present in so many other sources. If this can be sustained, it confirms the statement made by Cosmas that the Christians in South India and Ceylon (if Taprobane is in fact Ceylon) were governed by a bishop sent from Mesopotamia – except when the far-away authorities had so far forgotten their duties as to interrupt the episcopal succession.⁷¹

Two hundred years later a faint flicker of what can hardly be called light comes from an even more distant land. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* reports under the year 883 that 'in the same year Sighelm and Aethelstan conveyed to Rome the alms that the king had vowed to send thither, and also to India to St Thomas and St Bartholomew'.⁷² How that good, upright and devout man King Alfred had come to hear of India can hardly be guessed, unless he had become acquainted with that later version of the *Acts of Thomas* which is associated with the name of Gregory of Tours (c. AD 590). There seems to be no strong reason for doubting the statements made in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Christians made astonishingly long journeys in what we are pleased to call the Dark Ages. It is, however, perhaps more prudent to suppose that the emissaries of King Alfred made their way as far as Rome,

and deposited there the alms intended for the remote Christians of the East, to be forwarded to them whenever a convenient opportunity might offer.

Now at last, after so much weighing of uncertain literary evidence, archaeology comes to the rescue, and offers the historian something literally solid of which, though not without certain reservations, he may take hold.

A Syriac manuscript, written sometime in the eighteenth century⁷³ gives evidence as follows:

In those days and in the days that followed, Syrian Fathers used to come to that town by order of the Catholicos of the East, and govern the diocese of India and Malabar, because it was from it that the Syrians used to go to other parts until they were dispersed. Then in the year 823, the Syrian Fathers Mar Sapor and Mar Parut (Piruz) with the illustrious Sabrisho came to India and reached Kullam. They went to the King Shakirbirthi, and asked from him a piece of land in which they could build a church for themselves and erect a town. He gave them the amount of land they desired, and they built a church and erected a town in the district of Kullam, to which Syrian bishops and metropolitans used to come by order of the Catholicos who sent them.

The interpretation of this document, as of all the others in the same tradition, abounds in difficulties. The names of the bishops appear in various forms as Xabro and Prodh, Sapor and Aphroth. Mingana has shown good reason for thinking that there were only two leaders and not three, in that Sapor and Sabrisho are really the same, and that the name of the bishop was actually Mārān Sabr-Isho, this being a common Syriac name and meaning 'Jesus is my hope'.⁷⁴ Scholars agree that the date AD 823 may be accepted, and that the king Shakirbirthi is to be identified with King Vīra Rāghava Cakravarti. It is clear that the bishops were not Indians but foreigners, probably from Persia or from Mesopotamia. They seem to have refounded Quilon, or at least strengthened it with an injection of foreign blood. Whereas earlier Christian associations are with an area further north, Cranganore and its neighbourhood, the name Quilon, which has so often appeared in our records, now takes on an unmistakably Christian connotation.

Confirmation of these events is afforded by a number of copper-plates which are still in existence and are in the possession of the Christians and Jews of Kerala.⁷⁵

It is known that in the sixteenth century the Christians were in possession of a copper-plate, and in 1549 handed it over to the Portuguese. This has been lost and all attempts to discover it have been in vain. A Portuguese translation was made in 1544 and still exists.⁷⁶ But there is grave reason to doubt the reliability of this translation.

The Jews of Cochin have in their possession a copper-plate, probably of the eighth or ninth century; and this, though it does not relate directly to our story, can be used to illustrate the plates in possession of the Christians.⁷⁷

One single plate, probably of a considerably later date, perhaps 1320, records a grant made to Iravi Korttan of Cranganore.⁷⁸

The first Christian charter consists of a single plate, written on both sides in *Vatteluttu* (old Tamil) script with a good many Grantha (Sanskrit) letters. A second plate belonging to this instrument appears to be missing.

The second Christian charter consists of five leaves, including two leaves with the signatures of witnesses in various languages. The first leaf of this series appears to be missing.⁷⁹

In 1806, when Claudius Buchanan was visiting Travancore, the British resident Colonel Macaulay, a devout Christian deeply interested in the welfare of the Christians in those parts, recovered from the Dutch Record Room at Cochin a number of plates, of which he allowed Dr Buchanan to take facsimiles. The plates were then handed over to the metropolitan of the Syrian church. Of the surviving leaves three are preserved at Kottayam and two at Tiruvalla. Both instruments have been dated with considerable probability in the same year, AD 880. Each is a grant made in Council by Ayyan king of Vēnād, that is the southern portion of Travancore, in the reign of Sthānu Ravi, the supreme ruler of the area (about AD 877–907).

In the first, at the instance of Maruwan Sapir Iso, whom there is reason to identify with Mārān Sabr-Isho the bishop, certain rights are reserved in perpetuity to the Christians of the Tarisa (Orthodox?) church at Quilon. Most important of these is the guardianship of the steelyard, the weights and the royal stamp (*Kappan*), which had previously been enjoyed by the king of Vēnād. Certain families of lower caste are assigned to the Christians for the maintenance of the church. If these people commit any offence, the right of holding trial is reserved to the authorities of the church.⁸⁰

In the second and much longer instrument a number of families are assigned to the church to cultivate the lands obtained for the church by Maruwan Sapir Iso. The boundaries of the land are fixed, though not very exactly defined. The right of trial for offences committed within these boundaries is reserved to the church. Reference is made also to the weights and steelyard as above. The seventy-two social privileges are granted. The Christians are to enjoy the protection of the militia of 600, of the Jews and of the Maṇigrāmakkār.⁸¹ Extensive privileges are accorded to these two communities, provided that they ‘shall act as laid down in this copper-plate deed, as long as the earth, the moon and the sun will endure’.

The picture which emerges is impressive. The Christians are clearly a well-established community, accepted and highly respected. The granting of responsibility for the weights and measures is an unusual sign of

confidence; it may indicate that these immigrants had attained to a higher level of mathematical and commercial competence than the Indians among whom they had settled. The slaves assigned to them would probably be baptised, and thus the Christian community would increase. The allocation of responsibility for the protection of this community to Jews and Maṇigrāmakār (presumably the indigenous Christians) suggest that this was a small community the rights of which had to be carefully safeguarded by others stronger than they.

The signatures of witnesses are particularly interesting. They are written in the Kufic form of Arabic, in Hebrew, or rather in a kind of Persian written in Hebrew letters, and in Pehlevi.⁸² Apparently the foreign community consisting of Muslims, Christians, Zoroastrians and Jews, was regarded as in some sense a unity as distinct from the local rulers and their subjects.

One more piece of solid evidence of early Christian presence in South India remains to be considered.

In 1547 the Portuguese were engaged in digging the foundations for an oratory on the alleged site of the martyrdom of St Thomas, when they found unexpectedly an ancient granite cross. This cross, of unusual type, was incised beneath an arch, around which was an inscription in unknown letters and an unknown tongue. Since then, four other similar crosses have been found in various places in Travancore. The general view of archaeologists is that the 1547 cross, commonly called the Thomas cross, is the original and that the others are copies, or copies of copies.⁸³

Since the Portuguese and others supposed that this cross was already in existence in the days of the apostle and had perhaps looked down upon his martyrdom, it was from the beginning treated with the greatest reverence; before long miraculous properties were ascribed to it and various miracles were recorded.

The curiosity of the Portuguese was aroused by the mysterious inscription, but there was no one who could interpret. Eventually a Daniel was found in the person of a learned Kanarese Brāhman, who undertook to read the writing, and interpreted it no doubt to his own satisfaction and to that of the waiting Portuguese. This interpretation was distinguished among other interpretations by the fact that it made no contact at any point whatever with the language or the meaning of the original which it professed to expound. Since, however, the rendering proved to be highly edifying, it was readily accepted by the Portuguese and widely distributed. It became sufficiently well-known to be included by Cardinal Baronius in his *Annales*.⁸⁴

Scholars came to agree that the inscription was in Pehlevi, middle Persian. But no serious attempt was made to decipher it, until A.C. Burnell

undertook the difficult task, and published his results in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1874. As read by him the inscription reads:

In punishment by the cross (was) the suffering of this One;
He who is the true Christ, and God above, and Guide ever pure.

This yields good sense, and is quite appropriate. But not all scholars were convinced that Burnell had found the true solution; in the next half century a number of other solutions appeared, distinguished, if by nothing else, by their almost total difference from one another. A new day dawned when, at the request of Professor F.C. Burkitt,⁸⁵ C.P.T. Winckworth, at that time reader in Assyriology in the university of Cambridge, took the matter in hand, and produced a version which differed radically from all that had come from the hands of earlier scholars. This version which was read before the International Congress of Orientalists held at Oxford in 1925⁸⁶ is as follows:

My Lord Christ, have mercy upon Afras son of Chaharbukht the Syrian, who cut this (or, who caused this to be cut).

This met with immediate acceptance, though with reservations on minor points, and has never been radically challenged. So attempts to find profound theology, Nestorian or other, in the inscription have had to be abandoned. It turns out to be no more than the expression of a natural and rather simple piety.

Palaeographers are in agreement that the style of the lettering is consistent with a date in the eighth century. It is tempting to think that Afras may be the same as that Mar Prodh (Aphroth) whose name we have found in various forms of the tradition, and who is alleged to have arrived in India in AD 823. If so, he may well have brought with him from Persia an exemplar from which the Indian cross was carved.⁸⁷ Once this cross had become familiar to the local Christians, they might well conclude that this was the right kind of cross to have displayed in their churches; so the copies which have been identified came to be cut by masons who did not know the language or meaning of the inscription, and perhaps many others of which we have no knowledge.

5 A SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE

The story of the ancient church of the Thomas Christians is of great significance for the whole history of Christianity in India. It is to be regretted that, when all the evidence has been collected and sifted, much remains uncertain and conjectural. What history can offer, here as elsewhere, is not certainty but probability in various degrees:

A Summary of the Evidence

It is almost certain that there were well-established churches in parts of South India not later than the beginning of the sixth century and perhaps from a considerably earlier date; but

it is probable that these were at least in part churches of foreigners, worshipping in Syriac and cared for by foreign priests and bishops.

There is a possibility that already existing Christian forces in India were strengthened by a considerable immigration in the first half of the fourth century, and

it is at least possible that the immigrants came intending to join themselves to Christian groups, of the existence of which they were already aware.

It is probable that a part at least of the indigenous element in the Indian church belonged originally not to Kerala but to the Pāṇḍiyan kingdom. The continuance over many centuries of the tradition associating St Thomas with Mylapore suggests that the first Christianisation of that area goes back to very early times.

There are traces of the existence of Christian communities in other parts of India, but these are uncertain, and do not suggest that continuity of which we have clearer evidence in the south.

When the Christian community in Kerala emerges into the clear light of history, it seems to have been a rather prosperous, indeed wealthy, body, enjoying the favour of the local rulers, and with guarantees for protection against injury.

There is no clear evidence of attempts by the Indian Christian community to propagate its faith in the non-Christian society in the midst of which it had its existence.

For the first three centuries of the Christian era we have nothing that could be called clear historical evidence – references to India may relate to countries that would not today be called India.

It is possible that in this dark period the apostle Thomas came to India and that the foundation of the Indian church goes back to him; we can only regret the absence of any sure historical evidence to support this view.

Millions of Christians in South India are certain that the founder of their church was none other than the apostle Thomas himself. The historian cannot prove to them that they are mistaken in their belief. He may feel it right to warn them that historical research cannot pronounce on the matter with a confidence equal to that which they entertain by faith.

3 · From Medieval to Modern

I POLITICAL CHANGES

In our attempt to penetrate the obscurity which at many points still rests on the story of the first coming of Christianity to India, we left on one side the contemporary developments in politics, literature and religion which form the background of the later penetration of the Indian world by the Christian Gospel. Many things, in that period of nearly a thousand years, are still no more than dimly known – the rise and fall of kingdoms, the movements of armies of invaders, the emergence of great cities and the disappearance of others well known to earlier history. In this chapter we shall be concerned in the main with two questions – what traces are there during this period of Western influence on India and of Indian influence on the Western world; and, what permanent contribution was made by the movements of these centuries to the complicated situation which faced Christians from abroad, when at last direct connection between Europe and India was re-established at the end of the fifteenth century?

With the gradual decay of the Maurya power,¹ the destiny of northern India fell into the hands of a number of small and weak kingdoms, perpetually at war with one another and in a continual state of ebb and flow. But the idea of the *cakravartin*, the king of kings, who would subdue all things to himself and introduce peace and order into a vast area, was never lost. After an interval of five centuries the old ideal emerged from the shadows, and clothed itself in flesh and blood in the rulers of the Gupta dynasty. The first of these rulers, Candragupta I, came to the throne in AD 319, it may be a little earlier or later.

The Guptas were not of royal origin; in fact it seems that originally they were no more than large landholders in the region of Magadha. But members of this gifted family succeeded in exalting themselves to power and in holding the reins of dominion for close on two centuries. The most successful of them all, Candragupta II, who reigned from 375 to 415,² was victorious in a campaign against the Śakas (c. AD 405), a success which was of more than military significance, since it safeguarded the Gupta dominions from invasion from beyond the passes, and also gave them access

to the western sea and to the possibilities of trade beyond the frontiers of India. For a brief period the way from west to east and from east to west was open.

At its greatest the empire of the Guptas was less in extent than that of Aśoka. And, when it was at the height of its expansion, its power was brought low by one of those unpredictable and disastrous invasions which have punctuated the whole of Indian history. The Huns (Huṇas) were a central Asian people, whose name spread terror far and wide in Europe no less than in Asia. They seem to have had no instinct to settle and to create, though they understood all too well how to burn, to pillage and to destroy. The century and a half (AD 450–600) during which they controlled great areas of northern India was a time of sheer misery for all, during which many ancient landmarks were swept away.

Fortunately for India, the Huns themselves were vulnerable and were not immune from attack from the rear; it seems that pressure from Turks and Persians compelled them to look to their own safety; by the end of the sixth century they were no longer a menace to the inhabitants of the Indian plains.

One more attempt was made to establish a great dominion in north India. Harṣavardhana of the Puṣpabhūti family came to the throne in AD 606,³ and reigned for a little more than forty years. We know more of this ruler than of almost any other of that age through the chance that has preserved for us the elaborate life of him, the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa,⁴ one of the founders of classical Indian prose, and through the visit to his court of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hsüan Tsang, who gives a somewhat enthusiastic account of the ruler and his court.⁵ Harsha was an able ruler, who travelled widely, and did his utmost to maintain peace and justice in his dominions. But he had not the art of giving permanence to his achievements, and had no successor: 'The secret of establishing a military power founded on traditional strength was not his; nor did the mass of the people feel that the conquests of Śrī Harsha were their own triumph . . . He could conquer; he could not build. The way of the Guptas was, therefore, barred to him.'⁶ After him, from time to time there were powerful rulers in various parts of India; but the *cakravartin* did not in reality appear again until Bābur, by the great victory of Pānīpat in 1526, brought the Mughuls to power, and laid the foundations of that empire which more than any which had preceded it succeeded in bringing almost the whole of the sub-continent under the control of a single ruler.

2 ART, LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY

By general consent the Gupta period and that which followed it are known as the classic period of Indian civilisation. No doubt periods of peace and prosperity favour the flowering and the productivity of human genius. But,

once that flowering has taken place, even adversity and disorder seem unable to destroy what has come into being. Though a great deal has been lost to us, the six centuries following the accession of the Guptas to power are marked by supreme achievements in the field of literature, of the plastic arts, and of philosophy, which make of those years one of the great periods in the history of the human race.

This mature civilisation unhesitatingly accepted Sanskrit, the refined and developed form of the ancient Vedic speech, as its medium of literary and philosophic communication. Both Buddhists and Jains had chosen to write in languages nearer to the speech of ordinary mortals. The choice of Sanskrit is a clear sign of the recovery of Hinduism, and in particular of the Brahmanical influence; it is noteworthy that Buddhism also, especially in its *Mahāyāna* form, found it expedient to return from Pāli, the simpler language, to the more ancient and classical form of expression.

The Sanskrit tradition had never entirely died out. The *Mahābhāratha* in its final form can hardly be earlier than the second century AD. But the literary production of the Gupta period makes it clear that Sanskrit was far more than a learned language, an archaic survival preserved only in the world of scholars and pedants. Professor A.B. Keith has argued that 'Sanskrit was regularly used in conversation by the upper classes, court circles eventually following the example of the Brahmins in this regard.'⁷

Of the innumerable types of Sanskrit literature produced in the centuries under review, by far the most widely influential was the didactic tale or fable. This mode, with its curious method of the enclosure of a tale within a tale, after the fashion of a Chinese box,⁸ proved irresistible, and in course of time spread Indian influence to the farthest limits of the western world, albeit, it must be acknowledged, in the majority of cases without acknowledgment. The origins of the first great collection, the *Pañcatantra*, may go back as early as the second century AD. This textbook for the instruction of kings in politics and in the practical conduct of everyday life contains every kind of tale, and not all are by any means edifying. But a work which contains the lines

Righteousness is the one friend who accompanies a man even in death:
For all the rest perisheth together with the body

cannot be accused of a total lack of moral sensitiveness.

The most distinguished, if not the most popular, of the forms of literature produced in this classic age is the Indian drama.⁹ The most famous of the dramatic poets is Kālidāsa (late fourth century, or possibly later). Among the plays of Kālidāsa by far the most famous is *Śakuntalā*, or rather the *Recognition of Śakuntalā*, since central in the action of the play is the ring by which at last the king is able to recognise the beloved, whose identity had been for a time concealed from him.

Śakuntalā was one of the first of Indian works to become known in the West. Translated by Sir William Jones, it appeared in English in 1789,¹⁰ and in a German translation from the English in 1791. The sudden and startled delight of Herder and Goethe is a matter of history. Goethe received the German translation on 17 May 1791; on 1 July of the same year he sent to his friend F.H. Jacobi the poem in which occurs the well-known stanza:

Would'st thou have the flowers of the spring
And the fruit of the fading years,
That which enchants and delights,
That which nurtures and satisfies?
Would'st thou grasp heaven and earth in a single name?
Then I give thee the name of *Sakuntalā*,
And then there is nothing more to be said.

In many ways the play deserves the almost extravagant praise that has been lavished upon it. For purity and excellence of Sanskrit speech, for mastery of intricate metres, for apt use of metaphor and a sense of the intimate harmony between man and nature, for the sensitive depiction of love in all its phases, for tender delineation of sorrow, Kālidāsa is declared by Indian students to be supreme.

Kālidāsa had had predecessors and was to have successors. But the art of drama in India seems to have reached a rapid flowering, and then to remain only for a short period on its pinnacle of excellence. Like the great drama of the Athenians, it experienced a short period of glory and then a long age of gradual obsolescence.

This reference to the Greeks raises the question, which has been endlessly debated, as to a possible dependence of India on Hellas as a source of inspiration for its drama. The possibility cannot be wholly excluded, but on balance such dependence must be regarded as highly unlikely. From the third century AD onwards the West and India had drifted into almost complete isolation from one another. There were no longer living sources of Greek inspiration in India itself, since the Greek kingdoms of the north-west had almost ceased to exist. Roman commerce with India had diminished. Constantinople was for many centuries one of the greatest trading cities of the world; but its merchants seem to have by-passed India and to have used the great land routes which carried them across the vast expanses of Central Asia to the shores of the Pacific. At the same time, India seems to have stretched out its hands rather to south-east Asia and to the far east than to the west.

Cultural similarity is not always a sign of cultural dependence. There seems little reason to doubt that the Indian drama is of purely Indian origin. It is the whole-hearted adoption of the Brāhmanic attitude to life and to the understanding of human life and destiny which makes the Indian drama

throughout its history so different from the Greek.

The same question may be asked, and the same answer given, in relation to another aspect of Gupta civilisation, the visual arts. The tradition of Gandhāra art did, indeed, linger long in certain areas of India and exercised much influence. But Gupta sculpture and painting seem to owe little to this source of inspiration; their affiliation, if any, is rather to the more specifically Indian art of Mathurā, and to all that flowed from it. Western influence must be reckoned with as a possibility; of such influence no unmistakable evidence has been found.

Here, once again, we encounter a wonderful efflorescence of the human spirit, the perfect expression in classical form of a specific understanding of the world and of human life. These works 'reflect the same phase of luxurious aristocratic culture' as the great literary works that we have been considering.¹¹ Many factors have gone into the great achievements of Gupta art – intense interest in nature and in the forms of flower and animal life, careful study of the human form especially as this finds expression in the stylised movements of the dance, the skilled use of materials based on endless practice and finding its reward in freedom in execution within the limits of certain techniques and traditions of artistic creation.

The period of supreme achievement in the plastic arts was of brief duration. Sensitiveness too easily turned into sentimentality, genuine inventiveness into mannerism; technical skill was used to cover lack of originality; nervous tension took the place of serenity; and the copying of old masterpieces occupied the time of those skilled craftsmen who could not think for themselves. 'Nobility is very common in Gupta sculpture of the fifth century, but it soon turned into a smooth superficial elegance.'¹²

If decay sets in at one point of human achievement, the impoverished spirit seems to come to life in another, and perhaps very different, area of intellectual and artistic activity. The great Gupta period may be judged to have come to an end not later than AD 600. In the following centuries, the Indian spirit was to exercise itself in the metaphysical field, in the enormous intellectual travail involved in the determination to penetrate the farthest recesses of thought and to wrest from the universe its final secrets. There had been no real break in the continuity of Indian thought from the time of the *Upaniṣads*; what are commonly known as the six systems of Indian philosophy had grown up slowly over the centuries.¹³ Of the six, the *Vedānta* had exercised by far the greatest influence on later ages. In the *Vedānta* tradition one figure stands out, by common consent, as reaching the highest level of philosophical excellence, Śaṅkarāchārya.

Many and various opinions have been held as to the date of the life and activity of this paragon of wisdom; but the learned world seems to have

moved towards agreement that he was born towards the end of the eighth century,¹⁴ and that his work of writing and teaching falls in the first half of the ninth. It is, furthermore, agreed that he was born in the Malabar area of southern India; but he travelled so widely in the search for knowledge, and in missionary zeal to destroy false teaching, that no one place can be called his home.¹⁵ In dialectical skill, in penetrating understanding, in discernment of the weakness in the case of an opponent, in lucidity of exposition, Śaṅkara can be compared only to the very greatest in other areas – with Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas in ancient and medieval times, with Spinoza and Leibniz in the modern world.

The aim of Śaṅkara can be summed up in a single sentence – to restore to the philosophy of the *Upaniṣads* that primacy which in his opinion belonged to it as of right, but which had been obscured by the divagations of lesser thinkers. That philosophy can be summed up in the profound phrase, which we have already encountered – *Tat tvam asi*, ‘that art thou’. There can be only one reality, true, ageless, unchanging, the Brahman in all things. This Brahman ‘is thus the essence of us all, the self, and hence it remains undenied even when one tries to deny it, for even in the denial it shows itself forth. It is the self of us all and is hence ever present to us in all our cognitions.’¹⁶

Many do not recognise this truth, and therefore they live in the world of ignorance, nescience, supposing that the phenomenal world, the product of *māyā*, illusion, is reality.¹⁷ Ignorance is the great enemy. In this system, salvation comes by the dawning of right knowledge of the Brahman and of the self. This is, however, an aristocratic system, and the path to salvation, *mukti*, deliverance, is long and hard, and much depends on finding the right teacher. But, given diligence and wise guidance, the eager student may hope to attain. If he does reach his goal, this is a stage in which the pure light of Brahman shines forth in its unique glory as the identity of being, pure intelligence, and complete bliss (*sat-cit-ānanda*), and all the rest vanishes as illusory nothingness. One who has thus attained is a *jīvanmukta*, one who has become emancipated while still living. ‘For him all world-appearance has ceased. He is the one light burning alone in himself where everything else has vanished for ever from the stage.’¹⁸ It may be that he will continue for a time to exist, but will then give himself, as Śaṅkarāchārya himself did, to the work of teaching others, in order that as many souls as possible may come to the realm of blessedness.

This doctrine is far more than philosophy in the general acceptance of that term; it includes almost everything that in Western thought would be counted as religion. The teaching of Śaṅkara may be regarded as the culmination of the Hindu renaissance, and of the final rejection of Buddhism by the Indian mind. It is as though Śaṅkara declared that

everything which is of value in Buddhism has now been incorporated into the Hindu system, and that Buddhism may therefore disappear since it has nothing to offer to the Hindu which he cannot find in a truly Hindu system of thought and of mystic unity with Being.

The doctrine of the unchanging one as set forth by Śaṅkara, the pure *Advaita*, the doctrine of One-without-a-second, manifests certain similarities to the philosophic doctrine of the later Greek philosophers. The teaching of Plotinus (third century) culminates in the vision of the One which is the source of all being and all truth. This teaching, one of the principal sources of mysticism in the west, at an early date made its way into the thinking of the Eastern Christian church. It found extensive expression in the writings of the sixth-century monk who called himself Dionysius the Areopagite, and thence passed to western Europe and into the mystical thinking of both Jews and Muslims.¹⁹

Resemblance does not always involve dependence. Yet the resemblances between Neoplatonism and the Indian *Advaita* are sufficiently striking to demand consideration.²⁰

After the period of the emperor Trajan (98–117), commercial relations between the Roman Empire and India became less intimate than they had been in the first century AD, but they did not wholly die away. The number and quality of the Roman coins found on Indian soil is convincing evidence of the decline, but equally shows that it was not absolute. In the other direction Indian princes continued to send embassies to the Roman emperors; we have records of Indian embassies from the time of Elagabalus (218–22), Aurelian (270–5) and Constantine (306–37).²¹ Alexandria continued to be a great international city, in the streets of which representatives of many nations could be encountered. Ctesiphon in Mesopotamia was an *entrepot* for the wares of those trafficking between East and West.

In Porphyry's *Life of Plotinus* we have an unexpected note, suggesting the possibility that the traffic persisted on other than purely commercial lines:

He became eager to investigate the Persian methods and the system adopted among the Indians. It happened that the Emperor Gordian was at that time preparing his campaign against Persia; Plotinus joined the army and went on the expedition . . . When Gordian was killed in Mesopotamia, it was only with great difficulty that Plotinus came off safe to Antioch.²²

The date was AD 244. Plotinus had to abandon his plan without having got even as far as Ctesiphon, though at Apamea on the Orontes he may have had the opportunity of acquainting himself with the philosophy of Numenius.

The influence of Iran on the west can be traced in the Jewish apocryphal writings, in the works of the Gnostics, and in the writings of the Manicheans, whom we know from recent papyrus discoveries in Egypt to

have had a considerable following in that country. Plotinus wrote one of his longest treatises (11.9) *Against the Gnostics*, to which Porphyry has added the sub-title 'Against those who say that the fashion of the universe is evil, and that the universe itself is evil.' We cannot tell, however, whether the interest of Plotinus in Indian philosophy was due simply to curiosity as to what lies beyond, or whether he had some acquaintance, even distant, with what Indians were thinking and teaching. If he had any such acquaintance, it must have been derived rather from chance contacts with Indians in Alexandria, or less probably in Rome, than from any travels and researches in the East.

Occasional glimpses of 'naked philosophers' in such writers as Plutarch, Philo of Alexandria and Strabo, indicate that reports of the Jains and their habits had reached the western world.²³ One faint echo of interest in India comes to us from that remarkable lady the Empress Julia Domna, described by Ernest Renan as 'téméraire jusqu'à l'utopie',²⁴ and in the more sober phrase of Professor J. Bidez 'as it were predestined to become the high-priestess of a syncretistic polytheism'.²⁵ She it was who had entrusted to Philostratus (c. 170–245) the task of writing the life of Apollonius of Tyana, the sage of the first century, who was alleged to have found support for his theosophy in the wisdom of India and to have left a profound impression on the minds of the sages of that country – an affirmation not supported by any information that comes to us from Indian sources.

Such scattered details do not together amount to anything like evidence for any direct influence of East on West or of West on East. It must be taken as more probable that Greek monism and Indian monism are independent products of the human mind, working on similar problems in different times and situations. Minds of such philosophical subtlety as those of the Greek philosophers from Pythagoras to Proclus, and of the Indian thinkers from the time of the *Upaniṣads* to Śaṅkara, may well have been led by diverse processes of thought to the essentially similar concept of an undifferentiated and timeless One underlying the endlessly varied phenomena of human experience. The evidence does not justify us in suggesting, even tentatively, any specifically Christian influence on the classical philosophy of India.²⁶

3 SOUTH INDIA AND THE 'BHAKTI' MOVEMENT

The centre of interest now shifts to the Dravidian world, in which profound changes, both political and religious, were taking place during India's middle age. Out of a plethora of small kingdoms there emerged in these centuries the three great South Indian kingdoms of the Cheras in the region known today as Kerala, of the Coḷas, who have given their name to the coast of Coromandel, and the Pāṇḍiyas, rulers in the southern extremity of the

sub-continent. At the same time, a great religious revolution was taking place, which resulted in the emergence of Hinduism as the dominant religion of the South. In the year 500 Jainism was the strongest religious force in the Dravidian world, with Buddhism as a near second. By AD 1000 Buddhism had almost completely disappeared,²⁷ and Jains were in process of being reduced to the situation of a small minority, as they have remained ever since. How had this transformation come about?

The Tamil romance *Manimekalai* ('the jewelled girdle'), perhaps of the sixth century,²⁸ moves wholly in the atmosphere of Buddhist faith and practice. The heroine, a dancing girl, to the displeasure of her public has become a Buddhist ascetic. In the very last section of the poem, the heroine's mother Mādhavi receives instruction in Buddhist learning, and, her doubts and darkness being removed, adopts the garb and practice of the Buddhist devotee. But when the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan Tsang was in South India in AD 640, he reports, though not as an eye-witness, that in the southern part of the Tamil country, though Hindu temples were numerous and Jain ascetics were everywhere, Buddhism was almost extinct, the majority of the ancient shrines being in ruins.²⁹

There is no hint of any kind of religious persecution. The decay of Buddhism seems to have been due to an inner desiccation which made it unable to stand against the revival of Hinduism, when this came.³⁰

The story of Jainism is different, and includes one of the rare examples of religious violence in the history of Hindu India.

Once again the evidence of Hsüan Tsang is of capital importance. During the visit to South India already alluded to, he tells us that he found Digambara Jain ascetics and Jain temples numerous in both the Pallava realm (Drāvida), and in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom.³¹ Literary evidence adds weight to the testimony of Hsüan Tsang. The *Cīvaka Cintāmaṇi* of Tirutakkatēvar, which Dr G.U. Pope regarded as being on the whole the greatest existing literary monument in Tamil,³² has been placed as early as the seventh century and as late as the tenth. Tradition tells us that the author was a Jain. There is nothing in the poem itself to throw doubt on the tradition and it may be taken as authentic. The atmosphere of the poem is that of a confident and well-established faith.

But persecution seems to have fallen at one point on the Jains. A Pāṇḍyan king named Kūna or Neḍumāran had been brought up as a Jain. He married a Coḷa princess, who remained a staunch Hindu and set herself to convert her husband. Once restored to the Hindu faith, the king demanded of his co-religionists that they should follow his example and apostatise. When they refused to do so, no less than eight thousand of them were condemned to death by impalement.³³ This story is in such flagrant contradiction of the generally mild and gentle character of the Indian religious tradition that it

can hardly have been invented. It seems to be necessary to accept the massacre, abominable as it is, as historic fact. This event may mark the beginning of the revival of Hinduism, and therefore the beginning of the slow decline of Jainism from a dominant to a subordinate position in the religious life of South India.

One feature in the story is significant in relation to the stages of religious development in South India. It is reported that the Coḷa princess was aided in her ardent work of conversion by Tiruñānacambantar,³⁴ one of the great saints of the Śaivite *bhakti* movement. This information supplies us simultaneously with two valuable pieces of information.

We learn the basic cause for the changed religious situation in South India. Buddhism and Jainism lost their ascendancy in the Tamil land not only because of inner decay and inertia, but still more by reason of a tremendous upsurge of Hindu belief and devotion, which took the form of a wide-spread *bhakti* movement. This movement offered to meet the need felt by the Dravidian peoples for something which apparently the other two great religions had not been able in that period to supply.³⁵

It is possible on the basis of this evidence to fix at least approximately the date of the beginning of this great movement. The persecution of the Jains is brought into direct connection with the work of one of the great leaders of the Hindu revival. Since the reign of Nedumāran can be fixed in the seventh century, we can determine with some confidence the date in history at which the great Hindu revival began. The suggested date fits in well with such evidence as is afforded by the probabilities of literary development. There is no hint of such an outpouring of Hindu devotion in the early poems of the Anthologies and the Idylls, in the earlier romances, or in such early ethical writings as the Tirukkuraḷ.³⁶ And, though isolated examples can be quoted from earlier writers (e.g. the *Paripāṭal*, not later than AD 500), the full flowering of the movement belongs to a later date than that. In the writings of these Tamil saints and seers we are confronted by eloquent outpourings of the Dravidian spirit in verses of considerable literary merit, saturated through and through with intense religious devotion. The heart and soul of this whole literature is *bhakti*, that ardent devotion to a single chosen god, which we have met already in the *Bhagavadgītā*, and there identified as one of the sources of the Hindu recovery in northern India.³⁷

The evidence available to us does not enable us to trace in detail the way in which the *bhakti* idea travelled from north to south India, not even to guess at the date at which the *Bhagavadgītā* first became known in the Tamil country. But there is evidence to show that *bhakti* was regarded as having in a special way its home in South India, and as being in part at least a product of the Tamil genius: 'In some particular places, O great king, and largely in Drāvīda countries, where the rivers Tāmraparṇi, Kṛtamālā,

Payasvinī, the most holy Kāvēri, and the great Western Mahānadi flow, and those men who drink of their waters, O king of men, pure in mind mostly become devoted to the blessed Lord Vāsudeva.' So the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* pays tribute to the saints and sages of the Tamil country.³⁸

In another passage *Bhakti* is personified and herself recounts her history:

I am called *bhakti* . . . listen to my life-story with all attention, O treasure of asceticism! . . . Born in Drāviḍa country, I grew up in Karnāṭaka. In Mahārāṣṭra and Gujarāt I became old . . . Having arrived then at Vrindāvan, renewed and all beautiful, I have become young now with the most perfect and lovable charm . . . I quit this place and go to a foreign country.³⁹

The Śaivite form of South Indian *bhakti* seems to be rather older than the Vaiṣṇavite. It found expression primarily in the *Tevāram*, the extensive collections of the hymns of the three great saints and poets, Appar, Cuntarar and Cambantar, the *nāyanmār* of Śaivite tradition.

Śiva, as depicted in the outpourings of these poets, bears much resemblance to the wild gods of Dravidian tradition, and also to the Rudra of the *Vedas*, the god of the wild places, whom there is reason to regard as probably a Dravidian god.⁴⁰ In the *trimūrti*, the Hindu pantheon, Śiva is the destroyer, the tasks of creation and preservation being assigned respectively to Brahmā and Viṣṇu. But in this tradition Śiva has absorbed into himself all the three functions, and is so far exalted that even Brahmā and Viṣṇu cannot penetrate the secret of his being. Viṣṇu is an older and more respectable god, though he seems to have been domesticated in the Dravidian world rather later than Śiva, perhaps because there was no god in the Dravidian pantheon to whom he could readily be equated. Those who sing his praises are known as the *Ālvārs*, and their work is contained in the *Nālāyiradivya-prabandham*, the sacred collection of four thousand stanzas.

The supreme expression of the Tamil mystical tradition is to be found in the writings of Māṇickavāṇkar, and especially in his *Tiruvāṇṇakam*. The name is a title and not a proper name – he whose words are as jewels; the title of his most famous work means 'the divine utterance'. The greater sophistication of religious thought and the perfect mastery of metre suggest that Māṇickavāṇkar represents the apex, and not as some have thought, the pioneer stage of the great *bhakti* movement.⁴¹

What binds these various traditions together is the common emphasis on the divine initiative; the god has revealed himself, and the recipient of the revelation makes no claim to any merit of his own. This gracious divine activity is expressed by the Tamil word *aruḷ* – no Christian writer has been tempted to translate this Tamil term by any other word than 'grace'. *Aruḷ* can in fact be used in almost all the senses in which the Greek word *charis* is found in the New Testament.⁴²

This divine revelation is not a disembodied mysticism; it takes place, and this binds it very firmly to the Dravidian tradition, in a temple, and is closely linked to the image, the outward and visible form, in which the divinity is housed. This revelation is followed by ecstatic joy, not infrequently expressed in frankly erotic terms; the god has made the devotee his own; he dwells within him. The worshipper feels himself to be wholly at one with the god who has found him and whom he has found. But this experience does not lead the devotee to separate himself from the companionship of his fellow human-beings; on the contrary, he delights to resort to the temples and to sing the praises of his lord in the company of others who have shared a like experience with his own.

Tamil is the natural language of the South Indian saints. But the movement had also its Sanskrit expressions.

The *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, which some scholars assign to the ninth century though it may be earlier, develops at great length the worship of Kṛṣṇa, dwelling especially on his childhood experiences, and setting forth a path of *bhakti* experience more emotional than that of the Tamil writers. But in South India Sanskrit has not been widely known outside Brāhmanical circles; the fortunes of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* were made when it moved out of its original home into the Āryan realm.

The South can claim one great philosopher and writer of Sanskrit as expositor of the *bhakti* mood, Śrī Rāmānuja (c. 1050–1137). The German Indologist Rudolf Otto wrote a book with the title *India's Religion of Grace*;⁴³ the title is well chosen; more deeply perhaps than any other Indian philosopher Rāmānuja has expounded the divine *grace*, *prasāda*, and human response, *prapatti*, total surrender to the approach of that grace.⁴⁴ Jan Gonda has well summed it up. Rāmānuja,

as founder of the greatest of all the Vaiṣṇavite confessions, as rejuvenator of the *bhakti* form of piety, as penetrating thinker, was able to bring together the traditions of the Upaniṣads, the Vedānta of Bādārāyana, the monotheistic system, combined with mythology, of the religion of Vāsudeva-Narāyana, and the inspiration of the Ālvārs, whose poems he instructed his disciples to collect, into one harmonious whole. So this Brāhman from the Tamil South has influenced the spiritual life of India more perhaps than any other theologian of the Vaiṣṇavite school.⁴⁵

Sanskrit-speaking *bhakti* did not lack for philosophical expression; the same can be predicated of Tamil *bhakti*, but here in the Śaivite and not in the Vaiṣṇavite form of belief and worship.

The period of high poetic inspiration came to an end not later than the closing years of the tenth century. The poets were never forgotten; their hymns continued to be sung in all the temples and new hymns continued to

be written. But the next period was that of the philosophers, who between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries worked out the system known as the Śaiva-Siddhānta. This, though deeply influenced by Sanskrit models and traditions, has its own special characteristics and has deeply impressed upon it the Tamil genius and way of thinking.⁴⁶

Śaiva-Siddhānta thought revolves round three principles – *pati*, *paśu*, *pāśam*. *Pati*, the Lord, is Śiva, here understood as the universal Lord, who combines in himself the functions of creation, preservation and destruction. *Paśu* is the flock, the souls which are under his care and protection. *Pāśam* is the bond, the mysterious power, which holds the souls in bodies and keeps them from finding their destiny in union with the Lord.

Salvation is achieved through *bhakti*, and *bhakti* leads to union with the divine. But this unity is not to be conceived as ontological unity, in which all distinction between soul and deity is done away. The devotee, absorbed in the ecstasy of union with the One whom he has sought, is unconscious of his separate existence. Yet there is still a real duality in the oneness; the union is of will and of affection, but not of substance.⁴⁷

Between the Śaiva-Siddhānta system and the world of Christian thought there are certain clear resemblances. In both the concept of grace plays a leading part. In Christian mysticism, as in the Śaiva-Siddhānta concept of union with the divine, there is a place for duality within unity, a unity which is perfect in itself but does not exclude the co-existence of the Lover and the Beloved, the I and the Thou. The Christian student feels himself immediately at home in the world of Śaiva-Siddhānta; he cannot but raise the question whether there is not only likeness but also dependence of one upon the other.

That doughty Anglican champion of Tamil literature and philosophy Dr G.U. Pope had no doubt concerning Christian influences on South Indian thought. In his edition of the *Tirukkural* he wrote:

We are quite warranted in imagining Tiruvalluvar, the thoughtful poet, the eclectic, to whom the teaching of the Jains was as familiar as that of every Hindu sect . . . we may fairly, I say, picture him pacing along the seashore with the Christian teachers, and imbibing Christian ideas, tinged with the peculiarities of the Alexandrian school, and day by day working them into his own wonderful *Kurral*.⁴⁸

The brilliant imagination of Dr Pope has produced a beautiful romance. The sober verdict of historical judgement must be that any such Christian influence on Tamil literature is unlikely. At the time at which the *Kural* was produced, though there may have been here and there small groups of Christians in Tamil country, the vast majority of Christians was at that time to be found in Kerala, speaking Malayālam, which by this time was a language distinct from Tamil. Moreover those Christians used Syriac for all

religious purposes, and seem to have made little if any attempt to communicate Christian truth in the local Indian tongues. Any extensive infiltration of Hindu thought by Christian influences must be ruled out as no more than a remote possibility. Here, as elsewhere, what we seem to see is devout minds in different places working on similar problems, and arriving independently at comparable results.⁴⁹

4 THE COMING OF THE MUSLIMS

The changes so far recorded all took place within the well defined limits of Indian life and society. The coming of the Christians, even if we attribute to it the maximum possible range and depth of influence, produced no more than a ripple on the generally calm surface of the Indian lake. But now India was to be faced with convulsion and disruption to an extent unparalleled since the day of the *Rg Veda*. Islam was to become the fourth great religion of the Indian sub-continent.

From time immemorial there had been traffic between the Persian Gulf and India. The Arabs had shewn themselves to be brave and skilful seamen; the term 'Arabian Sea' was no misnomer for the western part of the Indian Ocean. Long before the Greeks first entered the Asian world, the Arabs had crossed the ocean to India and had penetrated the countries of south-east Asia. Long before the Portuguese appeared in Asian waters, the Arabs had made themselves familiar with the eastern coast of Africa almost as far as its southern tip. They came to trade and not to conquer. But, like the Christians in later times, they had their coastal settlements, and had intermarried with the local inhabitants.⁵⁰

When the religion of Islam became the faith of the peoples of Arabia, a new spirit entered into Arabian commercial expansion. Something of the crusading spirit, that carried the Arab armies in little more than a century after the death of the prophet in 632 to the heart of France and into the recesses of the Sahara, was introduced also into Arabian commercial expansion in Indian waters. The monopoly of trade which the Muslims succeeded in establishing throughout the Indian Ocean ended by cutting Europe off almost completely from Asia, with consequences which were to reverberate through the whole of Indian history in the succeeding centuries.

Significant as all this was, the effects were little felt beyond the maritime tracts. The presence of Islam in India began to have profound effects only when armies from Central Asia, following in the tracks of earlier invaders, came through the Makran, or descended through the north-western passes, overcame and pillaged the Indian peoples, and in a number of cases stayed to rule the peoples whom they had overcome in war.

Hinduism claims today with pride to be the most tolerant of all the great

religions of the world. Flexible in the extreme, it has shewn itself capable of absorbing many peoples of different origins, many different points of view and the most varying traditions. When Hinduism was confronted by Islam, nothing of the kind could take place. To the smooth and flexible outline of Hinduism, Islam opposed the finished pattern and hard exterior of a statue carved from basaltic rock. Hinduism is monistic in philosophy, but polytheistic in the minds of the great majority of its adherents; Islam maintains with the utmost severity the doctrine that there is one God only and no other. Hinduism has shewn itself increasingly inclined to represent the divine under a great variety of visible forms; to the Muslim an idol is an abomination; he desires nothing so much as to be able to destroy it. Hinduism has spread like oil poured out upon the surface of water; Islam has been from the start a missionary religion, violently militant and aggressive, authorised by its sacred book to offer to the unbelievers, other than those belonging to 'the religions of the book', the alternative of acceptance of the true faith or death.

The first serious invasion of India by Muslim troops took place in AD 711,⁵¹ when Muhammad ibn-Qāsim set himself to the conquest of Sind; all the disagreeable features of Islamic conquest are recognisable even in this first invasion. The first city captured was Debul. In his enthusiasm for conversion Muhammad proceeded to circumcise, or to massacre, the Brāhmans of the city. Having become aware of the intense resentment and hostility always awakened in the minds of Hindu by such proceedings, he changed his policy, and by an unauthorised extension of Muslim law admitted the inhabitants as *dhimmis*, protected persons and payers of the *jizya*, the poll-tax.⁵²

In the three succeeding centuries one sporadic raid followed upon another; Islamic armies came and went, and left behind them few permanent results. The full seriousness of the Islamic threat to India became clear only in the career of the most famous among the early Islamic invaders of India, Mahmūd of Ghaznī, who, starting in the year 1001, carried out in the following years no less than seven invasions of India. His principal aim was undoubtedly wealth – to pillage the unbelievers, and so to enrich the Dar-ul-Islam, the home of the true faith. But with this was mixed the religious impulse – the unbelievers must be constrained to submit, and the face of Islam must be made resplendent. This is plainly set forth by a contemporary historian:

Demolishing the idol temples, he established Islām in them. He marched and captured other cities and killed the polluted wretches, destroying the idolatrous and gratifying the Musulmāns . . . On the completion of his conquest he returned and promulgated accounts of the victories obtained for Islām, and every one, great

and small, concurred in rejoicing over this result and thanking God . . . He then . . . vowed that every year he would undertake a holy war against Hind.⁵³

The most notable achievement of Mahmūd was the sacking of the famous temple of Somnāth (Somanātha) in Gujarāt.⁵⁴ The great idol was carried off and broken into four parts; one of these was placed in the Jāmi' Masjid of Ghaznī, one at the entrance of the royal palace, the third was sent to Mecca, the fourth to Medina.

Mahmūd came and went; he was no more than a brigand on a major scale. But some of his successors installed themselves in permanence and established themselves as rulers of India. Like Aśoka and Candragupta before them, the Muslim rulers extended their dominions far to the south, but never managed to complete their conquest, or to bring the whole sub-continent under the dominion of a single ruler. Nevertheless for centuries a large part of the population of India was governed by rulers who were aliens in race, language, culture and religion to the peoples whom they had made their subjects.

In theory these rulers maintained all the arrogant intolerance of Muslim principle towards idolaters; their wars were holy wars and their victories were directly attributable to the favour of the God who had made them his own people. The accounts of these years provided by Muslim historians give the impression that 'the early Muslim occupation of northern India was one prolonged holy war waged for the extirpation of idolatry and the propagation of Islam'.⁵⁵ In reality the Muslim rulers were far too shrewd to maintain this attitude of religious intransigence, even if it had been possible. They were too few to keep a discontented populace perpetually in subjection, or to enforce conversion by a steady diet of religious persecution. These rulers were always glad to welcome cases of conversion by consent; but for the most part Hindus were allowed to live on in the shelter of their family idols and in the traditions of their fathers. As the British were later to discover, the Indian peasant does not care greatly by whom he is ruled, provided that he is well governed; nor is he likely to regard the religion of the ruler as his concern, provided that there is no unreasonable interference in his personal affairs. The peasant of those days was not likely to be worse off under a Muslim than he had been under a Hindu landlord.⁵⁶

This may explain the limited success of the Muslims in India in substituting their own religion for that previously professed by their subjects, a success so much less than that obtained in Iran or Egypt or Asia Minor. Some regions have been almost completely Islamised, but Islam has never been more than a minority religion in Hindustan. Hinduism has an astonishing power of survival; while bowing before the conqueror, it has to a remarkable extent shown itself capable of maintaining its front unbroken.

Mountstuart Elphinstone (1779–1859), who as an administrator had had long experience of both races, directed his attention to the matter, and summed up his conclusions as follows:

In India there was a powerful priesthood . . . and a religion interwoven with the laws and manners of the people, which exercised an irresistible influence over their very thoughts. To this was joined a horror of change and a sort of passive courage, which is perhaps the best suited to allow time for an impetuous attack to spend its force . . . there were other causes which tended to delay the progress of the Mahometans. The spirit of their government was gradually altered. Their chiefs, from fanatical missionaries, became politic sovereigns, more intent on the aggrandizement of their families than the propagation of their faith; and by the same degrees they altered from rude soldiers to magnificent and luxurious princes, who had other occupations besides war, and other pleasures as attractive as those of victory.⁵⁷

For all that, during these centuries a great many Hindus did become Muslims. In this change coercion played its part; but, although social and economic pressure were continuous, as in Egypt and other areas of Muslim dominance, there is little evidence, after the first few years of violence, of persecution or of systematic attempts to extirpate Hindu faith and practice. Those who became Muslims for the most part did so of their own volition. Many of them belonged to the lowest orders of society; under the Hindu system they were deprived of every social advantage and of every possibility of improvement in their condition. They hoped to find, and certainly did find in Islam, though perhaps not as fully as they had expected, a removal of restrictions and wider possibilities of advancement.⁵⁸

The two communities thus persisted in propinquity, but with little exchange of custom or sentiment. No doubt each in a measure influenced the other, but the measure of this influence is hard to determine. Those who had been rejected by Hindu society certainly brought with them into the world of Islam many of their old ideas and beliefs; but the pressures of society and increasing Islamic indoctrination created among them at least external conformity with the rites and customs of their new faith. Some indeed became ardent converts and propagandists for the Islamic way. There are few signs of any direct Islamic influence on the faith of those who had remained within the Hindu fold.⁵⁹

The late medieval period was not lacking in attempts at reform of the Hindu system, and in attempts to bring the two great faiths nearer to one another. Two among these were attended by sufficient success to demand brief mention here.

Kabīr (c. 1440–1518) seems to have been of Muslim origin, but in the course of his life accepted a number of Hindu ideas. In the end he arrived at

belief in one supreme God, who is to be found everywhere and neither in mosque nor temple. In his songs, which became highly popular, he ridicules idolatry and priestcraft, asceticism and the worship of many gods. One of the most familiar of his sayings runs: 'If God be in the mosque and Rama within the image, what lies outside? Look within your heart, for there you will find both Karim (the merciful) and Rama.'

Although there are many similarities between the sayings of Kabīr and Christian doctrine, especially in his teaching concerning *śabda*, the word, there is no reason to suppose that he came directly under Christian influence. The parallels can be more naturally explained from his knowledge of the doctrines of Islam.

The sect of the followers of Kabīr has never died out. In 1931, they were reckoned as numbering rather more than a million.⁶⁰ Kabīr is important in himself, but also by reason of the influence that he seems to have exercised on the second of the great reformers, Gurū Nānak.

Gurū Nānak (1469–1539) was a Kṣatriya, but under Muslim influence came to believe passionately in the unity of God, and regarded idolatry and caste distinctions as late perversions of the true and monotheistic ideals of Hinduism. As is often the fate of would-be reformers, he was destined not to reform either of the ancient faiths but to become the founder of a new religion.⁶¹ His followers, to whom he gave the name *siks*, disciples, were to enter on a way separate from both Hinduism and Islam and to venerate their teacher as the founder of the Sikh religion.

There was a good deal of friendly co-operation between Hindus and Muslims, especially in the port towns of the west coast of India, where the Muslims were mostly of different origin from the Muslims of the inland sovereignties. In the careful reports of the well-informed traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa,⁶² we encounter Arabs in most of these ports as traders or supervisors of trade. The zamorin of Calicut, though himself a Hindu, had the reputation of being specially favourable to Muslims, perhaps because he needed the services of Arabs as sailors and pilots for his considerable fleet of ships.⁶³

Herein lies one of the ironies of histories. One of the main aims of Portuguese exploration was to circumvent the Muslim powers and to find new ways to Asia behind their backs. As it was succinctly expressed by one of the early voyagers, they came to find commerce and Christians. They did find Christians. But, having voyaged over countless leagues of sea to avoid the Muslims, they found in India Muslims far more numerous than Christians, and in most places installed in positions of far greater influence and power. Then, as now, the presence of Muslims proved one of the greatest obstacles to the penetration and extension of the Christian faith.

4 · Christians in the Indian Middle Age

I TRAVEL-ROUTES TO INDIA

In our third chapter we have raised the question of intellectual contacts between India and the West, reckoning with the possibility of Indian influence on Western thought, and of the infiltration of Western art and philosophical thought into the Indian world. But little has been said about Christians resident in India, and about the conditions under which they lived. It appears that, about the year AD 800, Christians were a well established community in Kerala, though limited both in numbers and in the range of their operations, and still retaining something of a foreign impress though already long resident in India. When, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese began their exploration of the Indian world it was not long before they encountered this flourishing Christian community, prosperous and strong enough to exercise some influence on the affairs of the area in which it was settled. What had been happening to these Christian communities in the seven centuries which had elapsed between the period of earlier evidences and the beginning of the modern world?

It is to be regretted that there is remarkably little to record. With one possible exception, we have no single document from an Indian source in which notice is clearly taken of the existence of Christians. Again, with one doubtful exception, we have no knowledge of any Indian Christian having visited the west during this period.¹ For such information as we possess we are indebted to the chance remarks of Chinese and European travellers who reached India during these centuries; not all of these were accurate observers, and not all were specially interested in Christians.

Chinese pilgrims continued to enter the country in search of information about Buddhism past and contemporary. One of the latest of these was Khinie, more properly Ki-ye, of whom it is recorded that he was in India in AD 964 to 976, accompanied by three hundred monks despatched by the emperor to seek relics of the Buddha and Buddhist books. Trade between China and the east coast of India and Ceylon seems to have been continuous,

and diplomatic missions in both directions were not unknown.²

To the west of India, the monopoly of the Arab seamen in the appropriately named Arabian sea was absolute and unchallenged. Arab travellers indicate that up to the eleventh century there was little Muslim penetration beyond the coastal areas of India. But R.H. Major seems to be stating the facts correctly, when he writes that 'whatever limits may be assigned to the advance of the Mohammedans into the interior of the country, it is certain that they obtained a monopoly of the Indian commerce, and a consequent enormous increase in wealth and prosperity'.³

In the Mediterranean the Muslim domination did not remain unchallenged. An important aspect of the emergence of Europe from the so-called Dark Ages was the increasing enterprise of the great Italian trading cities – Amalfi, Genoa, Pisa, Venice, and rather later Florence. As early as AD 840 Venice began to take rank as a commercial power. The prudent Italians found it better to co-operate with the Muslims than to fight them. The Italian cities had their streets of residence in the port towns of the Levant – Tripoli, Jaffa, and the rest, with appropriate commercial privileges attached – a pattern that was later to be extended to India by a number of European powers.

The eastern approaches, however, were well guarded. No Christian ships sailed the waters of the Red Sea – only one record has survived of a Christian traveller taking that sea-route from Egypt to India which had been so well known to the Greeks.⁴ If travellers from Europe did make their way to India, they found it necessary to pursue the greater part of the journey by land.

The famous trade route across the immense stretches of Central Asia to China, though closed spasmodically by wars and rumours of wars, for the most part remained open. The fascinating work of Francis Balducci Pegolotti, the *Book of Descriptions of Countries*, written about 1340, gives the stages of the route from Astrakhan to Peking, the journey to be accomplished in rather less than a year, always supposing that no misfortunes befall the traveller by the way.⁵ Of the conditions to be encountered on the road, Pegolotti writes encouragingly:

The road you travel from Tana⁶ to Cathay is perfectly safe, whether by day or by night, according to what the merchants say who have used it. Only if the merchant, in going or coming, should die upon the road, everything belonging to him will become the perquisite of the lord of the country in which he dies, and the officers of the land will take possession of all.⁷

One other danger is to be feared; if the lord of the territory dies and his successor is not immediately appointed, disorder will break out during the interval:

during such intervals there have sometimes been irregularities practised on the Franks and other foreigners . . . neither will the roads be safe to travel until the lord be proclaimed who is to reign in the room of him who is deceased.⁸

On this route, the traveller bound for India would go as far as Mosul or its neighbourhood and would then turn south, pursuing his way until he emerged on the Persian Gulf and could find a ship that would carry him directly to the west coast of India. This was, roughly, the way that Athanasius Nikitin took in 1468. Crossing the Caspian Sea to Astrakhan, he made his way to Baku, thence to Bokhara, south to Demavend in Persia, thence by way of Yezd and Bundar-Abbas to Ormuz, where he was able to ship his possessions and his horses in a hired vessel. The journey to Chaul, thirty miles south of Bombay, took six weeks.⁹

This sea journey was not very comfortable. But it must have been far preferable to the only other possibilities – the burning route along the coast of Baluchistan, on which the army of Alexander suffered so much as it made its way from India to Mesopotamia; and the route over the passes taken by the Chinese pilgrims, through dizzy heights of ice and snow. I have found no record of any European traveller taking either of these routes during the period under consideration.

2 AN INDIAN DOCUMENT

One Indian document exists which may be thought to contain a reference to Christians.

In one of the copper-plates, now in the possession of the Syrian Christians of Kerala, a king whose name is given as Virarāghava Chakkravarti conveyed to one Iravi-Korttan otherwise known as Ceramān-loka-pperum-jetti (the great merchant of the world ruled over by the Chera king), the title of Mañigrāmam, together with a number of privileges. He commits to him the oilsellers and five classes of artisans as his servants. He also confers on him the brokerage of certain articles of merchandise, and the customs on such articles in a defined area of the city of Koṭungaḷur (Cranganore). This grant is made not just to one individual but in perpetuity.¹⁰

The decipherment of the text has been so well done that there is little doubt that the meaning set forth in the available translations is correct. Everything else is uncertain.

The first doubt relates to the date of the inscription. One of the earlier interpreters assigned it to the year AD 230, and this is accepted by K.N. Daniel, who over a number of years has devoted intensive study to the copper-plates.¹¹ But Dr A.C. Burnell, no mean authority, reports that an

eminent Indian astronomer to whom he communicated the astronomical data in the inscription informed him that the only possible date is AD 774. This would bring the inscription into line with the probable dates of the other copper-plate inscriptions. A more recent editor Mr V. Venkayya, on palaeographical grounds and on the evidence of the purely Malayālam forms in the language of the inscription, has reached the conclusion that the plate cannot be dated earlier than AD 1300.¹²

Was Ravi-korṛaṇṇ to give him a more correct form of his name, a Christian? Traditionally it has been supposed that he was. But even the first decipherer of the inscription, the missionary Dr H. Gundert, came to doubt this: 'I had indeed been startled by the Indian-looking name "Iravi-Corttan" which does not at all look like the appellation of a Syrian Christian, though from the time of Menezes (16th century), these grants had been regarded as given to the Syrian colonists.' Maṇigrāmam has been supposed to be a kind of Christian principality; it now seems much more likely that it was a trading corporation, the rights and privileges of which were transferred by this copper-plate to a merchant named Iravi-Korttan. Most scholars are likely to agree with the verdict of Mr V. Venkayya: 'It is just possible that Ravi-korṛaṇṇ was a Christian by religion. But his name and title give no clue in this direction, and there is nothing Christian in the document except its possession by its present owners.'¹³

So our one clue from an Indian source, tenuous as we had known it to be, seems in reality to be no clue at all; it is now seen to provide us with little or no evidence as to the status and condition of Christians in India, whether in the earlier or the later days of the medieval period.

3 CLERICAL TRAVELLERS TO INDIA

We are left with such evidence as can be gleaned from the writings of foreigners who in this period visited India, and may be thought to have made some contact with Christians.

As our first Christian witness we summon John of Monte Corvino. Born in 1247, somewhere in Italy but where is uncertain, John joined the Franciscan Order; and when already an experienced missionary was sent by the pope to China to make contact with the great Khan in Cambalec, the ancient name of Peking. There he was so successful that the pope appointed him as the first Latin archbishop of Peking with suffragans under him. This seems to have taken place in 1307. John died in or about 1328, being then more than eighty years of age, greatly beloved and respected by Christians and non-Christians alike.

In the course of his journey to China, travelling by the southern route, John of Monte Corvino was detained in India for thirteen months. It is

greatly to be regretted that only two letters and a part of a third have been preserved.¹⁴

John was a good observer, at times with barbs to his pen. He implies that, of his exile of thirteen months in India, part if not the whole was spent in the neighbourhood of the place where the tomb of the apostle Thomas was to be found. His language is rather vague. He does not tell us who the Christians were to whom that church belonged, and does not define the nature of his relationship to them:

And I remained in the country of India, wherein stands the church of St Thomas the Apostle, for thirteen months, and in that region baptized in different places about one hundred persons. The companion of my journey was Friar Nicholas of Pistoia of the Order of Preachers, who died there, and was buried in the church aforesaid.¹⁵

Our other notices suggest that the Christians of the area, if indeed John was at Mylapore, were Nestorians. But it seems that his relations with them were friendly, and it may well be that the people he baptised were in fact Nestorian Christians. There is no reference to their having a priest of their own.

John's remark that 'hills there are few' (p. 61) makes it plain that he was not in the far south of the country, where the mountains can be clearly seen from the sea. The phrase is consistent with residence near the modern Madras, but would fit equally well with Ramnad or a similar area. Of the Indian people he writes on the whole kindly though noting with regret that they are idolaters. He has observed that Hindus do not, like Christians, follow regular hours of worship – 'they never join together in worship at any fixed hour, but each goes to worship when it pleases himself. And so they worship their idols in any part of their temples, either by day or by night.' In some respects his fastidious tastes are offended by their ways: 'for their daily food they use rice and a little milk; and they eat grossly like pigs, to wit, with the whole hand or fist and without a spoon. In fact, when they eat their food, they do look more like pigs than men' (p. 64). From this it can be inferred that John was not received in the houses of Indians of the higher classes; and he did not know that by eating with a spoon he would have offended them more than they could offend him by eating with their fingers.

Of Christians he has less to say than we could wish. There is only one further reference: 'In the regions by the sea there are many Saracens, and they have great influence; but there are few of them in the interior. There are a very few Christians, and Jews, and they are of little weight. The people persecute much the Christians, and all who bear Christian names' (p. 63).

Our next witness is Father Jordanus, a Dominican, who, though he wrote a book called *Mirabilia Descripta*,¹⁶ is a sober and unemotional chronicler.

He is claimed by the Portuguese as a member of that nation, but this is not confirmed by any reliable evidence. Jordanus was in India in the years 1321 and 1322; we have two letters written by him from India in that period.

The first letter deals at some length with the martyrdom of four friars in Thāna, near Bombay, not long before the arrival of Jordanus at that place. Their names are given as Thomas of Tolentino in the March of Ancona, a venerable man who may have attained the age of seventy, James of Padua, Peter of Siena, and Demetrius a Georgian lay brother good at languages. Jordanus tells us little beyond the fact that he had been able to recover the bodies of the martyrs and to give them Christian burial; for fuller information we are dependent on a later and more romantic chronicler.

Jordanus writes somewhat optimistically of the possibilities of conversion in India. He tells us that he had baptised many persons in the city of Parocco (almost certainly Broach in Gujarāt), and another thirty-five in the neighbourhood.¹⁷ Unfortunately he does not tell us how he managed to communicate with these believers. Nor does he tell us to what faith the converts had previously belonged. They may have been Nestorian Christians; such Christians, isolated and without the services of a priest, may in many cases have been glad to submit themselves to the authority of any priest who came along, and the Roman missionaries naturally had no hesitation in baptising those whom they regarded as heretics little better than unbelievers. Jordanus continues:

Let friars be getting ready to come, for there are three places I know where they might reap a great harvest and where they could live in common. One of them is Supera,¹⁸ where two friars might be stationed; and a second is in the district of Parocco [Broach, *ut supra*] where two or three might abide; and the third is Columbus;¹⁹ besides many others that I am not acquainted with.

In the second letter, after many complaints about his loneliness and his sufferings, including detraction by false brethren, he goes on to say that the reputation of the Latins stands very high, and that 'they are in continual expectation of the arrival of the Latins here, which they say is clearly predicted in their books'.²⁰

In the *Mirabilia*, written probably a number of years after his sojourn in India, Jordanus gives us a little more information:

In this India there is a scattered people, one here, one there, who call themselves Christians but are not so, nor have they baptism nor do they know anything about the faith. Nay, they believe St Thomas the great to be the Christ.²¹ There, in the India I speak of, I baptized and brought into the faith about three hundred souls, of whom many were idolaters and Saracens.²²

Jordanus adds:

Let me tell you that there among the idolaters a man may with safety expound the Word of the Lord; nor is anyone from among the idolaters hindered from being baptized throughout all the East, whether they be Tartars or Indians or what not.²³

This statement of wide-spread toleration raises doubts as to the class of people with whom Jordanus had to do during his stay in India. Among high caste Hindus such toleration is unknown. He adds a prayer which sounds odd in modern ears: 'Pray for the pilgrim of Christ, all of you, that the Indian converts, black as they are, may be made white in soul before the good Jesus, through his pitiful grace.'²⁴

In 1328 Jordanus was consecrated by the pope as bishop of Columbum, and provided with a letter to the head of the Nascarene (read 'Nasrani') Christians, commending the new bishop to them, and urging them to forsake heresy and to enter the unity of the true church.²⁵ It seems that Jordanus left Europe in 1330 with a view to returning to India; but there is no evidence that he ever reached his distant See or carried out any further work in India.

From the sobriety of Jordanus we turn with some scepticism to the florid tales of Odoric of Pordenone.²⁶ It must be said in defence of Odoric that his story as we have it was not written down by him, but dictated in old age and extreme feebleness to one Friar William of Solagna; imagination may have added something to his descriptions, and his amanuensis may have yielded at times to the allurements of medieval hagiographical style. Nevertheless without the good Odoric we should know even less than we do about this dark period in the Christian history of India.²⁷

Odoric arrived in India in 1322 and betook himself to Thāna, where a year earlier the four friars had been put to death. He gives a lengthy and detailed account of this event, enriched by a number of marvels. As he was in touch with eyewitnesses and was able to talk with Nestorian Christians, members of the fifteen families which he states to have been resident in the town, there is no reason to doubt the essential veracity of his account.

The friars were called to bear witness before the *cadi* (Muslim judge) in a case involving a complaint by a woman against her husband. In the course of the hearing the *cadi* persistently asked Fr Thomas to express an opinion about the prophet Muhammad. At length, the friar, yielding to this importunity, delivered himself, as he is reported, of the following answer: 'I reply then, and tell you that Mahomet is the son of perdition, and hath his place in hell with the devil his father, and not he only but all such as follow him and keep his law, false as it is, and pestilent and accursed, hostile to God and the salvation of souls.'

It is not necessary to suppose that we have the exact words spoken by the friar. But, if he spoke even remotely according to the tenor of these words,

he must have known that he was condemning himself and his companions irrevocably to death. No further proceedings seem to have been judged necessary, and the friars were led out to die. After various unsuccessful attempts had been made to destroy them, the *cadi* sent four armed men to finish off the job; the messengers carried out the injunction laid upon them and three friars were beheaded. The fourth, Peter, who had been left behind in the house, was then apprehended, and after he had endured various torments throughout the day, was finally at nightfall slain with the sword.²⁸

Jordanus tells us that, having recovered the bodies of the martyrs, with the help of a young Genoese whom he found at Thāna he took them to Supera, and buried them in a church as honourably as he could. The expansive Odoric, without mentioning Jordanus, simply remarks, ‘having heard of their glorious martyrdom, and opening their tombs I humbly and devoutly took up their bones’ – which he then proceeded to carry off to China.²⁹

On his travels Odoric stopped at Quilon, which he oddly calls Polumbum, but he has disappointingly little to tell us about Christians. He mentions two cities, Flandrina, which may be identical with Pandarani north of Calicut, and Cyngilin, which can hardly be other than Cranganore. In Flandrina some of the inhabitants are Jews and some are Christians, ‘and between these two cities there is always internal war, but the result is always that the Christians beat and overcome the Jews’.³⁰

Some of the observations of Odoric on the customs of the country, such as *satī*, are accurate and valuable. But of Christians he has only one further notice. In the region called Mobar, he found the place where the body of the blessed Thomas the Apostle is buried. ‘His church is filled with idols, and beside it are fifteen houses of the Nestorians, that is to say Christians but vile and pestilent heretics.’³¹ From this point on the recollections of Odoric deal with the Far East, and he has no more to tell us about India.

4 A LAY WITNESS

Following our clerical travellers we have moved forward into the fourteenth century; but we must now retrace our steps to make the acquaintance of the most important of all our lay witnesses, Ser Marco Polo.³²

After long years spent in China Marco Polo returned to Europe by way of India, in which he travelled extensively at some period between the years 1292 and 1295. Though excellent as an observer, Polo was unsystematic in his recording, and his ideas of geography were somewhat hazy; it is not always easy to follow the course of his wanderings, and he has less to tell us than we might have hoped about Christians encountered in India.

Polo arrived in India from Ceylon, and first reached the ‘great province of

Maabar, which is styled India the Greater; it is the best of all the Indies and is on the mainland'.³³

Maabar appears to be an Arabic word *ma'bar* signifying 'passage' or 'ferry'. It may well refer to the 'Bridge', that point at which Ceylon approaches most closely to India, the distance between the two being no more than twenty-two miles. Later, the term was used in reference to a much wider region, Cape Comorin being named as the point at which Malabar ends and Ma'bar begins, and the whole coastal area as far as Nellore being included.³⁴

There may also have been confusion with the word *Maravar*, the caste name of a vigorous and warlike people, whose descendants can be found today all over the southern part of the Tamil country. Some colour is lent to this view by the name of the local ruler as given by Marco Polo, Sonder Bandi Davar, in which it is not difficult to recognise Sundara Pāṇḍi Thevar. Sundaram, the beautiful one, is a name borne by many Indian rulers. Pāṇḍiyan was the title of the ruler of the southernmost of the three great Dravidian kingdoms. Thevar is the honorific title used to this day by members of the Marava community. It is, however, impossible to identify the ruler to whom Polo is referring in this passage.

He follows up this notice with a remarkably accurate account of the pearl-fishery, which is still carried on much as he described it along the coast between Vembār and Tuticorin. The reference to 'the best of all the Indies' remains perplexing. If Polo came to India by way of the 'Bridge', the barren landscape with groups of palmyras and some stunted palms but little cultivation hardly suggests to the traveller that he is entering a land of abundant plenty. Some modern commentators suggest that Polo has made a jump in his recollections, and that he is referring to the kingdom of Thānjāvur (Tanjore), well-watered and prosperous even in the days before the Mettur dam and the wonders of modern irrigation.³⁵

Book III chapter 18 of Polo's narrative is entitled 'Discoursing of the place where lieth the body of St Thomas the Apostle and of the Miracles thereof.' The body of St Thomas lies, we are told, 'in the province of Maabar at a certain little town having no great population; 'tis a place where few traders go, because there is very little merchandize to be got there, and it is a place not very accessible. Both Christians and Saracens, however, greatly frequent it in pilgrimage.'³⁶ This note is more remarkable for its omissions than for what it actually tells us. The writer does not give us the name of the place where the Apostle lies buried; no indication of its location other than that it is in the province of Maabar; no clue to the route which he followed when he visited it; no statement as to Christians living in the neighbourhood or as to their number; no indication as to who the Christians were who came on pilgrimage or whence they came; no information as to

why the Muslims also came on pilgrimage to the spot. These many lacunae have led some critics to doubt whether Polo was ever anywhere near the site of the alleged tomb of the Apostle, and whether any credence can be granted to his narrative at this point. But such extreme scepticism can hardly be defended. The fame of Madras in later days naturally leads the modern reader to suppose that this strip of coastline was always a busy centre of trade; in point of fact, until the British acquired Madraspatnam from the local ruler, it was no more than an insignificant hamlet, and may well have been so at the end of the thirteenth century.

Marco Polo goes on to give us the interesting information that 'Christians who go thither on pilgrimage take of the earth of that place where the Saint was killed, and give a portion thereof to anyone who is sick of a quartan or tertian fever; and by the power of God and of St Thomas the sick man is incontinently cured. The earth, I should tell you, is red.'³⁷ Similar practices are reported from other areas; but this is a detail which Polo is not likely to have invented. This prosaic statement is followed by a highly picturesque and legendary account of the manner in which the saint met his death.

Chapter 22 of the same book tells us about the kingdom of Coilum. Doubts have been raised as to the identity of this city, but there seems no reason to doubt that it is that Kōllam (Quilon), with which we have become familiar in other sources, and of which the Arabian traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa records that it was 'one of the finest in Malabar, with splendid markets and rich merchants, and was the chief resort of the Chinese traders in India'.³⁸

Once again Marco Polo gives evidence of his accuracy as observer. He tells us of the inhabitants of the region that 'corn they have none but rice. So also their wine they make from palm sugar, capital drink it is, and speedily it makes a man drunk.' Now, as then, toddy made from the sweet juice of the coco-nut palm is speedy in its action.³⁹ But of the religion of the people he has no more to say than that 'the people are idolaters, but there are also some Christians and some Jews. The natives have a language of their own, and a king of their own and are tributary to no one.'⁴⁰ At that time the Malayālam language was hardly distinguishable from Tamil. It is just possible that Marco Polo had heard of the persistence of Syriac as the liturgical language of the Christians of the area. He is correct in stating that Quilon was an independent kingdom; at the time of writing it was one of the petty principalities which were later absorbed into the kingdom of Travancore.

On one other point Marco Polo gives us information of considerable interest and accuracy. We have found evidence of great commercial activity, over many centuries, in the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, the Bay of Bengal and as far away as China. But why did none of these hardy and intrepid seamen ever turn the Cape of Good Hope and emerge upon the Atlantic Ocean? Marco Polo gives us the reason: 'Madagascar is an Island towards the south

about a thousand miles from Socotra . . . You must know that this Island lies so far south that ships cannot go further south or visit other Islands in that direction except this one.’⁴¹ There is considerable evidence of Arab settlement and colonisation in Madagascar, but good reason for the Arabs regarding it as the farthest limit of the navigable world. If a man were to sail south from Madagascar, he would meet neither coast nor island until he reached the frozen continent of Antarctica; if any Arab mariner ventured the journey, it is unlikely that he returned to tell the tale.⁴² There was a further reason. And here once more Marco Polo’s evidence is surprisingly accurate: ‘The sea-current runs so strong to the south that the ships which should attempt it never would get back again. Indeed the ships of Maabar which visit this Island of Madagascar arrive there with marvellous speed, for great as the distance is they accomplish it in 20 days, whilst the return voyage takes them more than three months.’⁴³ This, he continues, is because of the strong current running south, which continues with singular force and in the same direction at all seasons.

The seas off the south-east coast of Africa are among the most dangerous and unpredictable in the world. A ship encountering a south-west gale may suddenly find itself falling into what has been vividly described as a hole in the sea. This may happen with disastrous results even to large ships and in modern times. In 1973 the 12,000 ton S.S. *Neptune Sapphire*, on her maiden voyage, encountered one of these freak waves, and was literally broken in two by the impact. One of the unsolved mysteries of the sea is the total disappearance of the 9,000 ton liner *Waratah* in a south-west gale in 1901. No trace of the ship has ever been found; it is probable that she was literally swallowed up by one of these unpredictable holes in the sea.

The Moçambique current flows down the east coast of Africa between Madagascar and the continent. Off Cape Agulhas it becomes the Agulhas current and changes direction, turning to flow south-eastwards. The speed of the current may be as much as five knots, so that a ship may drift with the current even against the wind. Seamen tend to dread currents even more than storms. If the Arab mariners had heard rumours of disasters of the kind that can befall ships even in the twentieth century, it is not surprising that they had a healthy dread of these southern waters, and that the Atlantic remained inaccessible to sailors from the east, until the ships of the Portuguese at the beginning of the sixteenth century managed to overcome the difficulties, though still with a heavy price in shipwrecks.⁴⁴

5 LATER MEDIEVAL TRAVELLERS

Our next witness is perhaps the oddest of all. John of Marignolli was born in or near Florence somewhere about the year 1290; and, having joined the

Franciscan Order, was sent by the pope in 1338 on a mission to the Great Khan. The embassy spent a number of years on its travels and in Peking. At last in 1347 John was able to leave China and to spend about a year in India on his way home. In 1353 he reached Avignon and made his report to the pope, who rewarded him with the small bishopric of Bisignano. In 1355 he was carried off by the emperor Charles IV to Prague. Here the Italian bishop was set to the endlessly tedious task of writing up the *Chronicles of Bohemia*, thus becoming involved in 'thorny thickets and tangled brakes', and in a 'labyrinthine jungle of strange names, the very utterance of which was an impossibility to his Florentine tongue'.⁴⁵ To relieve the dreariness of his days, Marignolli hit upon the idea of inserting into his narrative confused notes, in no particular order, of his experiences during his long years of Asian travel. For four centuries this dull manuscript slept undisturbed, until in 1768 it was printed; even then no one noticed the hidden treasures which it contained. At last in 1820 a Mr J.G. Meinert performed the service of extracting the passages relevant to eastern travel and arranging them in some sort of orderly and continuous narrative. From that time on Marignolli's notes have been included in our exiguous sources for the history of Christianity in medieval India.⁴⁶

Like so many of our travellers Marignolli wrote down less than he knew. Moreover, he seems to have been, when he wrote, already an old man, not very clear in the head and not very skilled with the pen. But his first statement on his residence in India is so important that it must be cited at some length:

And sailing on the feast of St Stephen [Dec. 26] we navigated the Indian Sea until Palm Sunday, and then arrived at a very noble city of India called Columbum, where the whole world's pepper is produced. Now this pepper grows on a kind of vines, which are planted just like in our vineyards . . . And there is no roasting of the pepper as authors have falsely asserted . . . nor are the Saracens the proprietors, but the Christians of St Thomas. And these latter are the masters of the public steel-yard, from which I derived, as a perquisite of my office as Pope's legate, every month a hundred gold *fan*, and a thousand when I left. There is a church of St George there, of the Latin communion, at which I dwelt. And I adorned it with fine paintings and taught there the holy law.⁴⁷

Marignolli goes on to say that he set up a marble pillar with inscriptions both in Latin and Indian characters; he consecrated and blessed it in the presence of an infinite multitude of people, 'and I was carried on the shoulders of the chiefs in a litter or palanquin like Solomon's'.⁴⁸

Parts of the narrative are quite clear. Columbum is evidently Quilon, one of the great centres of the pepper trade. The references to the Thomas Christians are fully in line with what we have already learned of their

situation in earlier times, as a stable and prosperous commercial community having almost a monopoly of the trade in pepper. The vanity evident in Marignolli's references to his pillar is in keeping with his character as he reveals it in other contexts in his work.

But what does he mean, when he refers to himself as the pope's legate? And what is the Church of St George of the Latin rite?

Some have supposed this to be a church founded by Jordanus. But Marignolli nowhere refers to predecessors who had come to that place from the west. Others have taken it to be a church founded by Genoese or Venetian traders. But we have no evidence from which to infer the presence of a considerable number of Levantine merchants in that area at that time. Even if Marignolli's memory was failing, he could hardly be mistaken about a place in which he claims to have resided for sixteen months. The most probable, but still uncertain, conjecture is that the Thomas Christians were so delighted to have among them an educated priest from the West that they took him in as one of their own, and allowed him to celebrate according to his own rite, not having any clear idea as to who the pope might be or of any change in ecclesiastical relationships in which they might be involving themselves. Hearing that he came from a great potentate in Europe far away, they may have thought that he could be useful to them in negotiations with the local ruler with a view to the safeguarding of their rights and privileges. Clearly Marignolli enjoyed his time with them, and they may well have been equally content with him.

Marignolli records one curious incident from his time in India. A man of majestic stature, naked from the loins upward and wearing a knotted cord like the stole of a deacon (the sacred thread of the Brāhman), came into his presence, and reported having received a divine revelation, bidding him to proceed 'to Columbum, a distance of two years' voyage by sea, and there shalt thou find the messenger of God, who will teach thee the way of salvation'. Marignolli's interpreter, a young man who had been captured by pirates and sold by them to a German merchant, and who had been baptised while in captivity, recognised in the venerable ascetic his own father. After three months' Christian instruction, the old man was baptised under the name Michael, and sent away with a blessing, promising to proclaim to others the faith by which he had been saved.⁴⁹

Sir Henry Yule doubts the story from beginning to end, and thinks that 'in fact it looks as if the whole thing was got up as a trick, in the spirit of those which the Duke and Duchess played on Don Quixote'.⁵⁰ So radical a scepticism is not necessary. Probably the old man, like the Gibeonites in the book of Joshua, did not come from as far away as he said he did. But he may well have found in the teaching imparted to him by his Christian son the promise of a new way of life, and deliverance from the endless round of

austerities to which he was committed in his devotion as a Hindu.

Two more witnesses from the fifteenth century must occupy our attention very briefly.

Nicolò Conti was a Venetian of noble family, who had resided in Damascus and learned Arabic, and then set out on a long series of journeys which took him to many parts of India, to Ceylon and to Sumatra. He returned to Europe by way of Ethiopia and Egypt, and at last reached home in 1444 after twenty-five years of absence. During his travels he had apostatised and become a Muslim 'not so much from fear of death to himself as from the danger which threatened his wife and children who accompanied him'. He threw himself on the mercy of Pope Eugenius IV in Florence and was reconciled, but was ordered as penance to recount his travels to the scholar Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459). Poggio in due course included the narrative in the first book of his *De Varietate Fortunae*; this was published in Paris in 1723, and first appeared in English dress in 1857.⁵¹ Nicolò gives a fuller account of what he had seen in India than any other of our medieval travellers. He makes, for instance, the interesting remark that in Calicut 'the women are allowed to take several husbands, so that some have ten or more . . . The children are allotted to the husband at the will of the wife. The inheritance of the father does not descend to the children but to the grandchildren' (perhaps rather 'nephews').⁵² Polyandry is certainly a very ancient custom in India – Draupadī in the *Mahābhārata* was the wife of all the five Pāṇḍava brothers – and survives among the Todas in the Nilgiri hills. It undoubtedly existed in past times among the Nāyars of Kerala. Nicolò seems to have been describing what he saw; but like many later observers he may have been perplexed by the *marumakkattāyam* custom of marriage, which still prevails among the Nāyars of Malabar and Kerala, and being matrilineal is remarkably different from those systems of marriage which exist in patrilineal societies.

As with our other witnesses, we have to regret that Nicolò has so little to say about Christians. He did encounter them in a

maritime city which is named Malepur, situated in the Second Gulf beyond the Indus. Here the body of St Thomas lies honourably buried in a very large and beautiful church; it is worshipped by heretics, who are called Nestorians, and inhabit this city to the number of a thousand. These Nestorians are scattered over all India, in like manner as are the Jews among us. All this province is called Malabar.⁵³

Beyond this he has nothing to say about Christians.⁵⁴

At this point Russia, destined at a later date to have so fateful an influence on the affairs of India, appears for the first time in our narrative. A young man

named Athanasius Nikitin, a citizen of Tver, set out on his travels in 1468, passed through Persia, spent some time in India and returned to Russia in 1474; he appears to have died in the neighbourhood of Smolensk before reaching his native city Tver. His narrative of his doings was first published in Russian in 1821, and translated into English for R.H. Major in 1855.⁵⁵ The translator accurately sums up the contents of this brief narrative:

Athanasius Nikitin, a citizen of Tver, visited, about the year 1470, the kingdoms of the Deccan and of Golconda, for purposes of commerce. We possess his diary, which although it does not evince any remarkable power of observation, or any great amount of knowledge, still must be considered a curiosity, the more so as the state of India at that time is imperfectly known.⁵⁶

The translator adds that 'A staunch and zealous devotee, he never failed to keep the great festivals of the Greek-Russian Church, although he had no books of devotion to guide him.'⁵⁷ But this does not fit in with the evidence of the diary itself. Nikitin records two separate attempts of Muslims to convert him to their faith, each of which he resisted. But he also writes, 'I forgot the Christian faith and the Christian festivals, and knew not Easter nor Christmas, nor can I tell Wednesday from Friday, and I am between the two faiths' (p. 18). Again, 'I have already passed the fourth great day [Easter] in the Mussulman country, and have not renounced Christianity. But what may come hereafter God alone knows. Lord, my God, in thee is my hope, save me, O Lord my God!' (p. 23). He also tells us 'on my return to Russia I again adopted the Russian law' (p. 19). What Nikitin writes is never entirely clear. It seems probable, however, that even if he did not formally renounce Christianity, he went far in the direction of adapting himself to local custom and usage, so far indeed as to have adopted a Muslim name, Khoza Issuf Khorossani (p. 15). For this reason, perhaps, he warns faithful Christians that 'he that travels through many countries will fall into many sins, and deprive himself of the Christian faith' (p. 22).⁵⁸

Nikitin seems never to have met Christians in India; if he did so, he makes no mention of them. He does, however, make it clear that it was possible for a European Christian to spend a considerable time in the India of the fifteenth century and to maintain himself; indicating at the same time that such a European was liable to be subjected to considerable pressures to change his faith and to become a Muslim.

Hieronimo di Santo Stefano, a merchant of Genoa who was in India in 1497, tells us that in the city of Calicut 'there are as many as a thousand houses inhabited by Christians, and the district is called Upper India'. But he gives us no details; it is unlikely that he was ever there, and he seems to have confused the information which had come to him by word of mouth.⁵⁹

One Arab writer may be cited as giving evidence of Christians in India different from any that we have so far encountered. Abd-er-Razzak was in India in 1442 and 1443. He gives us much first-hand information about the great city of Vijayanagar at the height of its splendour. He writes of it that it 'is such that the pupil of the eye has never seen a place like it, and the ear of intelligence has never been informed that there existed anything to equal it in the world' (p. 23). His own experiences were distressing, owing to the hostility of a Christian named Nimeh-Pezir, whom the king had admitted to his councils. This man 'thought himself equal to a vizier; he was a creature of small stature, malicious, ill-born, mean, and stern. All the most odious vices were united in him, without one finding in him any counterbalancing estimable quality.' This less than admirable representative of the Christian cause had listened to 'the men of Ormuz', who had persuaded him that Abd-er-Razzak was not an ambassador sent by 'his majesty the happy Khakan', but merely a postman, charged with the delivery of a letter to the king of Vijayanagar.⁶⁰

From Abd-er-Razzak's Arabic transliteration of the name Nimeh-Pezir, it is impossible to reach any certainty as to who this Christian was, or whence he came. It is possible that he was an Armenian. There had been contacts between India and Armenia from a very early date, and when, in the sixteenth century, our sources become richer, we find Armenians established in many parts of the country.⁶¹ It is interesting to find that a Christian could attain a position of some influence in so orthodox a Hindu kingdom as that of Vijayanagar. We may also think that this particular Christian may not have been so wholly evil as he has been depicted by the pen of envy and resentment.⁶²

6 THE TWO ENDS OF A CHAIN

The gleanings of six centuries have proved neither numerous nor illuminating. Further records may yet come to light, disinterred by busy antiquaries working in long-forgotten libraries in the West. India itself may yield some further particulars. What little we have has confirmed the view expressed earlier in this chapter that, though through these long centuries India was almost wholly cut off from the West, the separation was never complete. Hardy souls – merchants in search of gain, travellers impelled only by motives of curiosity, missionaries on their way to or from the Far East – did make their hazardous way to India, and succeeded in living there over a period of months or years. Those who left no record of their travels were doubtless far more numerous than those who did, and the records

which have perished must have been far more extensive than those which have survived. But out of it all emerges the fact that Europe never quite forgot that there were Christians in India. Sectarian animosity had blinded the eyes of the travellers to much that was of interest. They failed to appreciate the tenacity which had kept alight through the centuries at least some vestige of Christian faith, under conditions which might well have quenched it long before. But to some at least in Europe the facts became known; Christians there were in that far away country; there had persisted at least some rudimentary Christian faith, which, when better days should come and perhaps with help from the Western brethren, might be quickened into a living flame.

Christians, then, were to be found in many regions of India, but in most areas in inconsiderable numbers. They were a poor and feeble folk, and of little social consequence.

There was a persistent tradition among the people who called themselves Thomas Christians, and perhaps not only among them, that the Apostle Thomas himself was the founder of their church. The place of his martyrdom was shewn at Mylapore in the neighbourhood of Madras; in the course of years many legends had grown up about the place and about the event.

In Kerala there were large and settled communities. These were engaged in the pepper trade, and were in the enjoyment of some of the amenities provided by wealth and of privileges granted to them by the local rulers.

All the Christians of whom we have record appear to have been Nestorians, and no doubt maintained a shadowy connection with the patriarch of Babylon. But in our sources there is hardly so much as a reference to bishops or priests, or to regular worship among these Christians. If they had any knowledge of the western world, this is not likely to have included any idea that the bishop of Rome claimed to be the head of all Christians everywhere. Only when the Roman Catholic missionaries arrived at the beginning of the sixteenth century did they learn that they were classed as heretics by the greater part of the Christian world.

So much for the religious aspect of contacts between India and the western world. One further narrative demands attention, as a link between that medieval world which at the end of the fifteenth century was just about to pass away and that modern world which was just about to be born.

We do not know when or how the idea that the circumnavigation of Africa should be possible entered the mind of the king of Portugal. There may have been Moorish traditions indicating that Africa was wholly or almost wholly surrounded by water. But it is certain that the king was somehow led to entertain the idea, and that he set himself to obtain information from the

Indian end. In 1487⁶³ two Portuguese gentlemen, Affonso de Payra and Pedro Covilham, both skilled in the Arabic language, were despatched by royal authority on a voyage of discovery to the East. Their instructions were to search out the country of Prester John (Prete Janni); to trace to its source the traffic in drugs and spices of which Venice was the centre; to ascertain whether it was possible for ships to sail round the southern extremity of Africa; to make their way to India, and to acquire detailed information as to the possibilities of this navigation.

The travellers set forth in May 1487. Having made their way successfully to Aden they separated, Payra making for Suakin and the Red Sea and Covilham for India. The ship on which Covilham sailed reached the coast of India at Cannanore. After a stay of some days at that port, he went on to Calicut and Goa, thus becoming, as it is believed, the first European to sail the waters of the Indian ocean since the Arabs obtained domination of those seas. Returning to Cairo, he met with messengers of King John of Portugal, who instructed him to turn his steps to Ethiopia, now identified as the kingdom of Prester John. This he was ready and eager to do. But first he sent to the king a long account of his travels up to that date, an account which contains the notable words: 'That the ships which sailed down the coast of Guinea might be sure of reaching the termination of the continent by persisting in a course to the south; and that when they should arrive in the eastern ocean, their best direction must be to inquire for Sofala, and the Island of the Moon (Madagascar).' ⁶⁴

The later history of Covilham was worthy of its romantic beginnings. Obedient to the commands of his king, he entered Ethiopia, was kindly received by the emperor, and taken by him to his capital. He was accepted into the imperial service and enjoyed a good deal of the confidence of the ruler. But he was never allowed to leave the country, and was destined to spend the next thirty-three years in what was in fact honourable and luxurious captivity. He managed to communicate from time to time with the Portuguese court, and was an invaluable source of information as to the realities of the kingdom of Prester John, so different from the vivid and splendid imaginations of the middle ages. At last, in 1525, he was able to see again the faces of fellow-countrymen, when a Portuguese embassy reached the court of Ethiopia; but his captivity ended only with his death. By that time the vision of Portuguese domination of the Asian seas and of the safeguarding of the ocean route to India had been transformed from dream into reality. ⁶⁵

In 1490 the contacts of Portugal with India could be represented by the two ends of a chain. The ends were now well known; what lay between had yet to be discovered. This was a task that was to call for endless fortitude, persistence and the spirit of adventure. But the die had already been cast.

Asia and Europe were to be brought into permanent relationships of exchange and mutual knowledge, such as had been known in no previous epoch of the world's history. Since the king of Portugal had already received from the pope a special commission to attend to the interests of the Christian faith in the eastern lands, commerce and Christians could not but be intimately associated with one another. To the Indian cynic, the missionary work of the Christian churches appears only as one further form of unscrupulous European aggression in eastern lands; the Christian of the sixteenth century could not regard it as other than a natural and necessary accompaniment of every European enterprise in Asia.

PART TWO

5 · Europe and Asia; Contact and Conflict

I THE WEST APPROACHES THE EAST

On 17 May 1498 the three small ships of Vasco da Gama cast anchor off a small village about eight miles (13 km) north of Calicut on the south-west coast of India. On 21 April 1526 Bābur the Tīmūrid at the first battle of Pānīpat overthrew the armies of Ibrāhīm Shāh Lodī, the Afghan ruler of Delhi, and brought that Muslim kingdom to an end. These two events changed the face of the world, and left an indelible impress on the destinies of India.

The expansion of Portugal, both to Asia and the East and to America and the West, can be summed up under the headings Crusade, Curiosity, Commerce, Conversion, Conquest and Colonisation, in that order. Though the exploits of many outstanding men have to be recorded in this chronicle, all these facets of late medieval and early renaissance thought combine in the character of one great central figure, Prince Henry the Navigator (1394–1460), the third son of King John I.

The age of the great crusades in the Levant was over. But the idea of a continuing *crusade* against the Muslim was still in the minds of many men. The first assault, made to give employment to unemployed soldiers, to satisfy the chivalrous ideas of the king's sons, to check piracy, and to continue the crusade against the Muslims,¹ resulted in the capture of Ceuta on 21 August 1415. This, together with a second assault in 1418 at which Prince Henry was personally present, for the moment slaked his crusading ardour. But information received at this time as to the *commerce* carried on from the northern coast of Africa across the Sahara to Guinea, and as to the gold which flowed back from that area, seems to have suggested to him that this was a line of exploration to be followed up, and that direct contact with the Guinea coast might result in an increase in the supply of much-needed gold to the court of Portugal. The rediscovery by his captains of Porto Santo and Madeira and later of the Azores, and the settlement of these islands with practical and efficient farmers, is a good example of sensible *colonisation* of uninhabited lands, and may suggest that Prince Henry was already thinking of that approach to India across the western ocean which led in 1492 to the

most famous of all voyages and to the discovery of the Caribbean Islands by Christopher Columbus.

The Navigator seems to have been endowed with no less a share of *curiosity* than more ordinary mortals. With so large an unknown world to explore, and with new means at hand for the exploration of it, it is not surprising that the prince became one of the greatest patrons of explorers that the world has ever known. It does not appear that he ever navigated himself; yet his title 'the Navigator' was more than fully deserved.

Sea-travel five hundred years ago was both uncomfortable and dangerous.² To the ever-present danger of shipwreck, and to that total ignorance of the most elementary rules of sanitation which brought about innumerable fevers and other easily avoidable diseases, long sea voyages added the new disaster of scurvy, a deficiency disease caused by lack of vitamin C in diet, and easily cured by the provision of fresh vegetables or fruit. Neither the cause nor the cure of this dread disease was known in the sixteenth century; it was not till 1795 that the British navy stamped out scurvy by the regular provision of lime-juice for its sailors. On ocean voyages in this period and much later the death-rate was extremely high. It is important, however, not to exaggerate the debility of those who survived, or the poverty of the impression made by them on those who saw them land. Shipwrecked sailors, of course, if they survived at all, made land in conditions of extreme destitution. But officers on the ships maintained considerable state, the admiral or commander dining alone in his cabin from silver plate; and even the ordinary seaman, with the usual thrifty care of sailors, managed to keep safe one decent set of shore-going apparel for use when at last the voyage came to an end.

When Vasco da Gama made his first landfall in South Africa, as the author of the *Roteiro* records, 'we then drew near to one another, and having put on our gala clothes, we saluted the captain-major by firing off bombards, and dressed the ships with flags and standards'. On reaching Calicut, on 28 May 1498, 'the captain-major landed with thirteen men, of whom I was one. We put on our best attire, placed bombards in our boats, and took with us trumpets and many flags.'³

2 THE PORTUGUESE ARRIVE IN INDIA

Henry the Navigator early recognised the part that accurate knowledge must play in the exploration of the world. Himself a student, he gathered round him in his retreat at Sagres learned men to help him. It is too much to say that he planned there a kind of academy of mathematics and astronomy. But he himself chose the pilots for his expeditions and arranged to have them trained for their work; and most important of all he brought from

Mallorca one Master Jerome, a Jew and an expert cartographer, to teach the Portuguese how to make maps. Already by the end of the fifteenth century some surprisingly accurate maps of parts of the African continent had been produced; by the end of the sixteenth there was a goodly supply of maps, charts and portolans to help the navigator in his difficult art.⁴

Even with the royal and practical patronage of Prince Henry the exploration of the African coast advanced very slowly. Cape Bojador, just south of latitude 27°N, which on modern maps appears as no more than an insignificant promontory, appeared to sixteenth-century mariners as an impassable obstacle; it was held that beyond it was nothing but what the Arab geographers called 'the green Sea of Darkness', and that for those who advanced so far there would be no possibility of return!⁵

One record has been preserved of an earlier attempt to round the cape and to proceed further south. It is reported that in the year 1291 Tedisio Doria and Ugolino de Vivaldo with his brother and certain other citizens of Genoa, accompanied by two friars minor, made a venture which none had in any way attempted before them – that they might go by sea to the ports of India, and bring back useful articles of merchandise. Since they passed a place called Gozora no certain news had been received of them; thirty years later what had become of them remained completely unknown.⁶

In 1434 Gil Eannes gave the cape a wide berth, sailed far out into the Atlantic, turned south, and found that he had rounded the cape without knowing that he had done so.⁷ The sailors did not fall off the edge of the world, as had been expected, and returned to tell the tale. There were still difficulties to be encountered. There were few good harbours and estuaries in which sailors could careen and clean their ships. Supplies of fresh water were uncertain. Friendliness on the part of the local inhabitants could not be counted on; and it seemed that in these southern latitudes the explorers would never encounter another sea-going ship.

Progress was slow; but at last in 1487 Bartholomew Dias demonstrated once for all that the ocean route to India did exist and was open to ships from Europe. He made a number of discoveries. First he showed that ships, instead of hugging the African coast, could better sail far out into the Atlantic, and then turn south and sail until at last the favouring south-westerly winds could be picked up. This became the regular route for ships from Europe until the very end of the period of sail. The danger was that the pilot might not turn south soon enough, and might find himself running into the coast of Brazil instead of heading for the southern seas.⁸

Dias avoided these dangers, and actually sailed past the southern tip of Africa without knowing that he had done so. He pursued his journey as far as the Great Fish River, and could have gone further had not the homesickness of his men and their unwillingness to journey further into the

unknown made it advisable for him to turn back. But the water which he encountered at the furthest point of his voyage was *warm*, and this offered corroboration of his view that the way to India now lay open. On his way back he saw for the first time the great mountain, and the cape to which he gave the name 'the Cape of Storms'; it is said that it was King John II who decided that the cape should be known by the name which ever since it has borne, 'the Cape of Good Hope'.

At some point or other in time the Portuguese realised that, if the sea-route to India could be found, it would be possible to cut into the spice-trade at its source and to transfer to Christian pockets the wealth which had for so long flowed into the coffers of the Muslims. Western merchants had long groaned under the burden of the innumerable tolls and imposts which were levied on spices on their long journey from the eastern lands to markets in Europe.⁹ The value of pepper in Europe was so high that, even with all these exactions, the profit reaped by the merchants was considerable. But it was self-evident that, if the demands of grasping rulers and exorbitant middlemen could be eliminated, more regular supplies could be expected and prices could be lowered, yet the profits to be drawn by the king of Portugal and the merchants would be unassailed.

In 1488 Bartholomew Dias had made it plain that the sea-way to India lay open. Yet for almost ten years nothing was done to follow up his discoveries. At last the king made up his mind to take the final and decisive step. This was to be a royal venture, and not, like the voyages of the English and Dutch, an enterprise of a company of merchant adventurers. The choice of a commander was prudently made. Vasco da Gama was about thirty-seven years of age, and did not lack experience of sea voyages. He possessed the qualities of decisiveness required in a leader, and his personal gifts were such as to secure for him throughout this long and dangerous voyage the devotion and loyalty of the men whom he commanded. Care had been taken also in the selection of the crews for the four ships chosen for the voyage, and there were among them a number of men who had already had experience of African voyages. Among those who sailed were two priests, one of whom seems to have died during the voyage.

We are fortunate in having a first-hand and on the whole reliable account of the voyage in the *Roteiro da Viagem de Vasco da Gama*, which though not from the hand of da Gama himself, must have been written by one of his companions.¹⁰

The first part of the voyage of da Gama followed the by now familiar course through the islands. He then turned far out into the Atlantic, and made his turn and calculated his landfall so successfully that, on the ninety-third day after leaving the island of São Thiago land was sighted, probably

in about latitude 30°S (4 November 1497). Then followed a tedious time of beating against winds and currents but at last contact with civilisation was renewed at Moçambique on 2 March 1498.¹¹ Here the Arabs were well established as traders; but, having perhaps already an inkling of the imperialistic designs of the Portuguese, they gave no welcome to the intruders. Until the explorers reached the small port of Malindi, they were unable to secure the services of a pilot.

At Malindi the luck changed. The Portuguese met four ships belonging to 'Indian Christians'.¹² Before many days had passed, they were provided with a 'Christian' pilot, in fact a Gujarāti, with whom they were much pleased, and who on the twenty-fourth day out from Malindi brought them safely to journey's end. On 18 May 1498 land was in sight; the Portuguese, having reached the coast of India by the sea-route, cast anchor not far from Calicut, the very city which they had been seeking.

Calicut was the capital city of the realm of the zamorin¹³ the most powerful ruler in south-west India. He derived a considerable income from a fertile hinterland, but also from an extensive trade which, though himself a Hindu, he was content to leave in the hands of Muslims. His attitude towards the Portuguese was initially friendly, and this must be reckoned greatly to his credit.

The first contacts of the travellers with Asian peoples were full of surprises. Three days after their first sight of land, they were introduced to two Moors (Muslims) from Tunis, who could speak Castilian (Spanish) and Genoese (Italian). 'They asked what he sought so far from home, and he told them that we came in search of *Christians* and of spices.'¹⁴ There were in India more Europeans, or Levantines, with some knowledge of European languages, than had been expected. These men – slaves, runaways, deserters, pirates, and respectable merchants – meet us at every turn in the records. This unexpected provision of interpreters made it possible for the Portuguese quickly to make contact with Indians of whose languages they did not know a single word, languages which they showed singularly little inclination to learn.¹⁵

The Portuguese, when they arrived, were wholly ignorant of everything which related to the life of India, except that it was the country from which spices came. This early reference to Christians seems to reflect their obsession with the legend of Prester John, and the hope that it might be possible to join hands, behind the backs of the Muslims, with this great potentate. When at length the emperor of Ethiopia was discovered in the fastnesses of his mountains, this somewhat bedraggled ruler was a sad disappointment to those who had placed such confidence in his majesty and power.

Soon after the arrival of the Portuguese occurred an episode so bizarre that, were it not for the naive simplicity with which it is recorded by a generally reliable writer, it might be deemed wholly incredible:

When we arrived they took us to a large church, and this is what we saw:— The body of the church is as large as a monastery, all built of hewn stone and covered with tiles . . . In the centre of the body of the church rose a chapel, all built of hewn stone . . . within this sanctuary stood a small image which they said represented Our Lady . . . We did not go into the chapel, for it is the custom that only certain servants of the church called *quafees* should enter. These *quafees* wore some threads passing over the left shoulder and under the right arm, in the same manner as our deacons wear the stole . . . Many other saints were painted on the walls of the church wearing crowns. They were painted variously, with teeth protruding an inch from the mouth and four or five arms.¹⁶

It is clear that the sailors had made their way into a Hindu temple, where they encountered Brāhman priests, wearing as is their custom the sacred thread of the twice-born. The darkness of the shrine, only dimly illuminated by wisps of cotton placed in oil, and the strong smell of incense may well have suggested to them that they were in a Christian shrine. One reporter adds that the four priests entered the sanctuary, pointed to the image and said *Maria, Maria*, at which the natives prostrated themselves and the sailors also knelt in adoration of the virgin.¹⁷

Vasco da Gama stayed on and off the coast of India for about three months. During that time he was successful in having an interview with the zamorin and learnt one useful lesson. He had set out from Europe with no idea of the wealth and splendour of even a minor Indian court, in which lavish display was of the order of the day; in consequence the presents he had brought with him were of less opulence than the zamorin might expect to find in the gifts offered by the petty rulers of the locality, or even by the merchants concerned to win or to retain his favour. Da Gama had also learned what products of Europe might be acceptable as articles of commerce with India, and carried home with him specimens of those Indian products which might commend themselves to European tastes.¹⁸

Da Gama had made the first contacts. Without delay further action was taken. A second and much larger expedition left Lisbon on 9 March 1500 under the command of Pedro Alvares Cabral, and reached Calicut on 13 September of the same year. Three incidents made this expedition memorable.

First, the Portuguese manifested for the first time that savage brutality by which their relations with the Indian peoples were so often to be stained. A number of Portuguese, perhaps thirty or forty,¹⁹ had been killed in a riot, provoked by their own insensitiveness to the feelings of the inhabitants. In retaliation Cabral seized six hundred boatmen who had had nothing to do

with the riot and slaughtered them all. The city of Calicut was subjected to a heavy bombardment which lasted for two days, and brought about considerable loss of life and destruction of parts of the city. No excuse can be offered for such excesses. All that can be said is that the Portuguese carried with them to the East memories of the savagery with which Muslims had carried on the war in the Mediterranean. Not unnaturally campaigns against Muslims in the East took on something of the ruthless character of Mediterranean warfare.²⁰

Fortunately this was not the whole story. The Westerners soon learned to distinguish between Hindus and Muslims, and also between the Arabs who for centuries had controlled the sea-routes and other Muslims who had long been settled in India. With the latter amicable relations were occasionally established.²¹ And even the Arabs came to acquire considerable respect for the dexterity which the Portuguese mariners showed in manoeuvring their ships, and admiration for the gallantry and courage which they showed in their many battles and defeats.

Secondly, Cabral discovered Cochin, a far better centre for the operations of the Portuguese than Calicut could ever be. Cochin had a harbour adequate to all the needs of the sixteenth century. It had immediate access to the great pepper-growing regions of Kerala. Moreover, the *rājā* of Cochin lived in a state of smouldering enmity to the zamorin; it was natural for him, on the principle that the enemies of my enemy are my friends, to offer a warm welcome to the Portuguese. It was at Cochin that the Portuguese were able to erect their first fort and to build their first church.

In the third place, the Portuguese made their first contact with real *Christians*. What they discovered was very different from their brilliant expectations of the kingdom of a great Christian monarch. Yet here was an ancient church solidly established, and a considerable body of Christians who might be expected to welcome these powerful co-religionists from the West and to serve as their allies in an alien land.

3 THE PORTUGUESE SETTLE IN INDIA

When, in 1509, Affonso de Albuquerque was appointed governor of the Portuguese possessions in the East, he was already fifty-six years of age, and had not had experience of any previous voyage to India. Yet he was the first to think strategically about the situation, and to work out plans which, if adopted in their entirety, would have made the Portuguese position much stronger than it actually was. He saw that their cause could not be maintained by annual visits of the fleet, with a few Portuguese left on the coast to maintain continuity between these visits. There must be a permanent presence of Europe in Asia. Albuquerque did not think in terms

of extensive conquests such as had been effected by Spaniards and Portuguese in the western world. The forces available would never have been sufficient to reduce such powerful kingdoms as were to be encountered on the mainland of India. But Portugal must have a number of strong points entirely under its control, near to ports in which the fleets and their sailors could rest between monsoons, in which the ships could be refitted, and from which they could issue out to control the sea-routes. In these centres there must be a sufficient Portuguese population to man the armed forces, to serve the various needs of the navy, and to maintain and supervise what it was hoped would become a steadily growing trade.

According to this plan, Goa should be the centre of the whole operation, and should look out across the Arabian Sea to Mombasa, the corresponding strong-point on the east coast of Africa. Aden would control the narrow straits at the mouth of the Red Sea, and bottle up the commerce which had been accustomed to use that route. Ormuz would control the entrance to the Persian Gulf, and open up to European merchants the land-routes which were still valuable as alternatives to the long route by sea. Malacca would keep a watch on the straits through which the greater part of the shipping between the Indian world and the Pacific world of China and Japan passed then, as it still passes today. Diu should later be added to guard the access to the Gulf of Cambay and inland India. Cochin would control the trade in pepper and other items of Indian export. Other strong points could be added, if needed.²²

The whole of Albuquerque's plan was never carried out. Goa was seized in 1510, Malacca in 1511, Ormuz by 1518. But Aden, though several times assaulted, was never captured, and the Red Sea remained in the hands of the enemies of the Christian world. Nevertheless the Portuguese, insignificant on land, were extremely powerful at sea; in twenty years the balance of power in the South Asian waters had been decisively changed.

Albuquerque next turned his attention to the problem of converting fortresses into colonies, and of bringing into existence a large enough Christian population to maintain the imperial structure which he had called into being. He saw clearly that this would be possible only if there were a large class of Christians who regarded India as their home and would never return to Portugal. It was with this in mind that he advised his men to marry the 'white and beautiful widows and daughters' of the Muslims who had been killed in the various battles about Goa.²³ He intended this to be limited to women of fair colour, presumably of Arab origin, who were prepared to become Christians. He did not desire marriage between Europeans and women of dark colour, that is to say of Dravidian origin. Things did not work out quite as he had intended. There was little prejudice among the Portuguese against miscegenation, but Indians of good family did not particularly wish their daughters to marry foreigners. The disproportion in

the numbers of the sexes inevitably carried the day, and miscegenation beyond the limits of what Albuquerque had desired became not so much the exception as the rule. In 1524 an observer remarked that of the white men in Goa 'all or the great majority are married to Negresses, whom they take to Church on horseback'.²⁴

Like their successors the British, the Dutch, the Danes and the French, the Portuguese had come to trade, and trade they would. But there was a difference in method. The other European nations worked through trading companies; Portuguese trade was from the start a royal enterprise and to a large extent a royal monopoly. The Indian Ordinances of 1520 listed as items controlled by the royal monopoly pepper, ginger, cinnamon, nutmeg, mace, lac, silk and crude borax.²⁵ Among all these pepper is king. What the merchant desires above all else is merchandise which is compact, light, durable and costly; pepper is almost ideally suited for profitable trade.²⁶ The amount brought in to Europe varied considerably from year to year; it was reckoned that 30,000 quintals, that is about 700 tons, from all sources would be a satisfactory gathering for any one year; when all the expenses of the voyage had been defrayed, considerable profits could be expected.

The primary interest of the king was in the trade between India and the metropolis; this is the subject on which we have the most extensive evidence in our sources. But, if the enterprise in Asia was to be viable at all, it was essential to find local sources of income, and that meant the establishment of commerce within the eastern world itself. Goa was primarily a capital, the centre of administration, and a military and naval arsenal; but before long it had established itself also as the centre of a flourishing trade, the import of horses into India from Persia and Arabia, and this also was declared to be a royal monopoly.

To the Indian prince the horse was a necessity. The cavalry were the heart and pride of every Indian army. Travellers from the west give fantastic figures for the Indian armies of their day. But, if a minor ruler in South India required 2,000 replacements in a year, the demands made by powerful rulers such as the kings of Bijāpur and Vijayanagar can be estimated with a good deal of probability.²⁷ If it is true, as stated by some authorities, that an Arab charger cost as much in India as a good cavalry horse in Europe, fairly accurate calculations can be made of the profits that flowed through Goa in a year, not all of them into the coffers of the king.

When Albuquerque died, he left Goa provided with many armourers and officers employed in the setting of jewels and precious stones, saddle-makers, buckler-makers, blacksmiths, stonemasons, gunfounders, master-workmen skilled in the manufacture of matchlocks, ships' carpenters, caulkers; the greater part of whom were Portuguese, the rest being native Christians, as true vassals and subjects of the king of Portugal as though they were natives of Portugal.²⁸

With the help of these and other craftsmen, a stately city soon arose to reflect the strength and glory of Portugal in the East.

Secular priests came to India with most of the annual fleets from Lisbon. In addition, within thirty years of the capture of the island, several of the great religious orders of the western church had set up their convents and churches in what was now Portuguese India. The eye of the traveller approaching Goa from the sea was caught first by the noble edifices erected by the Fathers and Brothers for residence and worship. Highest of all were the towers of the church of St Catherine, later the cathedral, built so lofty that they overlooked a corner of the garden of the Franciscan convent, and caused the friars to complain bitterly of intrusion on the privacy of their meditations. These buildings earned for Goa the title *Nova Roma*. Even when trade and administration had moved away from the old city to a less unhealthy site eight miles away, the ancient buildings could call out almost exaggerated enthusiasm from a western traveller. That doughty Protestant Claudius Buchanan, arriving at Goa on 23 January 1808, wrote:

The magnificence of the Churches of Goa far exceeded any idea I had formed from the previous description . . . The ancient specimens of architecture in this place far excel anything that has been attempted in modern times in any other part of the east both in grandeur and taste . . . The Cathedral of Goa is worthy of one of the principal cities of Europe; and the Church and Convent of the Augustinians (in which I now reside) is a noble pile of buildings situated on an eminence, and has a magnificent appearance from afar.²⁹

The number of pure Portuguese resident in the *Estado da India* must not be exaggerated. A good authority suggests that at no time in the sixteenth century were there in Asia more than six or seven thousand Portuguese males of military age and capable of bearing arms. This implies a total population of about four times that number, but these were scattered in all the Portuguese settlements from Moçambique to Macao. This was the core of the Christian population of the area. But ere long the Portuguese found themselves saddled with a mixed multitude, made up of the most diverse elements, extraordinarily difficult to control and to a considerable extent calling itself Christian.

At the top of the social scale was the governor or viceroy sent from Portugal, who came accompanied by a large retinue of followers and lived in regal state, as became his position.³⁰ The wise proposal of Albuquerque that royal officials should be appointed for eight years was unfortunately not accepted. The principal officials were appointed only for a three-year term; it was difficult for them to resist the temptation to enrich themselves while they could. Complaints of corruption are ceaseless, and apparently well-founded.

Some Portuguese, however, decided to make India their home, settled down on a basis of permanence, and like Cosme Anes to whom frequent reference will be made in these pages, became pillars of the establishment both in church and state. Such men lived lives of uprightness and integrity; and, if they had made such local marriages as Albuquerque recommended, lived in fidelity to the partners they had chosen.

The majority of the resident Portuguese took the easier way of irregular liaisons; the ease with which slave-girls of Arab, African or Indian origin could be obtained led many of them frankly to establish harems. The good Fr Lancilotto SJ, always inclined to take a dark view of every situation, complains at a rather later period of the laxity of conduct of these Portuguese:

There are innumerable Portuguese who buy droves of girls and sleep with all of them and this is known publicly. This is carried to such excess that there was one man in Malacca who had twenty-four women of various races, all his slaves and all of whom he enjoyed . . . But other men, as soon as they can afford to buy a female slave, almost always use her as a girl friend (*amiga*), beside many other dishonourable proceedings in my poor understanding.³¹

If children were born in these irregular households, they suffered from an almost total lack of discipline or education.

There was always a lack of manpower in Portuguese India. In consequence every conceivable method had to be used to persuade men to emigrate to India, and to maintain the strength of the army of the *Estado*. Even the most hardened criminals could be promised pardon and release, if they would agree to leave their country for their country's good. Hence the anguished cry of a writer of a rather later date: 'To give a true account of the people who come here from Portugal, they are the scum of that kingdom, and the most unruly in it, and who cannot stay there. If some of these are *fidalgos*, they are mostly illegitimate.'³² An attempt to enable such characters to settle down was made by encouraging them to marry Indian women and by giving special privileges to those who did so. Soldiers who married were allowed to retire from the army. Those who accepted this status were known as *cansados*. The idea was that these men should occupy themselves on the lands granted to them as farmers, or as craftsmen and artisans. But all too often they were led astray, like their betters, by the ease with which slaves could be acquired; these were set to work for them, while their masters enjoyed the leisured life of the *fidalgo* to which they could never have aspired in their native land. No Indian women of the better class could be found to accept as husbands men on this level, and marriages tended to be made with women of the lower castes. The offspring of such marriages learned little of western ways, and less of Christianity, in their homes. The *mestiço* prided himself on what he had of European blood, but

in many cases failed to win the respect either of the free-born Portuguese or of the Indians.

A further problem was presented by the sailors who arrived in considerable numbers every year with the fleets, and had to spend four or five months in India with very little to employ them. It was unlikely that they would live lives of perfect chastity. From the start prostitution flourished with all its attendant evils. If children were born of these promiscuous unions, they suffered from almost total neglect, from the lack of any regular home life, of education and discipline, and grew up wild and disorderly and disposed to a life of crime.

All these classes existed in all the Portuguese settlements. And beyond those who could claim some Portuguese blood and in most cases called themselves by Portuguese names, there were the Indians of full blood, now subjects of the Portuguese but unallied to them by any ties of kinship, natural loyalty or similarity of culture, whom the Portuguese oddly named *Canarim*.³³

4 THE PORTUGUESE AND THE INDIAN PEOPLES

At the conquest of Goa the Portuguese had expelled the Moors, or Arabs, from the islands. But there was still a large Hindu population, and in Cochin and the other smaller settlements the western immigrants found themselves little more than a drop in an ocean of Hinduism. All higher posts in government and administration were kept in the hands of the Portuguese; but naturally on the lower levels the newcomers maintained the organisation of the population much as it had been before their coming, making use of those who had been trained in the native ways both of administration and commerce. And the Brāhmans, by their intelligence and skill as clerks and accountants, made themselves indispensable to the Portuguese, as they later became to the British.³⁴

Moreover, the Muslims could neither be exterminated nor excluded from all contact with the Europeans. In the Mediterranean the rule 'no trading with the enemy' could be established and to some extent enforced. It was quite otherwise in India. As Albuquerque with his rough commonsense wrote to the king: 'Neither Hindus nor native Christians are capitalists; the Muhammedans alone are in a big way of business. All religions and races work together so much in India that you cannot separate them. Guzerat *baniyas* (Hindus) employ Muhammedan sailors.'³⁵

By 1530 Goa was a flourishing city, and Portugal had established itself firmly as the dominant naval power in the Indian Ocean and beyond. Trade with Europe and Arabia by no means exhausted the energies of the *Estado da India*. For a large part of its prosperity it depended on local enterprise and the development of intensive trading in India and in the surrounding

countries. All this was carried on not in the ships, always exiguous in number, that came from Portugal year by year, but in ships built in India – carracks and galleons for the long voyages as far as Japan, galleys for coastal defence, caravels, galliots and foists³⁶ for the coastal trade. For these purposes the splendid teak of the forests of Canara was available, and everything else needed for the preparation and outfitting of ships could be found in the area without dependence on European resources. The Arabs had preceded the Portuguese by centuries as mariners in these waters, and were past masters in the art of exploiting what lay to hand; commonsense dictated that the Portuguese should learn from them.

R.S. Whiteway held the view that by 1550 the epoch of Portugal's greatness in India was at an end. It may be that some symptoms of decay could at that date already be discerned. But, when necessary, the *Estado* could put forth a considerable military effort. In 1570 three of the leading princes in India – the sultan of Bijāpur, the king of Golconda and the zamorin of Calicut – determined to put an end once and for all to that Portuguese power by which they felt themselves increasingly threatened. Goa was invested, and the siege was pressed with great vigour. Portuguese losses were heavy; but the defence was maintained over more than ten months with the unflinching courage which the Portuguese were able so often to display. Then the league which had been formed with such high hopes of success was disbanded, and Western control of the seas, though weakened, was maintained intact.

It might be thought that the Portuguese power was gravely threatened by the rise of the great new Muslim dominion, to which our attention must next be turned. But this was not in fact the case during the sixteenth century. The great Akbar was, of course aware of the presence of foreigners on the coast of India; but, being himself a landsman, and seeing no sign of any attempt on the part of the Portuguese to penetrate far inland, he seems to have been content to leave them for the most part undisturbed. With the conquest of Gujarāt by the Mughul in 1572 the Asian and European forces became neighbours. But, in so far as any relationships existed between the two powers, they were on the whole friendly rather than otherwise. When the Portuguese power began to be seriously threatened, it was not by enemies from the landward side, but by far more serious incursions from the sea. It was by Europeans and not by Indians that the power of Portugal in the East was first undermined and finally destroyed.

5 THE COMING OF THE MUGHULS

When, in 1526, an army of Turki soldiers from Central Asia, having first made themselves masters of Afghanistan, descended into the plains of India, there was no particular reason for thinking that they would stay and

establish a permanent dominion. Many of the invaders of India, Muslims among them, had been simply raiders like Mahmūd of Ghaznī, who had come, robbed, despoiled, and then retreated to their distant fastnesses. Some stayed longer; but the majority of them did no more than establish more or less ephemeral kingdoms, with constantly shifting boundaries, and left little permanent mark on the countries which they had conquered. So, when Bābur made it plain that he intended to stay, there was still no reason to think that a climacteric in the history of India had arrived, and that the Mughul dynasty would come nearer than any other ruler since Aśoka eighteen hundred years before to unifying the whole of the Indian sub-continent in allegiance to a single sovereign. That the Mughul rulers were able to achieve this, to establish a dynasty which was to continue in prosperity for two centuries and to cover India with monuments of imperishable beauty, they owed to the chance that they were able to produce a series of rulers of exceptional gifts and abilities – one general of far more than ordinary talents, and three outstanding statesmen and administrators, in one of whom the art of ruling rose to the height of genius.

Zahīr-ud-Dīn Muhammad Bābur, the first of the Mughul line to establish dominion in India, was born on 14 February 1483, in the same year as, on the other side of the world, Martin Luther. On his father's side he was descended in the direct line from Tamerlane, on his mother's side from Chingīz Khān, thus uniting two of the most famous families in the history of his people. We know Bābur better than we can know almost any other of the great rulers of the past, since throughout his adult life he wrote down almost every day his commentaries, in which he depicts with the utmost candour, indeed almost with naiveté, success and frustration, aims and interests, and almost every passing impulse and emotion. He reveals himself throughout as soldier and conqueror, but at the same time as endowed with an inexhaustible curiosity about all that passes before his eyes, and with a sense of natural beauty which is rare in the men of his day and brings him near to readers of a later age.³⁷ His careful descriptions of animals and plants of India reveal great powers of observation. 'These portions of his memoirs read like the notes of a peace-loving naturalist rather than those of a restless warrior.'³⁸

Bābur succeeded, on the death of his father in 1494, to the throne of a small kingdom on the far side of the Hindū Kush mountains. The next twenty years were spent in a series of complicated and tedious wars, at the end of which Bābur had emerged as conqueror of the Afghans, ruling from his capital of Kābul. From an early age he had formed the resolve to conquer India, and to re-establish the empire which his ancestor Tamerlane had briefly held and as quickly relinquished.

The moment for doing so had now fully come. The empire of Delhi had

almost ceased to exist, and the dynasty of Lodī was trembling to its final fall. As Bābur himself wrote, power in India at that time was divided up between seven rulers, five Muslim and two Hindu.³⁹ The invader had at his disposal an army which, though not large in numbers by Indian standards, was seasoned in many campaigns and devoted to his cause. Perhaps first among the invaders of India Bābur understood the value of artillery and the use which can be made of it in battle. This arm which had changed the face of warfare in Europe was now to do the same in India, with the balance tilted for two centuries heavily in favour of the Western powers.⁴⁰

On 20 April 1526 the rival forces were in line against one another, Bābur having a force of perhaps 25,000 men. On the following day battle was engaged all along the line. Fighting was fierce, but after midday superior tactics and the mobility of Bābur's troops prevailed, and the rout was complete. It was reckoned that fifteen to sixteen thousand of the defenders lay dead upon the field. As Bābur himself wrote: 'When the incitement to battle had come, the sun was spear-high; till midday fighting had been in full force; noon passed, the foe was crushed in defeat, our friends rejoicing and gay. By God's mercy and kindness this difficult affair was made easy for us.'⁴¹

On 7 April 1527 a second great battle was fought, at Khārua; the rānā of Chitor, the greatest of Hindu chieftains, was laid low, and thus the work of conquest was completed. Bābur was now lord of an extensive domain, covering the greater part of north India, and stretching into the fastnesses of Afghanistan.

In the most famous passage of his *Memoirs* Bābur has set down his general impressions of Hindūstān:

Hindūstān is a country of few charms. Its people have no good looks; of social intercourse, paying and receiving visits there is none; of genius and capacity none; of manners none; in handicraft and work there is no form or symmetry, method or quality; there are no good horses, no good dogs, no grapes, musk-melons or first-rate fruits, no ice or cold water, no good bread or cooked food in the *bāzars*, no Hot-baths, no Colleges, no candles, torches or candlesticks . . . There are no running-waters in their gardens or residences. Their residences have no charm, air, regularity or symmetry.⁴²

It may be asked, if Bābur disliked Hindūstān so much, why did he set out to conquer it? Would he not have done far better to stay at home? He did, however, find some redeeming features in the country:

Pleasant things of Hindūstān are that it is a large country and has masses of gold and silver . . . Another good thing in Hindūstān is that it has unnumbered and endless workmen of every kind. There is a fixed caste for every sort of work and for every thing, which has done that work or that thing from father to son till now.⁴³

Only six years elapsed between Bābur's first occupation of Lahore in 1524 and his death in 1530. Most of these years were spent in warring and in self-defence. It was given him to win an empire but not to organise it; that was a task left to his grandson Akbar. Yet what Bābur achieved was memorable; with him Islam became a major factor in the life of India in every part; the remote consequences of his actions were to be felt more than four centuries after his death.

It is pleasant to quote the judgement on one great ruler of India recorded by one who in his day had also been a notable ruler of men:

The great charm of the work is in the character of the author, whom we find, after all the trials of a long life, retaining the same kind and affectionate heart, the same easy and sociable temper, with which he set out upon his career; and in whom the possession of power and grandeur had neither blunted the delicacy of his taste nor diminished the sensibility to the enjoyment of nature and imagination.⁴⁴

Some of the peoples of Central Asia had become Christians. When John of Monte Corvino reached Peking, he found already established there Christians of the Nestorian persuasion. At one time the pope entertained fair hopes of the conversion to Christianity of the Mughul peoples. These hopes were all to be frustrated. Islam entered into the vacuum left by the decay of ancestral beliefs, and Christian churches were found only as fragments in the midst of an encompassing sea of Islam. Of all this Bābur shows no awareness, and Christians are rarely, if ever, mentioned in his *Memoirs*. He is a Sunnī Muslim. To him Shī'ahs are heretics on whom the wrath of God rests. Hindus are idolaters, whose faith is to be destroyed as opportunity offers. Bābur was not a persecutor or destroyer on any major scale – his genial temper would not have permitted this. But his spirit is that of the *jihad*, the holy war against the unbelievers; those who do not conform cannot expect more than rather grudging tolerance. Bābur would never have been able to rise to the level of the broad and generous toleration of all religious faiths professed and practised by the great Akbar.

Of the reign of Humāyūn (1530–56) little need be said. Bābur had taken the trouble to bring his eldest son forward and to give him opportunity to train himself both in military and in civil matters. But the young man failed to rise to the expectations of his father. Like all of his race, he was brave, and on occasion could show both courage and resolution. But all too often his temper was sluggish, and his kindness of disposition such as to make him unduly complaisant, when resolute and decisive action was called for. His natural gifts may have been impaired by the use of opium to which he was addicted. He had been expelled from his kingdom by Afghan enemies, and by them kept out of it for many years. In 1555 he managed to return, but this was too late for him to set about the task which ought to have been entered

into many years before. On 24 January 1556 he stumbled and fell on the steep staircase leading to the roof of his library. He was picked up fatally injured, and died two days later, leaving to his son Akbar an empire stripped of many of its natural resources, threatened by enemies on every side, and in a state of economic collapse.

6 THE GREAT AKBAR

Akbar at the time of his accession was in his fourteenth year, and was therefore for a time under the direction of guardians and preceptors. But not many years were to pass before he began to display the same qualities which had made his grandfather great, and to develop other gifts which had rarely been seen in members of the Tīmūrīd family.

Akbar has been so constantly presented in the panegyrics written by contemporaries and by later historians as the perfection of all that a ruler ought to be, and lauded to the skies as administrator and father of his people, that it is not easy always to remember that there was also in his soul much of the spirit of the soldier and the conqueror. His maxim at all times was that 'a monarch should ever be intent on conquest; otherwise his neighbours will rise against him'. In accordance with this maxim the empire had throughout his reign a military element as the basis of its organisation.

But in his early years conquest had to be preceded by defence. Shortly after his accession the capture of Delhi and Lahore by the Afghans reduced his actual possessions to the domain which remained to him in the Punjab. As late as 1581 extensive rebellions in Bihar and elsewhere threatened the stability of the whole fabric. But gradually a resolute will, skill in the choice of commanders, willingness to pursue limited objectives with a view to the whole, gave success to the arms of Akbar, and at his death he was able to leave to his successor a coherent territory which included the whole of the Gangetic plain as far as Bengal, the Punjab, Afghanistan, and extensive regions of central Asia.

The limits of Mughul power must, however, be recognised. Akbar's attempts to penetrate the Deccan, with the exception of the reduction of Ahmednagar in 1599, were unsuccessful. Almost the whole of peninsular or Dravidian India retained its independence. And this independence was almost exclusively Hindu and not Muslim.

During the reign of Akbar, one great change came about in the area which he did not control – the collapse of the kingdom of Vijayanagar, the last great Hindu kingdom in the south. This kingdom had begun to expand in the fourteenth century, and at the height of its power controlled the greater part of South India.⁴⁵ Records left by Europeans who had visited the city, or actually lived there, speak in terms of unbounded admiration of the extent of

the city and of the wealth that had accumulated there.⁴⁶ Yet when the city was destroyed after the great battle which took place on 23 January 1565, the destruction was so complete that recovery proved impossible, and, though Vijayanagar continued to exist, it never attained to anything like its earlier power and influence. There was justification for the title of the work by Robert Sewell: *A Forgotten Empire*.⁴⁷ It was the absence of any great Indian power in the south that made possible the aggressions and successes of the European powers; if the destruction of Vijayanagar had been less complete, there might never have been a Dupleix and there might never have been a Clive. In that case, the whole history of India would have been different; and the history of the Christian mission in India, intricately though usually indirectly linked as this has been to the European element in Indian history, might well have taken an entirely different course.

The rule of the Mughuls in India was foreign rule, and continued to be so until the day of its final collapse. Akbar was less of a foreigner than his predecessors, inasmuch as unlike them he had been born in India, and showed none of those sentimental yearnings for the wide spaces of Central Asia and the high valley of Afghanistan of which we become aware in the writings of Bābur. But at home he spoke a language which was not Indian, and in his earlier years at least he practised a religion which was alien to the vast majority of his subjects. The foreignness of Mughul rule was emphasised by the imposition of Persian as the language of the court and of the law courts. Persian is an elegant idiom, and philologically related to the Indo-European languages spoken in northern India. But hardly anyone in India spoke Persian as his native tongue; generations later the attention of British administrators was distracted, by the necessity of learning Persian, from the much more important task of learning well an Indian language, a task which was left almost exclusively to the missionaries.

Mughul rule was centralised and autocratic. The emperor held in his own hand all the strings of the elaborate and generally efficient system of administration which he had devised. He made the appointments, and the progress or fall of each officer depended entirely on the will and judgement of the emperor.⁴⁸ In this administrative system, natives of India played only a minor part. The careful analysis by H. Blochmann of the tables given in the second part of the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*⁴⁹ shows that, of those appointed to high office up to 1595, just over two-thirds belonged to families which had come to India with Bābur, or had entered from Central Asia during the reign of Akbar. Of the remaining third, rather more than half the appointments were held by Muslims, and rather less than half by Hindus; but of these Hindus the great majority were Rajputs; 'that is to say, the great majority of the appointments were made to consolidate his hold on the chiefs who submitted to his rule'.⁵⁰

The method of appointment and remuneration of these great officers may in part account for the disparity between wealth and poverty in the Mughul realms which was noted by all Western travellers in India in those days. The high official was in receipt of a salary which by any standards was enormous. But his heir was the emperor,⁵¹ and any wealth found in possession of the official at the time of his death passed immediately to the ruler; the sons of an official had no claim either to the estates or to the appointment of their father. No doubt some officials tried to lay by a sufficient competence for their natural heirs; it was said that such officials particularly welcomed gifts in gold, since these were easily concealed and could not readily be identified. But for the most part the rich man was inclined to spend what he had whilst he had it, to enjoy the pleasures of life and to dazzle the eyes of all beholders with the splendour of his accoutrements, his jewels and his palace.

Europe thought of India in terms of 'the gorgeous East'. To those on the spot the contrast between the wealth of some and the poverty of many was painful. Then, as now, the main source of revenue was the land. The cultivator, the real source of all wealth, even when delivered by a strong government from perils by robbers and perils by raiders, was ground down by a number of exactors with little hope of redress for injustice. Linschoten the Dutchman, an accurate observer, says picturesquely of the inhabitants of the west coast in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, that 'they live very poorly, go naked, . . . and eat so little that it seemeth they live by the air; they are likewise most of them small and weak of limbs'.⁵² The recurrent famines by which one area after another was rendered desolate revealed that the ordinary people had few reserves of food to see them through the difficult times, and few resources of physical strength to help them ward off the danger of death by slow starvation.

One of the most attractive characteristics of the Mughul rulers was diligence. Each day much time was spent in Durbar, and it was a tradition that the poorest of the emperor's subjects, if he felt himself ill-treated or oppressed, might make his appeal direct to the sovereign authority in the hope of a hearing and of redress. The English traveller Ralph Fitch (1610) reports that 'on the further side of this court of presence are hanged golden bells, that if any be oppressed and can get no justice of the king's officers, by ringing these bells when the king sits, he is called, and the matter discussed before the king'. Fitch adds the suitably cautionary remark: 'but let them be sure that their cause be good, least he be punished for presumption to trouble the king'.⁵³

Nothing has won for Akbar so full and unconditional approval from later ages as his policy of *sulh-i-kull* or universal toleration. This Akbar did not learn from the traditions of his ancestors nor from the precepts of Islam. More importance has been attributed by scholars to the teachings of his tutor Mīr 'Abdul-Latīf, a Sayyid of Qhasvīn, so broad and tolerant in his

ideas as to incur the suspicion on the part of orthodox Muslims that he was at heart a Shī'ah. This admirable man failed to persuade his pupil to learn to read, but may have been more successful in other directions – 'he was not to be the head of a community but all people. No Muslim ruler before, not even Sher Shāh, with all his benevolence, held this exalted conception of State and kingship so definitely and vividly.'⁵⁴ The story of the later developments in Akbar's religious policy will be held over till a later section. Here it may be noted that the precepts of the teacher, excellent as they doubtless were, might well have fallen on barren ground, had not the young pupil had within him the elements of greatness in a restless and inquiring mind, and in a willingness to learn from many men and to entertain many points of view.

7 AKBAR AND FOREIGN VISITORS

The year 1572 was of central importance in the development of this aspect of the character of the emperor. In that year he saw the sea for the first time in his life, and in that year he encountered the Portuguese. Though neither of the parties knew it, a struggle between two continents and two religions which was to last for three centuries had been launched. Like his forebears Akbar was a landsman and had never seen the ocean. With the conquest of Gujarāt and the occupation of Surat, he found himself standing for the first time on the ocean shore. To have lived from birth a thousand miles from the ocean in every direction results in a certain narrowness, an unawareness of that which lies beyond the horizon, and a concentration on that which is local and near at hand. When confronted by the endless sea, the mind of man is lifted up to far horizons and to that which is beyond his immediate reach. This was the way to Mecca,⁵⁵ to the fountainhead of Islamic belief. Here were merchants of many lands – China and Rūm and distant places of the west.

The merchants of Surat, threatened by the Mughul advance, had written to the Portuguese in Goa asking for their help. The prudent Portuguese, seeing which way the wind was blowing and not minded to involve themselves in local conflicts, instead sent an embassy to Akbar, desiring friendly relations with him. The emperor received the envoys kindly, and put to them many questions about Portugal and the affairs of Europe. The account of the interview given by Abu'l-Fazl is delightful: 'Although it is well known that the holy heart of the Lord of the World is the repository of all knowledge, both spiritual and wordly, his exemplary mind deigned to make these inquiries a means of showing kindness to that crew of savages.'⁵⁶

Akbar certainly found much to entertain him in the tales told by these wanderers from afar. He made the same mistake as all other Indian rulers of

that time in underestimating the power of the West, and the spirit of ruthless persistence which would lead the English and the Dutch to the creation of their great empires in the East. He was shrewd enough to see that the Portuguese had no thought of greatly expanding the coastal bridgeheads which they held. Nor did he regard their religion as a rival to his own. He therefore saw no strong arguments against allowing them to continue as they were, provided that they did not interfere in his concerns, and some advantages in having such active traders, especially in horses, at his gates. He had no desire to rival them at sea; the ships which he chartered were content, like others, to provide themselves with the *cartaz*, the Portuguese licence to trade in Indian waters.⁵⁷

Akbar, with his inquiring mind, was by no means averse to entertaining at his court foreigners from whom he hoped to learn about other countries and other forms of faith. In 1584 three Englishmen made their way to India and to the court of the 'Great Mogor', and were ready to make their approach to Akbar.

The voyage of these three adventurous travellers is to be seen in the context of the English endeavour to break out of the European imprisonment, and to find a way into the rich trading areas of India and the East. Attempts to discover the north-west passage had ended in failure. No better success attended the voyages of explorers round the icy coasts of Siberia. It seemed worthwhile to ascertain whether it was possible, in the face of Turkish and Portuguese opposition, to reopen the land-route by way of Persia and the Persian Gulf. We are fortunate in having the narrative of Ralph Fitch, one of the travellers who left England in 1583 and after many hardships returned safely to England in 1591, having in these eight years seen much of the Eastern world.

The party of four consisted of John Newbery and Ralph Fitch merchants,⁵⁸ William Leedes a jeweller, and James Story a painter. Leaving England in 1583 on the good ship *Tyger*,⁵⁹ the travellers reached Ormuz without great difficulty, but then their troubles began; shortly after their arrival they were put in prison and had part of their goods taken from them; 'and from hence the eleventh of October he [the captain] shipped us and sent us to Goa unto the Viceroy, which at that time was Don Francisco de Mascarenhas' (p. 12). Arrived in Goa the Englishmen were again imprisoned; but by the help of the English Jesuit Thomas Stephens, the first Englishman to live in India, and of the resident Dutchman Jan Huyghen van Linschoten,⁶⁰ they were able to find sureties and to regain their liberty. Later, travelling by way of Bijāpur and Golconda, they reached Agra, and finding that Akbar was at his new capital Fathpur Sikrī, followed him there.

Fitch's report of what they found is disappointingly thin. He tells us that the king has there '1,000 elephants, 1,000 horses, 1,400 tame deere, 800

concubines, such store of ounces [hunting leopards], tigers, buffles, cocks and hawkes, that it is very strange to see' (p. 17). But as to social and religious conditions he is silent. It is clear that the visitors were received by Akbar, since he took Leedes into his service. At this point Leedes and Newbery fade from history. Fitch, after travels through eastern India, Burma and as far as the Shan States, made his way back to England. Here he seems to have persuaded the authorities that the land-route to India was no longer viable, and that the route round the Cape of Good Hope, for all its perils, was to be preferred.⁶¹

8 RIVALS TO THE PORTUGUESE

It is unlikely that either Akbar or the Portuguese had grasped the full significance of the events that they were observing; but in point of fact one of the great revolutions of history was taking place before their eyes. Supremacy at sea had already passed out of the hands of the great Italian trading cities, Venice, Genoa and the rest, to the Atlantic nations Spain and Portugal. They in their turn were to be replaced by the northern nations, first by England and Holland, a little later by Denmark and Germany, with France somewhat uneasily poised between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic worlds. The happenings of the sixteenth century had added a religious dimension to the natural antipathies of race, policies and commerce; the northerners were Protestants; the Latins were Roman Catholics of the traditions of the counter-reformation. We have noted how the Portuguese carried into Indian waters the resentments against the Muslims bred in the warfare of the Mediterranean. Similarly, the European nations carried with them tragic memories of religious strife in the West; to the Dutch it seemed natural to retaliate on the Portuguese in India the outrages perpetrated by Roman Catholics on Netherlanders in the low countries.

The first need of the English and the Dutch was for information. And here their need was met by the work of that remarkable Dutchman Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, to whom reference has already been made. As a very young man Linschoten had spent five years in Spain. Then, with a view to improving his fortunes and to seeing more of the world, he accompanied his brother on a voyage to Goa. Having obtained the favour of the archbishop, he was able to live in Goa from 1583 to 1589, and returned to Europe primed with exactly the kind of information that was needed. The first part of his great work, known as the *Itinerary . . . to Portuguese India* was printed in Holland in 1596, translated into English and German in 1599, into Latin twice, also in 1599, and into French in 1610. In this work he gives a comprehensive picture of that world which the Portuguese had made their

own. 'One fact he stresses over and over again which must have stimulated the spirit of adventure of his countrymen – and no doubt that was his intention – namely that the Portuguese system was vulnerable in the extreme, undermined by abuses and corruption, while Portuguese methods of navigation in particular were far inferior to those of Dutch seaman.'⁶²

Of even greater significance was another part of the work of Linschoten, the *Navigation of the Portuguese* (1596), a practical seaman's manual of the routes to the east as far as the coasts of China. In particular Linschoten stresses the wealth and productiveness of the great island of Java, 'to which place a man might very well traffic without any impeachment';⁶³ 'for the Portugals come not thither, because great numbers of Javes come themselves into Malacca to sell their wares'.⁶⁴

The hint was all that was necessary. In 1595 Cornelis de Houtman made the first Dutch voyage to the East. Avoiding the Portuguese settlements, he made straight for Java, where he found the inhabitants friendly and willing to trade. His successful return in 1597 encouraged others to follow where he led the way. Year after year great fleets left Holland, usually sailing far to the south of the established route and making directly for what later came to be called Indonesia. These were strictly commercial voyages, carried out by trading companies which had no thought of attacking the Portuguese and preferred to keep out of their way. But, when local rivalries in Holland were at last overcome and the Dutch United East India Company was formed (20 March 1602), the States-general, by including in its charter the right to make war, to enter into treaties, to occupy territories and to build fortresses, transformed what had started as a peaceful trading enterprise into a great instrument of war and conquest.

The English were a little ahead of the Dutch in their beginnings, but failed to make immediate use of their new opportunities.

The first voyage was led by a distinguished seaman, James Lancaster, who set sail from Plymouth on 10 April 1591. He was successful in penetrating as far as the island of Penang and in entering into friendly relations with the inhabitants. The brief narrative written by Lieutenant Edward Barker shows that even on this first voyage intentions were not wholly peaceable; any 'Portugall ship' encountered was to be regarded as a potential prize. The sailors suffered terribly from scurvy. But when at last Lancaster reached England safely, 'haveing spent in this voyage three yeares, six weekes and two dayes', he had, like Houtman, demonstrated the possibility of both reaching the East and trading in it.⁶⁵

The second voyage, also to be carried out by James (now Sir James) Lancaster with four full ships, was delayed till 13 February 1601. In the meantime the activities of the Merchant Adventurers had been blessed with royal recognition. These activities, unlike those of the Portuguese, were not

to be directed and controlled by the sovereign. Though recognised and chartered, they would be dependent on the initiative and goodwill of the merchants, who would work primarily for their own advantage, though not without a view to the glory of their queen and the reputation of their country. So 'the merchants of London, in the yeare of our Lord 1600, joyned together and made a stocke of seventie-two thousand pounds to bee employed in ships and merchandizes, for the discovery of a trade in the East Indies to bring into this realm spices and other commodities'.⁶⁶ The queen knew well what was in the wind, and was pleased to grant a charter to 'the Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading unto the East Indies'.⁶⁷

The charter was signed on 31 December 1600. Just as three centuries later January 1901 marked the final ending of the great Victorian age, the transition from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century marked the passing away of one era and the beginning of another. It was now certain that the sun of Portugal would sink ever lower down the sky, whereas the new bright stars of England and the Netherlands would rise steadily towards the zenith, until their two great maritime empires would control everything between Aden and the farthest shores of the Moluccas. But there was a difference. When the Portuguese set out for Asia, the aim of their search was commerce and Christians; the Dutch and the English sought only commerce. Christian belief and Christian worship were to be sedulously maintained, and by degrees the missionary factor would enter in. But for the time being commerce was king.

6 · Beginnings of Mission

I THE PORTUGUESE 'PADROADO'

In the beginning was the *padroado*; out of the *padroado* grew many things that followed after. It lasted for five hundred years. The kings of Spain and Portugal wanted papal approval for their enterprises and aggressions; the pope was glad to hand over the labours of conquest and evangelisation to secular rulers who had access to resources far greater than he could himself supply. So from the start it was an arrangement of convenience and advantage to both sides.

The story seems to begin with the circular letter of Pope Martin V dated 4 April 1418, which calls upon all the faithful to bend their energies to the extermination of the unbelievers and their errors.¹ In 1442 the king of Portugal transferred to Prince Henry the Navigator, as grand master of the Order of Christ (founded 1319), all the conquests and discoveries which had been made or which were to be made in Africa and the East. Pope Eugenius IV, in the bull *Etsi suscepti* of 9 January 1443, solemnly confirmed this transfer of power. It is to be noted that in this document we meet for the first time the expression *ius patronatus*, the right of patronage of the king of Portugal.

On 18 June 1452, in the bulls *Dum diversus* and *Divino amore*, Pope Nicolas V committed to the king of Portugal and his successors full authority to invade, conquer, subdue and subject all the kingdoms and territories of the unbelievers, and to reduce these peoples to perpetual subjection, as a sign of the triumph of the catholic faith over its enemies through the might of the king of Portugal. On 8 January, the same pope had confirmed the spiritual authority of the Order of Christ over all countries from Cape Bojador to the Indies, 'which are said to reverence the name of Christ'.²

Further definition of the rights and duties adhering to the crown of Portugal was provided in the most important document of this series, the bull of Nicolas V *Romanus Pontifex* of 8 January 1455.³ In this the king and his successors are authorised to found, in all the provinces conquered or yet

to be conquered, churches, monasteries and other places of pious usage, and to convey thither ecclesiastical persons whether religious or secular, or members of the recognised mendicant orders, with the right to hear confessions and to pronounce absolution in all cases except those expressly reserved to the Holy See, and to minister the sacraments of the church. The exact meaning of this authority is spelled out more fully in the bull *Inter Caetera* of 13 March 1456. It is to apply to all the regions south of Capes Bojador and Nam, throughout the whole of Guinea and beyond that the southern region as far as the Indies. This whole region is declared to be in no diocese; and all the rights of ordinary jurisdiction, including that of pronouncing excommunication, are transferred to the grand prior for the time being of the military Order of Christ.

This commission goes far beyond what is ordinarily understood under the term 'patronage'. The pope, the vicar of Christ, is appointing the king of Portugal, acting through the grand prior, as his vicar for the whole of the eastern region, with almost unlimited ecclesiastical power.

The process was not yet at an end. On 21 June 1481 Sixtus IV, in the bull *Aeterni regis clementia* summed up and confirmed all the privileges granted by previous popes to the crown of Portugal:

Navigation in the oceans of recent discovery is restricted to Portuguese ships. The Portuguese are the true lords (*veri domini*) of the lands discovered or yet to be discovered.

The Portuguese may freely trade with unbelievers, even Muslims, provided that they do not supply them with arms or anything of the kind.

The Portuguese crown may found and erect churches, monasteries and other places of religious usage; the clergy who minister in such places will have full power to minister the sacraments and to pronounce absolution. Spiritual power and authority from Capes Bojador and Nam as far as the Indies belongs to Portugal in perpetuity.

The kings of Portugal differed from one another in ability, as in the measure of their devotion to the church. On the whole, however, they showed marked fidelity to the principles laid down by Prince Henry the Navigator – the conversion of the unbelievers and the extension of the church are to be objects particularly to be cared for by the kings of Portugal in all their relations with the lands of the East, as far as the very limited resources available to them permitted.⁴

There was general agreement as to the rights and duties implicit in the existence of the *padroado*:

Portugal would exercise control over the dioceses, and this included keeping a watch on the finances provided for this purpose by the crown. The king of Portugal would present to the holy see, within a certain period, the prelates destined for these dioceses.

The king would present to the bishops not only the canons of their cathedrals but also the parish priests, and all others receiving salaries from the royal provision. Where such nominations were accepted by ecclesiastical authority, the *padroado* involved in return the responsibility of the crown to preserve and maintain the various dioceses and the persons by whom they were served, and to care for the propagation of the faith.

The story of Portuguese missions in the East cannot be understood, unless the delicate balance of forces created by the bulls establishing the *padroado* is constantly borne in mind.

2 THE CHRISTIAN PIONEERS

The fleet of Vasco da Gama, which made the famous journey to India in 1498, was accompanied by two priests. It seems that one of the two died on the voyage; little is known with certainty of the later doings of the other. A precedent had been set; it can be taken for granted that almost all the many fleets which successfully made the long voyage to India would carry priests among their passengers. Some of these had received appointments as vicars, or as missionaries (the two appointments were quite distinct); a number remained in India of their own freewill, to join the ranks of those wandering priests who in later times were to cause a great deal of trouble to virtuous vicars general and bishops. The great majority returned to Portugal with the fleet when its business had been completed, and are heard of no more. The history of Western Christianity in India begins with the decision of the Portuguese to effect a settlement at Cochin.

The initial steps had been taken by Pedro Alvares Cabral in 1500 on the second voyage to India. The situation was consolidated by Vasco da Gama in 1502. To set up a factory was not enough; the factory must be strengthened by the erection of a fort; the Portuguese had come to stay and not merely to trade. The fort was a small and poor affair, adequately defensible only on the side of the sea. But it was there. The building was completed on 1 November 1503, and inaugurated by a solemn mass, the sermon being preached by Fr Domingo de Sousa, one of the three Dominicans who had accompanied da Gama on the voyage.⁵ At the same time a church dedicated to St Bartholomew was erected. This was a small and insubstantial building; but it deserves mention as the first Christian building erected on the soil of India in modern times. About six hundred Portuguese were left behind – sailors, soldiers, officers and merchants – to man the fort and await the coming of the next fleet.

It was not long before difficulties began to arise between the foreigners and their new friends. The Portuguese were wholly unaware of the manners and customs of their Hindu neighbours, and were slow to learn. Good

fortune has preserved for us a rather peevish letter from the rājā of Cochin to the king of Portugal, complaining of many and bitter wrongs committed against him and his people by the viceroy: 'but all these have I endured for love of your highness'. But the worst of all is to come – the viceroy 'has ordered the slaughter of many cows . . . and this is the greatest dishonour which can befall in our country'.⁶ It was hardly to be expected that the meat-eating Portuguese would prefer local custom to their own. But by this unfortunate action they had stamped on themselves and their kind the mark of their position in the social scale; in India only those who, in the organisation of the Hindu caste system, were reckoned untouchables were eaters of beef; a fatal association had been formed between becoming a Christian and eating beef.

The number of clerics in India increased year by year with the arrival of successive fleets from Portugal. Cabral, we are told, was accompanied by one vicar, eight secular priests, eight Franciscans (Observants of the Province of Portugal), an organist, a 'chorist', and one lay brother. In 1501 four more Franciscans came to India, and in 1502 da Gama had Franciscans with him (the number is not specified). In 1503, Albuquerque brought with him five Dominicans, one of whom, Fr Rodrigo, was specially charged with the care of the Thomas Christians, many of whom had not been baptised.⁷ Franciscans again come on the scene with Francis de Almeida in 1505.

Ecclesiastical authority over all the churches and missions in the East belonged, under the terms of the *padroado*, to the Order of Christ and to the king or his deputy as grand master of that Order. As early as 1498 the king had asked the pope to send an apostolic commissary to India. The pope authorised the king to nominate a person to hold this office, and undertook to send him to India with episcopal dignity, but for a period of one year only. It does not appear that this plan was ever carried out.⁸

What did take place was that the king appointed one of the priests already in India, or about to leave for India, as vicar general; there being as yet no bishop in India, this official exercised considerable authority, being in fact the 'ordinary' of the area; even after the creation of a bishopric in India something of this authority survived. Most of these vicars general are shadowy figures; three who stand out above the rest are perhaps deserving of mention.

Domingo de Sousa, who has been mentioned already as a friend of Albuquerque, took office in 1513. This simple and active man states in the one letter from him which has survived that he visited 'the forts' every year, not following in this the bad example of his predecessors, whose habit it was to remain in Cochin and to refuse the burden of visiting the fortresses and Christian communities of the Portuguese.⁹

Silva Pires held the office from 1521 to 1532, and is known to us from the

lengthy letter which he addressed to the king and which has been preserved.¹⁰ Pires seems to have been a man of diplomatic skill rather than of spiritual vigour. Many complaints against him were registered by his successor, specially in regard to his tolerating or even encouraging the irregularities in marriage which were a constant source of perplexity in all the Portuguese dominions. That successor was no less a person than Michael Vaz, who held the office with distinction from 1532 to 1547; he was the first great supporter of missionary work among the non-Christians, and even after the appointment of the first bishop of Goa played an important part in the administration of the diocese.

There are certain rites which, in the Roman Catholic as in other churches, cannot be carried out by a vicar general who is not in episcopal orders. The question of episcopal supervision was bound to arise at an early date.

The first solution was the sending out of bishops known in Portuguese by the pleasant title of 'bishops of the ring'. These were apostolic commissaries, sent out by the pope after nomination by the king of Portugal, in episcopal orders but without territorial jurisdiction. Of the three whose names are recorded, two hardly emerge from the mists of obscurity; of one, Duarte Nunes, bishop of Dume, we know a good deal from the letters which have survived.¹¹

This bishop entertained austere, not to say unduly rigid, views as to the duty of Portugal in India.

He takes a stern attitude to the continuing existence of idolatry in the island of Goa, at the time of writing already a possession of the Portuguese crown:

It would be a service to God to destroy these temples, just in this island of Goa, and to replace them by churches with saints. Anyone who wishes to live in this island should become a Christian, and in that case may retain his lands and houses just as he has them at present; but, if he is unwilling, let him leave the islands . . . It may be that these people will not become good Christians, but their children will be . . . and so God will be served, and also your highness, by becoming the cause of salvation to so many lost souls.¹²

He takes a low view of the lives and morals of many of the clergy:

As regards the life of the clergy and friars who are outside the monasteries, for the most part they are very corrupt, and through their bad example the piety of the Christians of the country is gravely destroyed. So let your highness send some person of upright life and well instructed, to bring them to a better state. For, if this is not done, they will be of very little service to God or to your highness.¹³

The co-existence of various authorities, with no clear delimitation of responsibilities, was bound to lead to clashes and disagreements. We learn

from Sebastian Pires, not a wholly reliable authority, that the bishop of Dume had fallen out with the vicar of Cochin, the charge against him being that he had exceeded the authority committed to him, and had interfered in matters of ecclesiastical administration which were none of his business. When the vicar took him to task,

the bishop came to Cochin, and one day preached, and said from the pulpit such unseemly things about the vicar and about the other clergy that all were much scandalised. But I, being in the city of Cochin before I took over the post of vicar, succeeded in getting them reconciled . . . I write this in order that I may not be blamed in the matter, for in the sight of God and of my own conscience it seems to me that it was the bishop who was to blame.¹⁴

One of the charges against the bishop was that he had conferred holy orders, which, since this was not included in his commission, he had no right to do. The bishop admits the charge, but defends himself by explaining very carefully the circumstances in which he had acted. When he was in Goa, three Franciscan brothers and one other cleric already in minor orders, John Roiz, were presented to him as being fully instructed, virtuous and ready for ordination. There was no possibility of their going to Portugal, and, as there was no other Catholic bishop in India, unless 'Dumensis'¹⁵ acted they would have had to remain indefinitely unordained. He had agreed to ordain only when the acting guardian of the Franciscan convent showed him 'the bull of Pope Innocent, in which the Franciscans were given the special privilege of having their Brothers ordained by any bishop whom they might invite, even though he were not their diocesan bishop'. Knowing the consequences which might follow in that quarrelsome and litigious age, the bishop was careful to have drawn up the sworn testimony of several clerics to the effect that he had conferred orders in this one special case and in no others.¹⁶

3 THE BISHOPRIC OF GOA

Before long the reign of the bishops of the ring came to an end. It was clear that this could not be more than a temporary expedient, and could not meet the needs of a Christian community which was growing rapidly both through the arrival of Portuguese with every fleet and through the conversion of a steadily increasing number of Indians. Nothing less was required than the establishment of a regular episcopate for India.

The king had taken the first step with the creation in 1514 of the bishopric of Funchal in Madeira with jurisdiction over all Portuguese possessions in the East. The first bishop was Diogo Pinheiro, the last vicar of the vicariate of Tomar now dissolved. It was under a licence from the bishop of Funchal

that the vicars apostolic in India carried out their duties. Now the pope was approached by Don Martinho, a cousin of the king of Portugal, with the request that Funchal should be raised to the dignity of an archbishopric, and that new sees should be created for the Azores, for the Cape Verde Islands, for San Tomé,¹⁷ and for Goa. So reasonable a proposal met with ready acceptance at Rome, and the pope was prepared to act with less than the usual delay. The bull *Romani pontificis circumscriptio*, raising Funchal to the rank of an archbishopric, was set forth by Pope Clement VII on 31 January 1533. Steps to create the diocese of Goa would have followed soon after but for an unexpected mishap. Francisco de Mello had been nominated as the first bishop of the new See. The appointment seemed to be in every way admirable; de Mello was an excellent scholar, about forty-two years of age, who had already had a distinguished career in diplomacy and in the church. His death, on 27 April 1533, just at the wrong moment, was a sad blow to the developing church in India.

The bull constituting the new diocese *Aequum reputamus*, was not set forth till 3 November 1534. The boundaries of the diocese of Goa were defined as being in one direction the Cape of Good Hope and in the other the kingdom of China, the archbishop of Funchal to exercise metropolitan authority over the whole area. The new See was to be invested with all the dignity appropriate to the bishopric of a great capital city. It was to have, in addition to the bishop, a dean, an archdeacon, a cantor, a treasurer, a schoolmaster, and twelve canons.¹⁸ A sufficient revenue was provided to enable the bishop to live in the state expected of the third man in the kingdom, who might at times be called upon to serve as acting viceroy. The duties devolving upon the *padroado* were defined as being the adaptation of the Church of St Catherine to serve as the cathedral of the city and diocese, the maintenance and improvement of divine worship in all the churches, chapels, convents and other places, providing them with vestments and the ornaments necessary for the performance of divine service, supplying them with adequate revenues, and maintaining personnel necessary for the carrying out of all these duties.

There was a further delay in the appointment of the first bishop. The choice at length fell upon D. John d'Albuquerque, a Franciscan. Some resistance was encountered in Rome, as the pope was at that time not much in favour of the appointment of members of the religious orders to bishoprics. But, on being assured that the candidate did not intend to be, as so many were, a non-resident bishop but proposed to go to India and to stay there, the pope gave way, and on 22 April 1537 Albuquerque received his letters of appointment. He was consecrated on 13 January 1538 by the bishop of San Tomé, assisted by the archbishop of Funchal and the bishop of Lamego.¹⁹

John d'Albuquerque was a Spaniard by birth, but had come to Portugal as a young man.²⁰ He had been Franciscan provincial in the years 1528 to 1532. He had been confessor to King John III, and was therefore well known in court circles. He was universally esteemed, and to the end of his life was held in high regard for piety, humility and diligence. The only thing that could be said against him was that, at the time of his appointment, he was almost sixty years old and in somewhat feeble health.²¹ It must have taken considerable courage for a man of his age to undertake so burdensome a task in a distant land and in an unhealthy climate.²²

The bishop ruled his diocese prudently and benevolently until his death on 23 February 1553. In view of his age and infirmities, he was only rarely able to travel and to carry out visitations in other centres of Portuguese influence. He remained in Goa, diligent and attentive to business, while most of the work of travelling and visitation remained in the capable hands of his vicar general Michael Vaz.²³

4 CHAPLAINCIES AND PIOUS WORKS

Goa was, and continued for many years to be, the centre of Portuguese life in India both in church and state. But it was far from being the only place in which Portuguese influence was felt. Wherever the Portuguese were, there the church also took a hand.

This story must begin at Cochin, the first real settlement of the Portuguese in India, and the seat of government in the earliest years of their rule.

Here conversion advanced rather rapidly, but not in the most admirable of ways. As invariably happens, the presence of a large number of unmarried men drew to the encampment bands of the local women in search of a temporary or more permanent mate. On 20 December 1514 Pero de Mascarenhas, captain of the fort of Cochin, supplied a list of more than a hundred Indian women now married to Portuguese, and a further list of women who had borne children to Portuguese men without any regular form of marriage.²⁴ Of those who had married, the majority had also been baptised, partly no doubt to please their mates but also because this further measure of integration into the Portuguese community gave them a feeling of security. At that time it was the custom that every convert received a gold coin and a piece of cloth, ostensibly as compensation for the loss of family associations and employment suffered by those who became Christians.

The new Christians were immediately reckoned by the Hindus as outcastes, impure and not permitted to walk through the streets in areas which were under the jurisdiction of the *rājā* of Cochin. The same indignity was not imposed on those who had accepted the Muslim faith. Constant

requests were made to the rājā to remove this inequality, but without success.

The king of Portugal hit upon an ingenious solution of the problem. All difficulties would be solved, if the rājā could be converted to the Christian faith. And who so well qualified to effect the conversion as the governor himself? Like talks to like. So, albeit somewhat unwillingly, the governor-catechist, as da Silva Rêgo piquantly calls him, took up the charge which had been laid upon him.²⁵ We have his own account of what passed between him and the rājā.²⁶ He opened the conversation by expressing the great affection which the king of Portugal felt for his Indian brother, and then raised the question of his salvation. The rājā replied that providence had appointed for him this piece of land called Malabar at the foot of the mountains, and desired that all who lived in that area should be Hindus (*gentios*) and follow their own customs. 'How could this be?' I asked, 'when there are so many communities of Christians and churches built just like ours? . . . The king knows well that our Lord sent his apostle and disciple to these parts, and that he converted many people to the faith, and lies buried here in India.' The king admitted that this was true. But what was now required of him was something entirely new, and demanded the most careful consideration. He wanted to have the friendship of the king of Portugal; but would this be an adequate compensation, if all his subjects rose against him and refused to have this man to rule over them? Needless to say, the rājā never became a Christian.

One achievement of these early days deserves special mention. The *arel*, or harbour master of Cochin, decided to become a Christian with all his relatives and dependents, amounting in all to more than a thousand persons. This is a pattern familiar in all intricately ordered societies, in which the decision of the head of the clan or group commits also all his family and followers. The Portuguese, unlike the rājā, welcomed this accession. The *arel* at his baptism received the name Antony Real, probably because the captain of Cochin of that name stood as his godfather. The Portuguese conferred on him the dignity of *fidalgo*, gentleman, and confirmed him in all the rights and privileges which he had enjoyed before his conversion. Naturally the rājā felt that a schism, a problem of divided loyalties, was being produced among his subjects.

The glowing achievements of the Jesuits later in the century have tended to cast all others into the shade. But the first missionaries in India in this period were the Franciscans. The secular clergy as a whole served as chaplains to the Portuguese; from the start the Franciscans were missionaries 'to the heathen'.

The first party of Franciscans arrived in India in 1500, headed by a

notable leader Henry de Coimbra, with orders from the king that they should found three residences, one in Goa, one in Cochin, and one in a place to be determined by themselves. Fate was not kind to them. Henry returned to Portugal.²⁷ Two of the friars died in Calicut, and only two were left to take up residence in Cochin. The situation improved in 1517, when a further contingent of twelve friars arrived, under the leadership of Antony de Louro or Loureiro, who must be regarded as the real founder of Franciscan work in India.

The way of the Franciscans was not easy. On the one hand they were regarded with suspicion and dislike by the secular clergy, who had for the most part settled down to a comfortable and leisurely existence and felt themselves threatened by the simple life and evangelical fervour of the Franciscans. On the other hand, it was difficult not to become involved in the jealousies and rivalries of Portuguese life in India. When Antony de Louro arrived in Cochin to set up his residence, he found that the administrator of the settlement was one Diogo Pereira, a declared enemy of his friend Affonso d'Albuquerque; only direct reference to the king secured him the help that he needed. The Cochin residence came into being sometime between 1518 and 1522.

For many years the story is one of small numbers and many losses. In 1527 Fr Gonçalo de Lamego reports to the king that, of the thirteen who had been in India in the beginning, two who were preachers had died, six had returned to Portugal. In view of the small number of recruits coming from Portugal, the Franciscans in India had had recourse to the resources available in India, and had accepted as novices a number of young men of Portuguese origins born in India or of the mixed race (the question of admitting full-blooded Indians had not yet been raised). Many of those admitted were now fully instructed, and might be admitted to holy orders, if there were in India anyone competent to ordain them. Only in 1538 were the Franciscans joined by the man who was to shed special lustre on their work on the coast of Malabar, Fr Vincent de Lagos, of whose work for the Thomas Christians we shall have occasion to write later on.

In Goa things went rather better, especially after it had become the capital of the Portuguese enterprise in India.

Very soon after the capture of the island, Albuquerque gave orders for the construction of a church of Saint Catherine. At the start this was a mean edifice, with walls of lath and plaster and a thatched roof, but with adequate revenues through the transfer to it of the lands and revenues previously attached to the mosque of Goa.²⁸ Construction on a larger scale was begun in 1514, and before long we read of a large church with three naves, a transept, and three chapels with cupolas. In 1522 the bishop of Dume

reports that as many as 600 persons would be present for mass on Sundays; but, if it rained, no one came, because of the water which descended through the leaky roof. The bell-tower seems not to have been added till 1542; it was this tower which caused irritation to the Franciscans as infringing the privacy of their convent.²⁹ Mention is also made of a small chapel 'of the Crucifixion', and of a chapel of 'Our Lady of the mountain', dedicated by Albuquerque in fulfilment of a vow made in a moment of great peril by shipwreck.

These churches and others which grew up together with the growth of the city were served by the secular clergy, who, having failed to learn any Indian language, settled down to minister only to the Portuguese and half-caste population. Fr A. Hounder SJ is perhaps too abrupt, when he calls these clergy briefly 'a scandal' (*Argernis*).³⁰ But there can be no doubt that a number of them were simply adventurers who had come to India in search of gain, or to avoid grave difficulties at home, and who had settled down in comfort and with little or no regard for the teeming population of non-Christians around them. So Francis Gonzaga had some grounds for writing that 'all that has been done for forty years in the East Indies on behalf of the sick, the non-Christians, the catechumens, and the converts, rested on the shoulders of the Franciscans'.³¹ But he has yielded to the temptation, to which chroniclers are exposed, of magnifying the achievements of his own order; and he has overlooked two notable achievements of the church in India, for which the Franciscans were not specially responsible.

Da Silva Rêgo writes that 'in all the Portuguese settlements of the sixteenth century, the hospital was coeval with the factory and the church. This was a triad of which the members complemented one another.' So it is not surprising that as early as 24 January 1511 we find an order of Albuquerque instructing the factor of Goa to deliver to Fr John Alemão 'four *cotonias* for the benefit of the sick in the hospital'.³² Similar notes recur through the entire series of documents which have been preserved from sixteenth-century Goa. This hospital was for the Portuguese; we shall have occasion later to note the care that was taken for the other inhabitants of the city.

Even more remarkable than the work of the hospital was that of the *Misericórdia* of Goa. The original *Misericórdia* of Lisbon had been founded in 1498, largely at the instance of the good Queen Eleanor. Its work was to include all forms of Christian charity; specified are giving food to the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty, clothing the naked, visiting the sick and the prisoners, giving shelter to the weary, ransoming captives, burying the dead. The brethren would be laymen, of whom it was required, in addition to being of pure blood, that they should be 'of good conscience and repute, obedient to God, modest, charitable and humble'. Da Silva Rego is almost

certainly right in thinking that in India the initiative came not from official circles but from laymen who had settled down to make their home in India, and that the *Misericordia* in Goa came into existence not later than the year 1519.³³

Professor C.R. Boxer, who is not inclined to be unduly favourable to Christian enterprise, pays to the *Misericordia* a tribute which is both judicious and generous:

The story of the *Misericordia* at Goa is one of the redeeming features of Portuguese imperialism in Asia, and one which had no parallel in other European Asiatic colonies until modern times. In succouring the needy and oppressed, befriending the orphan, and guarding the patrimony of the widow and the fatherless, the organization performed a truly merciful task, and performed it very well.³⁴

It must be remembered, however, that in the sixteenth century no one of Asian blood was admitted to the brotherhood of the *Misericordia*, and that some time was to elapse before similar charitable care was extended to the Indian population.

5 FOR THE CONVERSION OF THE INDIANS

The pioneer of evangelistic work among the non-Christians was the Franciscan friar Antony de Louro, who came to India for the second time in 1517. His first efforts were not without attendant difficulties. He had come provided with extensive authorisation from the king, and the right to choose the site for the convent which was to be built. But the governor, affirming that the city of Goa was limited in space and already provided with churches, desired to see the Franciscans in possession of a larger estate but at some distance from the city and not within it. This did not at all suit Fr Antony; such a site would not be convenient for his two main concerns – contact with the non-Christians, and administration of the sacraments for which a special privilege had been received from the pope.³⁵ Eventually the governor gave way, and the Franciscans were able to acquire a number of houses in the city on the site of which their convent was later erected.

Relations with the secular clergy were never easy. The Franciscans claimed that within a year they had, through their eager proclamation of the Gospel, converted 800 non-Christians, and could have converted many more but for the hindrances placed in their way by the secular clergy. If proper instruction was to be given to these large numbers of converts, it would be necessary to gather together both men and women within the convent for periods of instruction. This was a proposal to which the secular clergy would never give their consent.

The problem of keeping up numbers was ever present. Some of the friars,

like the vicars, were sent for a period of only three years; these, in spite of the generally comfortable conditions in Goa, soon began to look westwards and to long for the day of their return. The Portuguese probably adapted themselves better to Indian conditions than those from more northerly lands. For all that the climate took a heavy toll in life and health. It was reported in a letter of 8 November 1532 that, in the fourteen years since the foundation of the convent, twenty friars had died in Goa alone. As in Cochin, so in Goa, the Franciscans were driven to the conclusion that, if India was to be evangelised, this must be the work of those born in the land, who would be able to work with full vigour and with a continuity that foreigners were hardly able to supply. Naturally most of the possible candidates would be *mestiços*, drawn from the increasingly large population of mixed origins. These might give evidence of some of the defects of a mixed race, but, having deep roots in the soil of India, they would not always be casting glances over their shoulders at a distant home, and would be nearer to their Indian fellow-countrymen than the Portuguese could ever be.

The acceptance of novices on the spot became a matter of controversy. In 1531 the superiors of the Observant Province in Portugal sent out an order forbidding the admission of novices in India. Fr Rodrigo da Serpa, commissary and guardian of the convent in Goa, immediately dispatched a strong protest to the king: the authorities in Portugal had promised that they would maintain the strength of the order with recruits from the home land, but in fact in the year 1532 not a single recruit had arrived. This being so, he had proceeded, in spite of the prohibition, to admit novices of the mixed race, and was writing urgently to the king for approval of his action.³⁶

Rodrigo was only carrying out what had been the intention of Antony de Louro from the start, though the latter had probably been thinking rather in terms of candidates of pure Portuguese race.³⁷ He had written to the king for books. We have a fascinating list of books sent out by the king in 1517 and received by the Franciscans in India in 1518. The list includes, besides a considerable number of liturgical books and works of devotion, one Bible,³⁸ and three copies of the *Summa* of St Thomas Aquinas.³⁹ This single gift constituted what must be regarded as, for those days, a considerable library. This is the first indication in our documents of the part that books and theological literature were to play in missionary work in India.

Just at the end of the period dealt with in this chapter, the idea of a confraternity to be founded with the express aim of promoting the Christian faith through the training of an indigenous clergy was put forward with great emphasis and far greater effect by two of the most vigorous servants of the church at that time in India – Michael Vaz the vicar general and the secular priest Fr Diogo Borba. They communicated the idea to the bishop,

the acting governor, the chief justice, and the secretary to the treasury, Cosme Anes.⁴⁰ The proposal was eagerly accepted. On 14 December 1541 Michael Vaz with five other signatories wrote to the king sending him the statutes of the confraternity, requesting him to confirm the grant of financial support from the revenues of the temples which at the time were in process of being destroyed, and inviting him to become, 'for the service of God and for the augmentation of the holy faith' protector of the new institution.⁴¹ The work was to be carried on in two parts. First there was to be the Confraternity of the Holy Faith, and with this was to be associated the College of St Paul, so called in honour of the apostle of the Gentiles.⁴²

Work began promptly. By June 1542 Fr Borba was in residence with sixty pupils, drawn somewhat at random from Goa and its environs. We must not be misled by the term 'college'. Education in Portuguese India was in its infancy. The college was at best what would later be called a minor seminary, and its first beginnings were on a very modest scale. Gaspar Correa seems to tell the truth, when he informs us that Fr Borba picked up young people on their giving promise of industry, set them to live in community, began to teach them to read and write, and later embarked on Latin and other subjects in the curriculum.

Michael Vaz intended to link the college to the Franciscan convent, for two reasons: first, he thought it better for the boys to be brought up by members of a religious order rather than by secular priests, even though these might be men of virtuous life; secondly, because a monastery is a corporation which never dies, and could be counted on at all times to supply one or two men of good quality as teachers.⁴³ An attempt to bring Fr Vincent de Lagos up from his successful work in the seminary at Cranganore was unsuccessful. Disagreements in the Franciscan ranks led to confusion, and their help was withdrawn almost before it had been given. The situation was saved only by the arrival of the Jesuits and their agreement to take over the college and to make it the headquarters of their work in the East.

6 THE SECULAR CLERGY AND THEIR WORK

Of the Portuguese settlements other than Goa and Cochin there is not much to be recorded. Vicars were appointed with considerable regularity, generally like the royal officials for a period of three years. But most of them are shadowy figures, known to us only from one or two letters that have survived. A few details may be recorded, as giving some idea of the range and variety of Portuguese, and of Christian, expansion during the period under review.

For the year 1514 the vicar of Cannanore, Affonso Velho, gives an

interesting analysis of the Indian Christians to be found in that centre.⁴⁴ Apart from a hundred married Portuguese, there was a total of 344 persons; of these 85 had been Muslims, 8 had been Nāyars; with these were to be counted 22 children; 160 came from the lower castes, 'tybas'⁴⁵ and macuas', together with thirty-three children. There were 13 children of Portuguese who had married local women, and 24 children of unmarried Portuguese who had formed irregular connections with slaves or other women of the town. The vicar reports that many more could have been converted, if the governor had not forbidden the baptism of slaves of Hindu or Muslim owners on the ground that such baptisms were likely to lead to quarrels with the legal owners; moreover the indigence of slaves who came over in this way, having lost such livelihood as they had, put an intolerable strain on the exchequer of the fortress. In any case such conversions were not likely to be sincere.

The Portuguese were master-hands at piling up documents. Everyone had to have documents, and woe betide the man or woman who had no documents, or had lost them, or failed to produce them when required. Some documents which have survived reveal to us the entertaining story of the vicar who arrived to take possession of the church of Cannanore to which he had been appointed in due form, only to find that it was occupied by another vicar who refused to be ejected. The newcomer had presented his credentials to the bishop of Funchal, who had confirmed the appointment and received ten cruzados as his fee. But Affonso Fernandes claimed that he and the other clergy of Cannanore had been appointed not for three years but in perpetuity, and that this had been confirmed by the bishop. In a letter to the king of 10 October 1523, Fernandes quotes the actual document of his appointment in the following terms:

We ordain that the vicar and the portionists [clergy receiving a part of the revenues] shall hold their portions in perpetuity and shall not be limited to the period of three years . . . nor shall they be transferred or removed from the said office of vicar or other offices except in the case that they have committed such crimes as would cause them in due process of law to be removed or suspended, their plea having first been heard in proper legal form.

We do not know the end of this intricate story. It is interesting to observe that each of the contending priests took it for granted that he had the right of access to the king in person.⁴⁶

Mylapore, close to St Thomas Mount and the reported place of the martyrdom of the apostle, was pleasantly different from the other Portuguese settlements in India. It was the Cheltenham of the East, inhabited largely by veterans from the Portuguese services, who had settled there to find rest for their declining days and perhaps to take advantage of

the facilities for trade which the area offered. The climate is more agreeable than that of the west coast, experiencing only the short north-east monsoon. An article on 'The Portuguese settlement in Mylapore' by Fr A.M. Mundadan confirms this picture.⁴⁷ He quotes John de Barros as recording that 'Meliapor, which is now called by our men San Thomè, is inhabited by our war veterans in magnificent buildings. They were attracted to the place by the abundance of land that can be obtained there, by the prosperous trade which is being carried on there, but above all by the memory of the apostle Thomas.'⁴⁸ Mundadan adds that 'there was no dearth of priests, as many liked to go to Mylapore for reasons of health'.⁴⁹

The discoveries at the site of the alleged tomb of the apostle had aroused great interest both in India and in Europe, and it was natural that some should decide to settle in that hallowed area. The governor sent to Mylapore a 'priest of good life', Alvaro Penteado, to take charge of the work there. This man, filled with grandiose ideas for the building up of a 'monastery for religious' at the foot of the mount, went to Goa and even as far as Portugal to give the king the most exact information about the famous 'house of St Thomas'. After two years absence, back came Penteado in 1526, and by his own account took steps to guard the relics of the apostle against possible disrespectful treatment by hiding them in the high altar of the church so secretly that no one could possibly find them.

It is not easy to make a general assessment of the character of the secular clergy of that time. Four sources of discontent appear constantly in the complaints made against them – laziness, ignorance, licentiousness, and the tendency to seek worldly gain. But many of these complaints come from visiting bishops or from members of the religious orders. Jealousy between regulars and seculars has been a recurring feature of church history. The seculars resented the privileges granted by successive popes to the religious orders. The regulars contrasted unfavourably the laxity of the seculars with their own more rigid standards. There was some justification on the side of the religious orders. In one of the rare cases of delinquency recorded, the erring Franciscan was subjected to a severity of treatment which would hardly have been expected had he belonged to the secular clergy.⁵⁰

We are still in the pre-Tridentine period. At that time the ordinary parish priest in Europe received little preparation for his work beyond the minimum of Latin required for the carrying out of the services of the church; in some cases even that knowledge seems to have been deficient. It was not expected that the parish priest should preach, that duty being ordinarily left to the preaching orders, the Franciscans and Dominicans. The Western requirement of celibacy caused difficulty even in the settled societies of Europe; far more so when single men were living alone and isolated, wearied by an unfavourable climate, and in a society in which

concubinage was almost universal. It is hardly to be wondered at that sexual continence was so rare as in a number of cases to be specially noted in the records.

Yet da Silva Rêgo, who has a wide knowledge of all the records, ends his account with the words: 'To sum up, it may be affirmed that the Portuguese clergy in the East were superior, as regards their conduct, to the clergy of metropolitan Portugal. This was demanded by the honour of the church, the good of religion, and the reputation of Portugal as a missionary power.'⁵¹ He adds that in general priests or other ecclesiastics of evil life or example were sent back to Portugal as undesirables.⁵²

One of the major problems that had to be faced was the almost pathological refusal of the Portuguese to learn any Indian language. In the second half of the century some went so far as to recommend the elimination of the Indian languages and their total replacement by a *lingua franca*, in this case of course Portuguese.⁵³ These plans, fortunately, led to nothing. Moreover, clear instructions were issued from Rome, and accepted by the authorities in India, that no priest was to be appointed to any parochial charge unless he could speak the local language.⁵⁴ But Henry Henriques and Thomas Stephens were still far in the future. In the early days the Portuguese, regulars and seculars, vicars and missionaries alike, spoke Portuguese, and had hardly any acquaintance with any other language.

It is impossible not to sympathise with them. For Europeans to master Malayalam, the language of Kerala, is a task not to be lightly or unadvisedly undertaken. Konkani is easier; but to tackle any unknown language, when neither grammar nor dictionary exists, is a formidable undertaking. It seemed easier to trust to the race of interpreters which was not slow in coming into being.

This did not matter so much in the early days, when there were no Indian Christians (except for the Thomas Christians) and ministrations were mainly for the benefit of the Portuguese. As the mixed race grew and multiplied, it is to be supposed that the children were to some extent bilingual, though the Portuguese which they learned from their fathers might have caused raised eyebrows in Lisbon or Coimbra. The women who were living with Portuguese men must have acquired some facility in communication. In this field the Portuguese-speaking priest may have managed to make himself fairly well understood. He could always count on an audience. Attendance at catechism classes was compulsory, and women could be fined for non-attendance even though they already knew the catechism by heart. In Cochin, if nowhere else, a woman was appointed to watch over regularity of attendance, and to collect the fines from those who were negligent.⁵⁵ Perhaps as a result of these somewhat Draconian methods, as early as 1518 Sebastian Pires could report to the king that in the

city of Cochin there were women who knew by heart the commandments, the articles of faith, the works of mercy, and other things which are necessary to the soul's salvation. They also made their confession, and arranged for masses to be said.⁵⁶

Unfortunately Pires does not tell us whether the women had learned these things by rote in Portuguese, or whether an explanation in Malayalam had been provided. The most difficult situation of all arose, naturally, in the hearing of confessions. If a confession made in the presence of a priest who did not know the language was to be more than nominal, provision for interpretation was indispensable; yet in so delicate a matter the presence of a third party could not but be gravely embarrassing. The true solution of this problem was reached only many years later with the formation of a cadre of well-trained Indian priests.⁵⁷

We do hear at intervals of priests preaching the Gospel to non-Christians and winning converts by these means. But such sermons must have been delivered through interpreters, and this is always a hazardous business. Even well-intentioned interpreters, if unfamiliar with the Christian content of the discourse, might miss the meaning and give a distorted account of what was intended. Really good interpreters are few and far between. This defect could not be remedied, until the college of St Paul had become a popular and flourishing institution, able to supply as interpreters pupils who were genuinely bilingual.

In the majority of the places occupied by the Portuguese – Cochin, Tuticorin, Negapatam – they existed only through the favour of the local ruler who had given them permission to erect forts and factories. Indian Christians continued to be subjects of the Indian rulers. This led to many difficulties, as such rulers tended to be capricious rather than consistent in their attitudes. But, in spite of the difficulties involved, the number of Christians seems to have grown rapidly. Sebastian Pires in a letter dated 8 January 1518 reports to the king of Portugal that there are in the neighbourhood of Cochin from ten to twelve thousand Christians. He does not distinguish between Thomas Christians and recent converts; but, since the Portuguese at that time had only limited contact with the Thomas Christians, he is probably referring to those who had become Christians since the coming of the Westerners.⁵⁸

By this time the Portuguese were beginning to understand, though as yet very imperfectly, the Hindu caste system. In the same letter Pires notes that, besides the Nāyars and the Brāhmans who are of honourable rank, there are others less honourable, among them the people called Izhavas, the majority of whom are by now Christians. This is, if true, extremely interesting. The Izhavas are to this day a large and thriving community in Kerala, in some

areas making up twenty per cent of the population. Their main occupation, though many of them are sturdy agriculturalists, is drawing the sweet juice from the palm trees, making toddy and distilling arrack. For this reason they are not well thought of by the higher castes; though not untouchable they were not admitted to the Hindu temples, and were ministered to by priests of their own caste. If Pires is right, the movement to which he refers cannot have been more than local, since the majority of the Izhavas to this day are Hindus.⁵⁹

7 THE PORTUGUESE AND THE NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS

The numbers of converts to Christianity were never overwhelming, but seem to have been considerable in the early days.

The presence of a strong and neutral power presented itself as a favouring portent to many of the lower castes, suffering as they did from the depredations of robbers and pirates and subject to the capricious actions of hereditary rulers. It was not always the case that those who accepted foreign protection became Christians; but in some cases at least the Portuguese made the acceptance of baptism a condition for the granting of protection. It was laid down by law that every resident of Goa living with an Indian woman was under obligation to teach his wife, or slave, the *Paternoster* and the *Ave Maria*, and to place no hindrance in the way of her becoming a Christian 'according to our law'.⁶⁰ The women seem in most cases to have made no difficulty about being baptised, and so the Christian community grew.

Even where the Portuguese were in control, there was nothing like a settled policy of forcible conversion; the general policy of the new rulers was tolerant within the limits of what were in those days regarded as the duties of a Christian king.

In the sixteenth century the view almost universally held by Christians was that idolatry was abomination, calculated to call down the wrath of God upon any king who permitted it in his dominions. From the start, therefore, it was laid down that no idol was to be seen in public, that no processions in which idols were carried were to pass through the streets, and that there was to be no public performance of Hindu ceremonies. Beyond this, the Portuguese, like some though not all Muslim rulers, do not seem to have interfered with the faith and practice of their non-Christian fellow-subjects. The capture of Goa was followed by a panic, in which many Hindus fled to the mainland. But, as settled conditions returned and it was found that life could go on very much in its accustomed channels, the great majority of them came back. The Portuguese needed them, for the cultivation of the fields, as servants and sailors, and in all the lower echelons of the business

enterprise. To a large extent the new rulers were prepared to take over the administrative methods of the old, and to govern the people in the ways to which they had long been accustomed.

In 1511 a Portuguese physician named Tomé Pires came to India, and at intervals during the period between 1512 and 1515 wrote an account of his experiences in a work called *Suma Oriental*.⁶¹ His account of the Hindus of Goa does not leave on the mind the impression that they had been subjected to any severe persecution:

There are a great many heathens in this kingdom of Goa . . . Some of them are very honoured men with large fortunes; and almost the whole kingdom lies in their hands, because they are natives and they possess the land and they pay the taxes. Some of them are noblemen with many followers and lands of their own, and are persons of great repute, and wealthy, and they live on their estates, which are very gay and fresh . . . They have beautiful temples of their own in this kingdom; they have priests or Brahmans of many kinds . . . these Brahmans are greatly revered throughout the country, particularly among the heathen . . . They are clever, prudent, learned in their religion. A Brahman would not become a Mohammedan [even] if he were made a king.⁶²

There are many ways of helping people to become Christians. If the Portuguese did not coerce their subjects, they regarded it as quite legitimate to entice them. Favour could be shown to Christians and denied to those who had decided to remain as they were. As the number of Christians increased, it was easy to insinuate them into positions of trust and profit.

Yet, when every allowance has been made for mixed and unworthy motives, it remains true that the Christian faith as practised by the Portuguese exercised in itself a strong attractive power, especially as the old Hindu ways of worship became less available. The Portuguese clergy did everything that they could to make the Christian faith and its festivals splendid and memorable. A Hindu woman, entering a Christian church for the first time, would not be able to understand a single word; but the atmosphere, with pictures and statues, processions and the ever present smell of incense, might not seem too different from that to which she had been accustomed in a Hindu temple; things were permitted here, in a new and Christian form, which were now forbidden in their Hindu guise. For those of higher caste the loss of caste-status involved in conversion must have been a great barrier in the way of a change of faith; for those of lower status, adoption of the Portuguese way may well have seemed to be a kind of promotion. The regular habit of conferring Portuguese names at baptism made assimilation all the easier.⁶³

For a generation the Portuguese attitude towards the old faiths had been in the main tolerant. The clear evidence for this is that, after thirty years of

Portuguese rule, the majority of the inhabitants of the islands were still Hindus or Muslims. In consequence, the pace of conversion seemed to a number of pious Christians to be much too slow. Other times were about to begin, with the introduction of more rigorous codes of proceeding against the survival and the survivors of the ancient regime. At the end of the sixteenth century, Francis Paes, an official of the treasury in Goa, coined the term 'the rigour of mercy', to characterise the method by which the Christianisation of the Goa Islands was now to be advanced.⁶⁴ The chief actors in the process were the two leaders whose zeal and devotion have already been mentioned – Michael Vaz the vicar general and Diogo Borba, who had come to India in the retinue of the first bishop of Goa. These two, convinced that the continued existence of the Hindu shrines was the major obstacle to the process of conversion, decided on nothing less than the destruction of all the shrines. As there were in all probability more than a hundred of these,⁶⁵ the destruction of them all was a considerable enterprise.

The manner in which the work was carried out remains obscure. Michael Vaz, in the immensely long letter which he wrote to the king on 6 January 1543, does no more than mention with high commendation Fabian Gonçalves of the household of Francis Melo, who had accompanied him on his apostolic missions, and had shewn such zeal that 'by his hands were destroyed and pulled down all the pagodas and houses of idolatry that were to be found in Goa'.⁶⁶ The account given by Gaspar Correa, though circumstantial, must be regarded as improbable in the extreme. He writes: 'Master Diogo and his collaborators persecuted so much the houses of the idols and their ministers, and caused among them such dissensions, lawsuits and evils, that the Gentiles [Hindus] themselves of their own accord eventually pulled down and demolished the houses of the idols.'⁶⁷ However it may have been accomplished and by whom, there is no doubt that the operation was thorough. In 1545 the Jesuit Nicolas Lancilotto could record that, at the time of his arrival in Goa, there were no longer any temples to be seen.⁶⁸

The shrines had been destroyed. The question remained as to what was to be done with the revenues by which the temples had been maintained.

What followed is not easy for twentieth-century man to understand. The sixteenth century still lived in the intensely litigious and legalistic tradition of the middle ages. The general view relating to trusts, donations and endowments was that, if such a trust could no longer be administered in the terms originally laid down, it could be terminated by authority, and in that case the property would return to the original donors or their heirs, or if these could not be discovered, the estate would be escheated to the sovereign, who would then assign the revenue to a use as near as possible to

that intended by the original donors. This was the doctrine found useful, in the period with which we are dealing, by Henry VIII of England and Thomas Cromwell in their concerns with the monasteries of that country.

Ferdinand Rodrigues de Castello-Branco, acting governor in the absence of the governor Stephen da Gama, seems to have held a view slightly different from that expounded above. In a lengthy document, dated 30 June 1541, we are given an unusually clear and detailed account of what took place.⁶⁹ The acting governor called together twenty-eight persons, being the headmen (*gançares*) of fifteen villages and two small islands, together with the Brāhman Krishna,⁷⁰ the chief collector of taxes (*tanador-mor*), and Locu and Gopu (this is the Portuguese spelling of the names), leading Brāhmans of Goa. The purpose for which they had been convened was explained to those present; as the shrines no longer existed, no further expenses could be incurred in relation to them. It was therefore the desire of the authorities to make good use of the money in accordance with the goodwill of the king of Portugal towards his Indian subjects. In Goa there were many churches, as well as the hospital and the *Misericordia*; but these were used only for the benefit of the Portuguese, and nothing had yet been done directly for the benefit of the Indian part of the population. Now was the time to take action. The Confraternity of the Holy Faith and the College of St Paul had been called into existence exclusively for the benefit of the Indians. Could he hope that the *gançares* would of their own freewill surrender the revenues formerly attached to the temples for these new and excellent purposes? The original donors could not now be identified. The old spiritual aims having fallen by the wayside, did it not seem suitable that the money should be used for other spiritual aims approved by the new regime?⁷¹

Some wrangling followed as to the exact terms on which the temple lands were held, and whether or not by the Portuguese conquest these lands did become the property of the king. But in the end the opposition was borne down, and the *gançares* 'voluntarily agreed to pay to the Confraternity annually the sum of 2,000 white *tangas*'. The total revenue of the temples was reckoned to be 780 *pardãos*. It was agreed that the confraternity should retain the first 300 *pardãos* of revenue for the service of the college and of the house; the remainder was to be used without any deduction for the service of the churches and chapels, built or to be built, in the villages and islands of the Portuguese possessions.⁷² Twelve churches and chapels are named as eligible to receive aid from the fund; but it is specifically stated that these are sufficient for the existing population, and that, if other churches and chapels are later built, they will not be so eligible.⁷³ If no chaplains have as yet been appointed to these churches or chapels, they are now to be appointed. The duties of chaplains are carefully laid down. The document looks forward to

the time when there will be priests *naturais desta terra*; such should be appointed as chaplains of the country churches, 'since from this the people of the land would receive greater contentment, and would accept the instructions from them with greater goodwill, both by reason of the language, and because they are akin to them by birth'.⁷⁴

It is to be noted that similar methods for the diversion of temple revenues to Christian purposes were used in other Portuguese conquests of later date.⁷⁵

Many religious orders, other than the Franciscans, have contributed to the Christian history of India, and have rendered notable services. But a comparison of dates shows that for the period dealt with in this chapter, there is hardly anything to record. The Jesuits arrived in 1542. There are one or two notices of Dominicans, one from as early as 1503; but it was not until 1548 that the initiative and the generosity of the king of Portugal enabled the Dominicans to establish themselves in Goa in strength which they maintained for many years. The Augustinians, later to be distinguished by their special concern for work among Muslims and their pioneer work in Bengal, did not arrive till 1572. Of the Theatines and the Carmelites there are no notices from the sixteenth century. The burden and heat of the day in these difficult years was borne by the secular clergy and the Franciscans. As far as care for the Indian inhabitants of the land was concerned, the lion's share of honour goes to the Franciscans.

7 · The Jesuits and the Indian Church

I THE JESUITS ENTER THE SCENE

On 6 May 1542 Francis Xavier and a small party of companions landed at Goa. The Jesuits had arrived.

The Society of Jesus was different from any other religious order, but not as different as is sometimes supposed. H.O. Evennett has pointed out that 'the various bodies of clerks regular were the outstanding creation of sixteenth-century Catholicism in the sphere of the religious orders'.¹ Notable among these new orders were the Theatines, who arrived in India at a later date than the Jesuits (1646).² The Theatines were neither monks nor friars nor canons. They were a body of pastoral priests living together, having taken the monastic vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, in order to live the apostolic priestly life in as perfect a manner as possible. While not accepting the official charge of either parishes or hospitals, they were busy in preaching, in hearing confessions and exhorting to the more frequent reception of the sacraments, in charitable works for the sick and the distressed, in study and especially in preparing for the reform of the liturgy.³

Ignatius Loyola had known the Theatines in Venice in 1536-7, and clearly had learned much from them. But on everything that he did Loyola, that strange combination of the Chevalier Bayard and Don Quixote, stamped the marks of his highly individual genius. He, like many of his followers, was the perfect medieval man. Evennett has written of him that 'no one could be less truly called a "child of the Renaissance" than Ignatius, who had long and decisively rejected the Erasmian outlook'.⁴ He had encountered both the Renaissance and the Reformation in his student years at Paris, and had come to a deep detestation of them both. Nothing in the doctrine or life of the church was to be changed. The pope was to be the head and protector of this immutability, and to the pope was to be dedicated the special loyalty of his Society as it came into being.

On 27 September 1540, in the Bull *Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae* the pope gave formal recognition to the new society. From its beginnings the Jesuit

Order was disliked and suspected by the conservative elements in the church. Its members were neither regulars nor seculars. They were activists and not contemplatives. The Jesuit was freed from the obligation to a common recitation of the divine office. He would not live in a cloister, and might even be exempted from the limitations of a life shared in common with his brethren. He would go wherever he was sent with a total disregard for personal safety or comfort. This might mean living for long periods quite alone, though this was avoided when possible. Such a wide departure from the principles of monasticism was a great stumbling-block to conservative critics, who chose to see in this special policy for a special society something 'of Erasmian humanism or even of Protestantism'.⁵ But it was only this flexibility which made possible the achievements of the society in India and the Far East.

As soon as the society began to move out into various fields of work, Ignatius realised that correspondence, of the members with the head and of the members with one another, was the only instrument by which a network of life-lines could be created, and that without these the society as a fellowship would perish. It was expected that every Jesuit would write to the general of the society in Rome and would tell of his doings.⁶ From the time of their foundation Jesuits have been unbridled correspondents, and experts in the creation of archives.⁷ Much has been lost; but with the help of the letters that have survived it is possible to construct an almost day to day narrative of the early period of the missions in Asia, and to relive the experiences of that now distant age.

The earlier letters are for the most part short, written in haste without the least regard to grace of language and style, their format not improved when the surviving copy was made by a lay brother whose education left much to be desired. Gradually the Jesuit letters become longer, and show more concern for style. One of the best of our correspondents, the aristocrat Luis Fróis, who wrote excellent Portuguese and was later to be the historian of the mission to Japan, ends the first of his letters with the remark: 'if you should feel that by the superfluity of this letter I have overstepped due limits, please attribute it to the great love in Christ our Lord which I have for you in the depths of my soul'.⁸

2 XAVIER – ROME VIA LISBON TO GOA

Don Francisco de Jassu y Xaver,⁹ better known to the English-speaking world as Francis Xavier, was born on 7 April 1506 at the castle of Xavier in Navarre. His family, like that of Ignatius Loyola, belonged to the minor Basque nobility of that region. Today the castle lies outside that part of Navarre in which Basque is spoken; but it was not always so, and it is almost

certain that the first language which the saint spoke was Basque. As he lay on his deathbed in the island of Sancian off the coast of China, according to the report of his faithful Chinese servant Antonio who knew both Spanish and Portuguese, 'he said many things which I could not understand, for they were not in our language . . . and he continued speaking with the greatest fervour for the space of five or six hours and the name of Jesus was never lacking on his lips'.¹⁰ The unknown language can hardly have been other than Basque.

In 1525 Xavier left his home to study at the university of Paris. In 1529 Ignatius Loyola, already thirty-eight years old, arrived to begin his studies, and almost at once made the acquaintance of Xavier. According to Polanco, at the first meeting Basque was not attracted by Basque. But Loyola, perhaps having from the first detected the qualities latent in his fellow-countryman, set himself to win him over, though, as reported by Polanco, he later remarked that 'Xavier was the most stubborn dough that he had ever kneaded.'¹¹ So it came about that, when seven friends went on 15 August 1534 to the little chapel of the Martyrdom on Montmartre to take certain solemn vows, Xavier was one of them.

This was just the time at which King John III of Portugal was asking for excellent priests to supplement the exiguous forces that Portugal had been able to send to the great dominions overseas. His attention was drawn to the little group of men, who cannot yet be called Jesuits, and he instructed his ambassador in Rome, Peter Mascarenhas, to make further inquiry about them. The ambassador's report was most favourable; Nicolas Bobadilla and Simon Rodriguez had already been appointed for service in India. As things worked out, neither of these two ever reached India. Bobadilla returned from Naples to Rome so seriously ill that he could not be considered for service overseas. Rodriguez got as far as Lisbon, but was detained there at the earnest wish of the king. Thus it was only by chance that Xavier's name came forward on the list of possible candidates. Ignatius was very unwilling to let go the man who had become bound to him by ties of special friendship and had for a time acted as his secretary. But at last consent was given; and, after long delays in Lisbon, on 7 April 1541 Xavier was able to put to sea *en route* for India. His party was very different from what he had imagined and planned. His attempts to find recruits in Portugal were almost completely unsuccessful. A young priest Paul of Camerino had volunteered for India and had been accepted. Xavier was able to take with him a boy named Diogo Fernandes, a relative of Simon Rodriguez, and a young man named Francis Mansilhas whose name will recur frequently in our narrative. Of little education and less capacity, Mansilhas was to become the object of Xavier's tender pastoral care, and at the same time a perpetual thorn in his side.

The conditions under which Xavier went to India must be clearly

understood. He had been commissioned by the king of Portugal who, apart from his personal regard for Xavier, was bound under the terms of the *padroado* to support him in his work. At all times he had access to the king, and was able on a number of occasions to write to him with considerable freedom. He had been appointed by the pope as legate to all the countries east of the Cape of Good Hope; this gave him considerable authority in an area in which at that time there was no more than a single bishop.¹² His relations with Loyola were always intimate. The society was very new. Ignatius had laid down in 1539 certain basic principles; but the Constitution of the society was not clearly drawn up until 1555, and Xavier had already been dead for a number of years before these rules reached India. Consequently his authority was very great; but organisation was not his greatest talent, and it is at least possible that the stability of Jesuit work in the East would have been greater, if he had spent more time at headquarters and less on his bold wanderings about the eastern world.

To a considerable extent the shape of Xavier's missionary work was determined by this threefold authority. Personally the most modest of men, his imagination was fired by the progress of Portuguese discovery and by the thought of lands and empires to be brought within the kingdom of Christ. He had not gone out to be the supervisor of a little handful of Jesuits in a small corner of India. His own temperament may have been restless; but there is a certain magnificence in a restlessness which led him to contain within a single glance India and the Moluccas, Japan, and, even beyond Japan, China.

Voyages from Lisbon to India at that time were always terrible. That on which Xavier sailed was worse than most; the ship which left for India on 7 April 1541 took him no further than Moçambique; it was not till 6 May 1542 that he finally landed at Goa. The voyage gave him and his companions every opportunity to manifest themselves as true servants of Christ in their ceaseless care for the sick and for the dying. Alexander Valignano, who had not known Xavier personally but who took immense trouble to collect information from those who had, and whose *History* is one of the main sources for all subsequent lives of Xavier,¹³ has this to say of him at this period of his service:

They spent all their time in ceaseless works of mercy and charity, giving an example of great humility and patience, specially Brother Francis, who behaved with such disregard of himself that he seemed more like an ordinary seaman than a man of great reputation, performing the meanest office which was to be found in it . . . Moreover through the great prudence and easy style of conduct which the Father maintained, it was very easy for him to make himself in a certain manner master of the hearts of all . . . And by these means he won such a high opinion and reputation

among the Portuguese that he was by all held and reputed to be a saint. In conversation he was easy and very lively . . . in such manner that even those who were deeply sunk in grave sins and who hated to make contact with good and religious persons, were happy to make contact and to converse with Master Francis; and he on his part took such advantage of this opportunity that within a short time they found themselves much changed from what they had been before.¹⁴

The governor Martin Affonso de Sousa, who with Xavier was one of the passengers on the ship *Santiago*, growing weary of the long delay at Moçambique, suddenly decided to take advantage of the arrival from India of a small merchantman, the *Coulam*, and to sail ahead of his fleet without waiting for the more favourable winds of the south-west monsoon. To sail at such a season in an unarmed vessel involved considerable risk; but luck was with the governor, who had insisted on Xavier accompanying him perhaps as a kind of mascot for the voyage. Stops were made only at Malindi and at Socotra, where Xavier found Christians in a state of extreme ignorance.

At last the interminable voyage was over. In his first letter dated 20 September 1542,¹⁵ he expresses himself as consoled and delighted by what he found:

After more than four months we arrived in India, at Goa, a city wholly inhabited by Christians, a sight really worthy to be seen. There is a convent with many friars of the order of St Francis,¹⁶ and a splendid cathedral with many canons, and many other churches. It is a thing for which great thanks ought to be offered to God, that the name of Christ flourishes so in such distant lands and among so many unbelievers.¹⁷

It is easy both to sympathise with the first enthusiasm of Xavier and to admit that he had ruefully to learn that in many respects his first impressions had been mistaken. Even in the city itself, and still more in the villages, there were still many Hindus and Muslims. And he was to learn that the level of Christian life among both Portuguese and recent converts was very low.

One of the first duties incumbent on Master Francis was that of paying a visit to the bishop. The visitor informed the prelate that Pope Paul III and the king of Portugal had sent him to India to help the Portuguese, to instruct the converts, and to devote himself to the conversion of unbelievers. He spread out before the bishop the royal letters, and the brief in which the pope had appointed him as apostolic nuncio; but he added that he wished to regard himself as in every way subject to the bishop, and that he would not make any use of his special privileges except such as the chief shepherd of the area could regard as appropriate. The bishop, moved by such humility, gave back the letters, and bade Francis make such use of his privileges as he desired. From that time on the two were united by bonds of deep affection.¹⁸

The second visit was to the vicar general Michael Vaz Coutinho. Since 1533 Vaz had been the chief administrative officer of the church in India. Almost every reference to him in the sources is laudatory; he was a man of perfect probity and of vigour and enterprise. This was a man after Francis' own heart; with him also he remained on terms of close friendship.¹⁹

The third visit had inevitably to be paid to the registrar of the city, Cosme Anes, the second most important layman in the colony. This excellent man had come to India in 1538. In 1546 he married the daughter of the chancellor Don Francis Toscano, and settled down to make India his home until his death in 1560. He seems to have been the real imperialist of his day, a Dupleix before his time; he dreamed of a great Portuguese empire in India – if only one or two kings could be subdued. But, in addition to eager devotion to the cause of his earthly king, he was also deeply concerned about the kingdom of Christ and was a warm supporter of every good cause. From the day of the arrival of the little party of Jesuits he was a loyal friend on whose practical counsel and help they could at all times count.

It was not long before Xavier discovered how little had been done, physically and spiritually, for the people among whom he had come to dwell. The many levels of the population from *fidalgos* to slaves have already been noted; to this diversity must be added the great variety of races represented.²⁰ Such help as was available could not reach them all. In that unfavourable climate the hospital was always full, thirty to forty Portuguese patients in ordinary times, and far more during the period in which the ships were in. A house had been prepared for Xavier in his capacity as apostolic delegate; but he refused to live in it, preferring to sleep in the hospital, usually on the ground and near to the man who was most gravely ill, in order that he might be in immediate readiness for any urgent call. He extended his charity to the prisoners, condemned to live for long periods in degrading conditions in the jail by reason of the inordinate delay in hearing their cases. Even the lepers in the *hospitium leprosorum S. Lazaro* were not beyond the reach of his care: 'On Sundays I have been going outside the city to say mass for the lepers in the leper hospital. I heard their confessions and gave communion to all who resided in that dwelling. On one occasion I preached to them; they have showed themselves very friendly and devoted to me.'²¹

What most disturbed him was the profound ignorance in which the Indian wives of Portuguese and their half-caste children had been left. Xavier resolved to set this right, and devised a method not very different from that adopted by General William Booth more than three centuries later. We owe to the pen of the sober and usually accurate Teixeira a full account of these unusual proceedings.²² The saint would walk through the streets and squares of the city, ringing a little bell, and crying aloud, 'Believing Christians, friends of Jesus Christ, for the love of God send your

sons and daughters, your male and female slaves, to the Christian instruction.'²³ These strange methods, more reminiscent of the gay spirit of the other Francis than of the solemn intensity of Ignatius, were so successful that at times Xavier would find himself in the church of our Lady of the Rosary with three hundred ragamuffins in front of him.²⁴

Less conspicuous, but perhaps in the end more effective, were the means he used to make his ministrations available to those who most needed them. If he became aware of one whose life was more than ordinarily irregular, he would arrange to be invited to dine at his house. He would praise the cooking and the excellence of the service, and would ask to be introduced to each of the girls, without a word of criticism or reproof.²⁵ He would ask the host to discharge one of the girls for whom he had already found a bridegroom. Ten days later he would return to the charge, and withdraw from his host a second concubine, and then a third, and a fourth, until only one was left, whom the reprobate would probably marry, since it was hard to refuse the Father anything.²⁶

During these five months of mainly pastoral activity Xavier found yet another field of interest and activity. The college of St Paul had been founded, but great difficulty had been experienced in finding competent teachers. A suggestion seems already to have been made that this was a sphere in which Jesuits could be usefully employed. The leaders in Goa would have been glad to hand over the whole work and administration of the college to Xavier and his friends. So far Xavier was not prepared at that time to go. But he was deeply interested, and had a clear vision of what the college might do. In another letter to the brethren, of the same date, 20 September 1542, he writes:

We trust in God our Lord that before many years have passed men will go out of this college able greatly to increase in these parts the faith of Jesus Christ and to extend the limits of our holy mother the Church. I believe that within six years thirty students of various languages, races and nations will have gone out from here qualified greatly to increase the number of Christians.²⁷

It was from their long association with the college of St Paul that the Jesuits derived the name 'Paulists' by which they were generally known throughout the East.²⁸

3 THE COAST OF COROMANDEL AND THE FISHER FOLK

Goa was the focus and the central point of the entire Portuguese enterprise in the East. Commonsense, if nothing else, had made it clear both to Ignatius and to Xavier that the first step of the Jesuits in the East must be the establishment there of a strong base for all their work in India and beyond.

But Xavier had not come to India in order to be the parish priest of Goa; it was not long before he felt himself called to very different work, and to that life of astonishing adventures which was to be his destiny for the next ten years.

Strange tales had been reaching Goa, from the extreme south of India, of a community which had committed itself to the protection of the king of Portugal, and as a condition for the securing of such protection had agreed to the baptism of every member of the community – the first mass movement in India into the Christian church. The whole caste of the Paravas, or as they prefer to be called the Bharathas,²⁹ the hardy fisher folk of the coast of Coromandel, had been baptised some six or eight years earlier, but since that date nothing had been done for them. It was to this area that the governor now decided to send Xavier, promising that when Paul of Camerino and Francis Mansilhas, who were still in Moçambique, arrived, they would be sent on to join him:

The Lord Governor has now appointed me to an area in which according to all accounts there will be the possibility of making many Christians. I take with me three natives of this country; two have already been ordained deacons; they know Portuguese very well, and naturally their own language even better; the third has received only minor orders . . . The name of the country to which I am going is Cape Comorin.³⁰

The Paravas lived in a number of villages, perhaps about twenty in all, strung out over a narrow strip of land about a hundred miles in length, from Cape Comorin to Vembār. A hardy race, they live by the sea in two senses of that expression. For most of the year their livelihood is fishing; because of the association of this trade with the taking of life, they are not reckoned by the Hindus as belonging to one of the higher castes. They have developed astonishing skill in the management of their catamarans,³¹ each with its single lateen sail. This stern and exacting labour gives them immense physical hardihood, and a strength of character which at its best is courage but may take the form of a rather rough aggressiveness. For the most part the boats remain not far from the shore, and return with the off-sea breeze in the evening. But violent tempests can arise and sweep the boats far out of sight of land; every year a number of lives are lost.

What gave variety to Parava life, and importance beyond the local scene, was the annual pearl-fishery.³² The collection of oysters begins in March and lasts for twenty to thirty days. The oyster beds lie at a distance of five to six miles from the coast. Fantastic tales are told of the length of time that a diver can remain under water; observation shows that the time is usually not more than a minute, and in no case exceeds a minute and a half. The work is extremely exhausting; by midday the diver has done his work for the day,

and is ready to return to shore for the sorting of the catch. In a good season the profits can be very high; but the man who does the hard work is far from being the only beneficiary.

In the second quarter of the sixteenth century the Paravas had to contend with the demands of a variety of potentates. Both the Cera and the Pāṇḍiyan kings were not far away. The king of Vijayanagar still claimed a rather shadowy sovereignty as far as Cape Comorin, though effective power was exercised by Viśvanātha Nāyakar, who from the city of Mathurai claimed dominion over the northern villages of the Paravas. A new factor appeared on an already complicated scene with the arrival in South India of a race of Moors (Arabs) who took as their headquarters the ancient port of Korkai. These men had considerable experience of pearl-fishing, and seemed to be in process of monopolising the South Indian trade. For a time the Paravas endured their extortions; but, when these became intolerable, they rose in revolt, and it seems that a certain number of Muslim lives were lost. Word went round that in retaliation the Arabs had decided on the total extermination of the Parava race. Where should they turn for protection?

At this point there steps on to the stage one of those curious figures, unimportant in themselves, by whom at a given point the course of history can be changed. John da Cruz was a Chetṭi of the merchant caste resident in Calicut, who in 1513 had been sent to Portugal as an emissary of the zamorin, and while there had been baptised and had taken a Portuguese name. He it was who at this time (probably in 1534) put into the minds of the Paravas the idea of seeking the protection of the king of Portugal, and of accepting baptism as a means of winning the king's favour. The Portuguese were not unknown on the Coast. Their first captain of the Fisher Coast had been appointed in 1524; ten years later they were firmly established in Tuticorin. All dwellers on the Coast were aware that a new power had emerged in their midst.

So in 1535, when the Portuguese ships returned to Cochin, John da Cruz was accompanied by fifteen Paravas. The report they brought back with them was not at first believed, so a larger delegation of seventy was sent. This time conviction was complete; all the members of the delegation were baptised and took Portuguese names. In the following year the Portuguese sailors who came to the Coromandel Coast were accompanied by Peter Gonçalves the vicar of Cochin and three other priests. They found the men of the caste assembled for the pearl-fishery, and then and there baptised them *en masse*. At a later date the women and children who had been left behind in the villages were added to the flock. By the end of the year 1537 the entire community had been baptised.³³

The Muslims, naturally, were not prepared to let the Paravas slip completely out of their control, and planned a major attack upon them. In

this they were supported by the zamorin, still at odds with the Portuguese, who sent three ships to their aid. At the crucial moment the governor de Sousa appeared on the scene, and, though his forces were inferior to those of the enemy, decided at once to engage them. On 27 June 1538 a great battle was fought at Vedālai. The fight was long and fierce, but ended with the total rout of the Hindu and Muslim forces. The victory made it certain that the Muslims could not aspire to control the trade in pearls; the zamorin never recovered the power that he had exercised before this defeat. From then on the Paravas were left in comparative peace, with nothing worse to bear than the depredations of those who were now pledged to protect them, and the occasional raids of northern marauders. But nothing was done to help them spiritually; they were Christians in name and no more.³⁴

It was during this time of somewhat uneasy peace that the decision was taken to send Xavier to the Coast, to inquire into the needs of the people and to bring some kind of order into their lives. He knew that he was facing a difficult task. The political and social difficulties were compounded by his almost total lack of preparation for the work. He was to live among Muslims and Hindus. There is no evidence that at this time Xavier had any acquaintance with the Koran, or had any means of acquainting himself with Islam from within. Of the Hindu faith he had no knowledge at all, except in so far as he had seen some of the less attractive manifestations of it in Goa and in the port towns at which his ship had touched during the voyage to the south. But he had already taken up that attitude of relentless hostility to the beliefs of the people around him, which is summed up in a brief phrase in one of his early letters: 'The invocations of the pagans are hateful to God, since all their gods are devils.'³⁵

Xavier does not give the name of the place at which he first landed among the Paravas, but almost certainly it was Manappādu, a village with which his name was later to be closely associated. Today Manappādu can boast of two noble churches, one of the Goanese, the other of the Jesuit, allegiance. Some of the inhabitants have prospered in trade and have built themselves substantial houses. But we may suppose Manappādu in the sixteenth century to have consisted entirely of single-storey houses built of sun-dried brick and with thatched roofs of palmyra-leaves, with nothing to break the sky-line except possibly the cupola of some surviving Hindu temple. Behind the sand-dunes which fringe the shore, the land rises to the strange area locally known as the *teri*, hills of rich red earth brought by the monsoon winds from inland and deposited where these winds are slowed down by their meeting with the off-sea breeze of the afternoons.³⁶ Where water comes to the surface there are scenes of glowing fertility; but for the most part the hills, which at one point rise more than 200 feet (61 m) above the sea, wandered over by wild cattle, stand bare except for thorn-trees, low

bushes and the invaluable palmyra, which seems able to survive on a minimum supply of water.³⁷

There is a tendency in writers who have dealt with this period to romanticise the hardships endured by Xavier and later missionaries on the Fisher Coast.³⁸ At ten degrees from the equator, the climate is hot. But for the greater part of the year the nights are cool and the sea-breeze gives relief. Xavier had accustomed himself to simple and ascetic ways, and in his extensive letters there are few complaints of the physical hardships involved in the conditions under which he worked.

The people of Manappādu had probably heard that Xavier was on his way, and may not have been altogether surprised when the slim short figure with deep-set eyes and the endlessly attractive smile, clad as was his wont in a rather worn and threadbare black cassock, descended on their shores. They crowded round him in welcome, especially the boys, who as he complains would hardly give him time to read his breviary:

As soon as I had disembarked on the Coast, I proceeded to the various villages where they live, and baptized all the children who had not yet received the sacrament . . . The boys besieged me in such crowds that I had no time to say my office or to eat or to sleep. They clamoured to be taught some prayers, . . . I found them very quick and bright, and, if they had someone to instruct them properly in our holy faith, I am sure they would make fine Christians.³⁹

4 THE ORGANISATION OF A CHURCH

Before long, the method of work which he must follow became clear to Xavier. He was the only effective missionary on the Coast. He could not be everywhere all the time. The only possible method of building up anything like congregational life was to secure the translation into Tamil of the essential Christian documents, and by constant repetition to beat them into the heads of those who now called themselves Christians. So he gathered together those whom he judged best able to help him, and gradually and laboriously hammered out a rough version of the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments and some other prayers. Legend, which for centuries made it difficult to encounter the real Xavier, has credited him with a Pentecostal gift for languages. This he himself expressly disclaims, and not without good reason. He had no time to master the idiosyncracies of Tamil grammar. He had no books to help him, and no competent assistants. From the changes and improvements which he later suggested, it is clear that the original version was marred by a number of grotesque errors; it seems probable that the second was not very much better. Still, the first step had been taken, and it is the first step which counts.

The second step was that of communication. Education of illiterate people is always a difficult task:

When we had completed the translation in their language and knew it by heart, I went through all the area [the Parava quarter] with a bell in my hand and gathered as many men and boys as I could; and, having gathered them, I taught them twice a day. At the end of a month I had taught them the prayers, and instructed the boys that they must pass on to their fathers and mothers and to all others in their homes and to their neighbours what they had learned in school. On Sundays I gathered all the inhabitants of the quarter, men and women, great and small, to repeat the prayers in their own language. They showed much pleasure and came very gladly.⁴⁰

The method of instruction was catechetical. Each clause of the Creed and of the Lord's Prayer, each of the ten commandments was to be repeated after the teacher by the assembled throng. Interspersed were suitable prayers, such as, 'Jesus Christ, Son of God, give us grace to love thee above all things', or 'Holy Mary, Mother of Jesus Christ, obtain grace for us from your Son that we may keep the (first) commandment.' The general confession of sins would be said. With all these many repetitions, the service of instruction and prayer would last rather more than an hour.

In the first days of the mission Xavier was isolated without any really competent helper. A better method could hardly have been devised than that which he adopted. Some today might criticise the amount of parrot-like repetition on which he insisted; and it may be thought doubtful whether the women, across the fog of mistranslation and mispronunciation, understood very much of what they repeated. Illiterates have difficulty in even hearing unfamiliar religious terms, and a long time passes before familiarity of sound is followed by understanding of meaning. But all the time something was going into their minds.

Two steps had been taken. The next step was to ensure that the rough translations were transposed from the Roman into the Tamil script, which Xavier himself could not read, and extensively copied. Xavier affirms that he has attended to this in all his itinerations. To those who can write he gives the prayers, and gives orders that they should be copied and learned by heart; and then that they should be said every day, giving orders at the same time that all should assemble to repeat them. 'And for this I appoint in every place one who has the responsibility of seeing that this is carried out.'⁴¹ Those charged with these responsibilities were given the title *kanakkappillai*, literally 'accountant'. Xavier arranged that these persons should receive a small annual salary, to be paid from the profits of the pearl-fishery. He and his companions kept a strict watch on the way in which the supervisors attended to their duties.

At almost all times during this ministry we find Xavier surrounded by troops of urchins, attracted by his bright smile and his obvious care for them. These lads had become much disgusted with the idolatry practised by the non-Christians, would often argue with the Hindus on the subject, and would rebuke even their own parents, if they fell back into their old pre-Christian ways, and report them to the Father. Then

I would gather all the boys of the village, and go to the place where they had made and worshipped the idols; and then the dishonour heaped on the devil was greater than the honour paid to him by the parents and relations of the boys at the time when they made and venerated the idols. For the boys would take the idols and break them into tiny pieces, and then they would spit on them and trample them under foot and do other things which perhaps it is better not to record in detail, thus showing their contempt for the one who had had the impertinence to demand the veneration of their fathers.⁴²

These images were the property of the new Christians, and they had a right to dispose of them. It does not seem that Xavier ever put into effect such drastic measures as were found suitable in Goa; indeed, since the Fisher Coast was in no sense Portuguese territory, he would have had no kind of justification for doing so. This does not mean that he had any high regard for Hinduism, either as a survival in the ways and thoughts of his Christians, or as seen in the countless shrines and temples of the area. Most of his time was spent among the Paravas. But he could not be unaware of the existence of other castes, and in particular of the Brāhmans, the directors of all the large temples, such as that of Tiruchendur on its sandstone bluff,⁴³ and guardians of the Hindu traditions. Of these he has little good to say:

These are the most perverse people in the world . . . they never tell the truth, but think of nothing but how to tell subtle lies and to deceive the simple and ignorant people, telling them that the idols demand certain offerings, and these are simply the things the Brāhmans themselves invent, and of which they stand in need in order to maintain their wives and children and houses . . . They threaten the people that, if they do not bring the offerings, the gods will kill them, or cause them to fall sick, or send demons to their houses, and, through fear that the idols will do them harm, the poor simple people do exactly what the Brāhmans tell them . . . If there were no Brāhmans in the area, all the Hindus would accept conversion to our faith.⁴⁴

Xavier gives somewhat lengthy accounts of his discussions with the Brāhmans, all of course with the help of interpreters. He found them to be on the whole unlettered folk; only one among them could put forward any pretensions to knowledge. He had penetrated so far into their secrets as to discover that they have books in a language which seems to bear the same relation to their common speech as Latin does to ours,⁴⁵ and also that they

have an inner doctrine of one true God, very different from the form of teaching which they regard as suited to the simple people. He adds the interesting information that, since he came to the coast, only one member of the Brāhman caste had embraced Christianity, 'a young man of very good qualities, who has accepted as his responsibility that of instructing the boys in the Christian doctrine'.

Almost from the time of Xavier's actual presence on the Coast, the work of legend-building began, and it came to be firmly believed that he possessed miraculous powers, which extended even to the raising of the dead. Xavier never made such extravagant claims for himself. Two incidents of the kind on which the legend-makers built their later glorification of the saint and his works give evidence as to the kind of reality which underlay the legends.

In a certain village in which there were no Christians Xavier was brought to a house in which was lying a woman who had been three days in labour and of whose survival there was little hope. 'I began to call on the great name of Christ, recking nothing of the fact that I was in a strange land.' The principal parts of the Christian faith were explained to the woman. When by grace she was brought to believe, Xavier baptised her; immediately after receiving baptism she brought forth her child. The saint then baptised her husband, her sons and daughters, the child which had just been born and all others in the house. The news of what had happened naturally spread far and wide.

In the village of Kombuturē not far from Punnaikāyal, Xavier was just beginning to say mass, when there was a cry, and the crowd brought to him a boy who had fallen into a well, was now unconscious and believed to be dead. The saint knelt down, prayed briefly over him, read some verses of the Gospel, then took him by the hand and bade him in the name of God to stand up. At once the boy sat up and opened his eyes. All cried aloud, 'a miracle, a miracle'. But Xavier bade them keep silent, telling them that the boy was not dead, and that it was the will of the Lord to bring him back to health.⁴⁶

5 GOA AND THE EXTENSION OF THE WORK

Xavier had now spent a year on the Coast. He judged it time to go back to Goa and to find out what had happened to the two companions whom he had left behind in Moçambique. On his arrival he learned to his great annoyance that they had already been a year in Goa; the promise that they would be sent after him to the south had not been kept. Paul of Camerino was so deeply engaged in the work of the college that the bishop was not willing to let him go; but Mansilhas, whom no one very much wanted, could be set free for work among the Paravas.

Mansilhas is a pathetic figure. There was no harm in him. He seems to have been just what today would be called an inadequate personality. His education was defective; and a deep self-distrust made it difficult for him to accomplish even as much as he really was able to do. The bishop did at last consent to ordain him; in a letter of 18 December 1544 Xavier instructs him to make his way to Goa, as the bishop would not be coming to Cochin that year.⁴⁷ One of the recently arrived Jesuits Nicolas Lancilotto wrote to Ignatius in Rome,

May God be merciful to those who conferred orders on him. He cannot read his office, and it is doubtful whether he will ever acquire enough Latin to say mass . . . I asked the bishop straight out how he could bring himself to ordain a man as ignorant as that, and his answer was, 'What am I to do, when there are no better educated candidates?'⁴⁸

After his brief stay in Goa, and a halt in Cochin, by February 1544 Xavier was back on the Coast, to endure a year of grave disturbances, which however did not seriously impede the further organisation of the Parava church. The team had been increased by the appointment of two priests, one of whom, Francis Coelho, was an Indian.⁴⁹ There was also a layman of some distinction John Artiaga (D'Arze), whose unstable character caused some difficulties, but who claimed to have been with Xavier until he finally left for Malacca in September 1545.

Mansilhas was located in Manappādu with Artiaga, and to help him a cook (the Jesuits were never inclined to carry asceticism to excess), and the little Matthew, a bright Parava boy who had already helped Xavier in various ways and knew enough Portuguese to serve as a no doubt highly amateurish interpreter. Xavier himself chose Punnaikāyal as a conveniently central location, less infested than Tuticorin with Portuguese. He had a cook named Antonio, and a Parava helper also confusingly called Antonio.

By this time sacristans had been appointed in almost all the Christian villages.⁵⁰ The village headmen, the *patangatins*, could on occasion be called in to bring discipline to bear on the disorderly,⁵¹ and in the last resort the Portuguese captain of the Coast was there in the background.

Hardly had Xavier arrived for the second time on the Coast when he found himself involved in confused strife, of the kind of which so much local history in India is made up. In the records there are constant references to rulers named Inquitriberim and Beteperumāl, and to a rough people named *badagas*. These strange names require a good deal of elucidation.

Inquitriberim is Rāma Varma Unnikēla Tiruvadi, the full name of the Cera ruler, also known as the great king, who ruled from Quilon as far as Punnaikāyal, that is over the greater part of the realm which had once belonged to the Pāṇḍiyan king of the south. Beteperumāl is Vettum

Perumāl, whose full name is Māravarman Sundara Perumāl, the Pāṇḍiyan king who ruled the inland area from Kāyattār.⁵² The *badagas* are the *vaḍukkārar*, the northerners, the troops of the king of Vijayanagar, who still claimed dominion as far as Cape Comorin.⁵³ These raiders could penetrate far into the southern regions, carrying with them wherever they went chaos, confusion and distress. The Paravas thus found themselves subject to three lords, the 'great king' in the south, the lord of Kāyattār in the centre, and the nāyak under the king of Vijayanagar in the north. These rulers were constantly at feud among themselves, and were united only in their detestation of the Portuguese and their willingness to oppress the Paravas as vassals of the Portuguese.

In 1544 the *badagas* stormed through the country as far as Cape Comorin, made captives of some of the Christians, and oppressed others so severely that they took refuge on the rocky islet not far from the Cape. Xavier did his utmost to go to their help. But the south-west wind was blowing and his efforts were of no avail:

God our Lord knows what labours I endured in that journey. I went with twenty *dōnis* [small boats] to help the Christians who had fled from the *vaḍukkārar* to take refuge on the stony islets off Cape Comorin and were dying of hunger and thirst. The winds were so contrary, that neither with oars nor tow-ropes could we reach the Cape. When the wind drops, I will return again and do everything that I can to help them. It is the most pitiable thing in the world to see these unlucky Christians enduring such afflictions. Every day a number of them come to Manappādu, robbed of everything and poor, having neither food nor clothing.⁵⁴

Relations between the powers were constantly changing, and the enemy of yesterday was likely to be the friend of today. The Christians obtained relief through the kind offices of a nephew of Tiruvadi, who happened to be in the village of Periyatālai not far from the Cape. This good man, having heard of the oppression of the Christians by the principal men (*adhikkārar*), at once sent word to them to permit food and other necessities to be sent to the Christians, and to treat them with all proper consideration.⁵⁵ A little later Tiruvadi himself let it be known that he would be pleased to receive a visit from Xavier as the head of the Christians. This meant an arduous journey across country to some place in Travancore at which the king was at that time residing. Nothing is known of what passed between them; but the result was that Tiruvadi gave the Father 2,000 *fanams* for the building of churches in his area, and also obtained for him from the king of Travancore free access to the Mukkuvas, the fisher folk to the west of Cape Comorin, with full permission for any of his subjects who so desired to become Christians.⁵⁶

The Mukuvvas (in writing of whom Xavier regularly uses the incorrect

form *Macuas*) seem not to be directly connected with the Paravas, but carry on the same trade and occupy the same position in the social hierarchy.

In a letter of 27 January 1545 Xavier gives a somewhat full account of the manner in which he had baptised in one month more than 10,000 people. He first taught the people the prayers, having with him copies of the Tamil translation.

After the sermon, I asked all, both older and younger, whether they sincerely believed each article of the faith, to which they replied that they did believe . . . So I then baptized them, giving to each one a written note of his name. After the men, it was the turn of the women and girls. When the baptisms were over, the Christians took much pleasure in tearing down the idol-temples, and breaking the idols into small pieces (*en minutíssimas partes*).

Written copies of the prayers were left in each place, with orders that instruction was to be given to the new Christians twice daily.⁵⁷

Endless discussions have been held as to the rightness of the methods employed by Xavier, and his giving baptism after so short a period of instruction. For example, Professor C.R. Boxer, quoting Valignano, refers to 'his judicious mixture of threats and blandishments'.⁵⁸ Fr Schurhammer rejects this opinion categorically: 'Never and nowhere did Xavier apply threats or other violent methods in his work of conversion, and certainly not in the conversion of the fisher folk of Travancore';⁵⁹ it was on the appeal and initiative of the people themselves that Xavier had gone to baptise them.

The eyes of Xavier were now turning eagerly towards the regions farther east. He had resolved to pay a visit to Malacca, in his day already a Portuguese fortress and settlement, and if possible to regions yet farther east. Before setting out he wrote to Mansilhas one of his long letters of advice and encouragement. He must make it his first duty to pay close attention to the new Christians, not settling down in one place, 'but move from place to place, visiting all these Christians as I did when I was there, since in that manner you will best serve God'.⁶⁰ A sinister note creeps into these instructions: 'and pay great attention to the priests from Malabar, that they do not go astray . . . and if you see that they have done wrong, rebuke them and punish them, for it is a great sin not to punish those who deserve it, especially when their conduct has caused scandal to many'.⁶¹

The months from April to August 1545 were spent by Xavier at St Thomas Mount, mostly in quiet inner recollection, and in that intensive pastoral work among the Portuguese in which he was such an expert.⁶² Finally he was able in September to set out from Pulicat for Malacca. He did not reappear in India till 13 January 1548, when he landed in Cochin after a safe return journey from Malacca.

6 SUCCESSES AND FAILURES

The scene now turns back to Goa and to what had been happening to the community of Jesuits there during Xavier's long absence on the Coast and his still more protracted absence in south-east Asia.

The records refer often to Jesuits; but in point of fact during the greater part of the period under review there was only one Jesuit in Goa, Paul of Camerino, deeply engaged in the work of the college. This institution had now been in existence for several years, with a number of youths between the ages of thirteen and twenty-one in training. In the foundation document it had been laid down that the boys were to wear a shirt, trousers and jacket with a tunic, but that after they received orders (presumably minor orders) they should wear cassock and biretta. There was little that was Indian in the rules, except that it is laid down that they are to be provided with rice and curry. Xavier wrote with approval of the work that Fr Paul was carrying on: 'Master Paul is in Goa in the college of the Holy Faith. He is the confessor of the students, and is continually occupied with their sicknesses – of the body as well as of the spirit.'⁶³

It was impossible for Paul in addition to his duties as teacher and priest to carry on the administrative and financial work of the college. All this remained in the hands of a small commission of four stewards, the greater part of the work being carried out by Cosme Anes. This was an arrangement to which Master Paul did not find it easy to conform. Indeed he had come to the conclusion that the only solution was that the Society of Jesus should take over the entire direction of the college.⁶⁴

In the years 1542 and 1543 no recruits arrived from Europe. At last in 1544 the much needed reinforcements appeared on the scene.

Antony Criminali was an Italian, young and eager, who had been ordained priest in Coimbra in that very year.

John de Beira, a Spaniard and an older man, had been a canon of the cathedral of Corunna. Later he was to spend nine years in the Moluccas, passing through incredible adventures, and enduring sufferings which in the end unhinged his mind.⁶⁵

Nicolas Lancilotto, often sick and inclined to melancholy, was the best scholar of the three. He settled down to be the teacher of Latin in the college, and records for us his syllabus. For grammar he had the *De duplici rerum et verborum copia* of Erasmus. He also read with the boys all the eclogues of Virgil, some fables and epistles of Ovid, and two plays of Terence; for variety an epistle of Jerome in Lent. He found the boys intelligent and had good hopes for the future.⁶⁶

For some years the main concern of the society was the college. Little if any attention was paid to the background of the pupils or to their native

tongues, though the hope was expressed that they would not forget the languages they had spoken at home. The variety of backgrounds and languages was a perennial problem. As they were in Goa, it was natural that they should learn Portuguese, but there were many parts of the East where this would be of no use to them. Latin commended itself as the *lingua franca* that would carry them wherever the Christian church existed.

In 1548 two parties arrived and more than doubled the number of Jesuits in India.⁶⁷ In a not very distinguished company three names stand out as deserving special mention:

Antony Gomes (*b.* 1520 in the island of Madeira; joined the Jesuits in 1544) had been a brilliant student in the college at Coimbra, and was reckoned an outstanding preacher. Though not yet thirty years old, he had been chosen by Simon Rodriguez in Lisbon to be the first rector of the college in Goa, now that it had been decided that the society would be responsible for all its affairs.

Gaspar Berze, a Fleming, without brilliance but with gifts of steadiness and stability which were lacking in many of his brethren, was to succeed to the authority of Xavier in India.

The youngest of the party was the aristocrat Luis Fróis, still only a boy when he reached India,⁶⁸ by far the best stylist and letter-writer among the Jesuits; the gifts which were to find their fullest expression in the *History of the Mission to Japan* (1586) were ripening during the years that he spent in India. To his gifts of observation we owe many vivid glimpses into life as it was lived in India in the sixteenth century.

When Xavier returned from his long absence, to be warmly welcomed by old friends as by the new arrivals, he had much to learn. While he was away the Christian forces had been strengthened by the arrival of the Dominicans in some force. And the Jesuits had settled down to be something more than a collection of individuals.

Two notable baptisms had brought encouragement to the Christian forces in Goa.

The Brāhman known to the Portuguese as Loku was one of the most prominent men in Goa. He had been in the service of the Portuguese for twenty-five years, was a close friend of the governor, and had found many means of enriching himself. But he had steadfastly resisted all efforts to make him a Christian; indeed he is mentioned by name in a letter dated 6 November 1541 as one of those whose opposition had prevented many in Goa from accepting the faith.⁶⁹ But now disaster had befallen him, and had led him to see things in a different light. Extravagance had led him into indebtedness beyond his power to meet, and he had found himself in gaol.

After a long discussion with Fr Gaspar Rodriguez, in which other Hindus also took part, he declared himself convinced of the truth of the Christian religion and asked for baptism, adding that justice must take its course and that he did not ask for release from prison as a result of his becoming a Christian.⁷⁰

The baptism, on 21 October 1548, was made the occasion of a public ceremony of the greatest splendour.⁷¹ The candidates for baptism rode through the streets on horseback, accompanied by musical instruments and followed by an immense crowd, to the chapel of the college of St Paul. The bishop baptised six persons – Loku, his wife, his nephew, two village headmen and an unidentified woman. Loku, for whom the governor stood sponsor, received the name Luke de Sá; his wife became Doña Isabel, his nephew Don Antonio. The festivities lasted eight days. Hindus were reported as saying that, now that their father had become a Christian, there was nothing for them to do but to follow his example.⁷² It seems that Loku died not many years after his baptism.

The rājā of Tanor was ruler of one of the petty principalities into which at that time South India was divided. His territories lay just to the south of those of the zamorin of Calicut. Aggressive actions on the part of the zamorin had led to considerable enmity between him and his neighbour; like the rājā of Cochin before him, the rājā of Tanor was naturally inclined to seek the friendship of the Portuguese.

The young rājā had established friendly relations with Antony de Sousa, captain of the fort of Chale, and by his hand had sent a letter to the governor dated 9 December 1545. The writer affirmed that for a long time he had been considering the possibility of baptism, but had deferred it, partly because of the hostility it would arouse among the Nāyars, and partly because of the ambiguity of his position – he was not in the strict sense of the term rājā, but was exercising authority on behalf of his elder brother who was mentally afflicted. It seemed to him better to await the death of his brother and his mother before taking the decisive step. This letter was accompanied by a long missive from Master Diogo (Borba), in which it was frankly acknowledged that the rājā desired to have the help of the Portuguese against his rivals; none the less he was sincere in his affirmation that he desired to accept baptism only for the sake of the salvation of his soul.⁷³

The turning point came in 1549. The rājā had often been visited by the excellent Franciscan Vincent de Lagos, who had made his home at Cranganore. His appeals were strengthened by those of Cosme Anes, who had stopped off to see the rājā in the course of a voyage from Cochin to Goa, and had explained to him of how great benefit it would be both to the service

of Christ, and to that of the king of Portugal, if he became a Christian. His words had their effect. The rājā agreed to be baptised, but only on condition that his baptism be kept secret, and that he be not required to make any changes in his outward appearance.⁷⁴ Having learned that the name of the reigning king of Portugal was John, he asked that this name might be given to him in baptism. The sponsors were the captain of the fortress and Cosme Anes; the baptism was performed by John Soares, the vicar of Chale.⁷⁵

The next event in this drama was the solemn entry of the newly converted rājā into Goa on 22 October 1549. This had been preceded, by order of the governor (Cabral), by a solemn conclave to discuss among other things whether the rājā as an undeclared Christian could continue to wear the sacred thread, which was forbidden to high-caste converts in Goa. The bishop was in favour. Joseph of Arimathea, Nicodemus and Gamaliel (!) had been secret Christians, and St Sebastian as a secret Christian had worn the ordinary dress of a Roman soldier. The rājā was waiting for the conversion of many Nāyars and other important people in his kingdom; after they had been baptised, he would give up his thread and wear Christian clothes. This view met with general approval.⁷⁶ The missionaries of that period, coming as they did from societies hierarchically arranged in which there was a radical distinction between gentle and simple, on the whole found it easy to believe that caste distinctions were no more than a matter of social order and had no special religious significance.

On arrival the rājā was decked out in a magnificent set of Portuguese garments, the offensive tuft being hidden by a cap with a white feather, and the sacred thread concealed by layer upon layer of silk and damask. On 25 October Don John, as we must now call him, was solemnly confirmed in the chapel of St Jerome in the college; he held long and confidential colloquies with the bishop and the governor, explaining the reasons for his concealment of his Christian faith. On 27 October he set out on the return journey to his kingdom. Shortly after his departure the governor received word that one of the principal officials of the rājā of Chale had been baptised, and also one of the *kaimāls* (principal land-holders).⁷⁷

On such fair promises great hopes were built. All were to end in frustration. Within a few months of this noble reception, the rājā was asking for special privileges in the matter of the pepper trade, proposals received with a very ill grace by the Portuguese. Much worse was to follow. On 30 January 1552 Simon Botelho the treasurer wrote a long letter to the king, in which, reporting that the collection of pepper had gone forward with very great difficulty, he attributed the principal blame for this to the rājā of Tanor, who had spared no effort to stir up the minds of the people against the Portuguese, and had scattered bribes in all directions even as far as Quilon.⁷⁸

7 LAST DAYS OF XAVIER IN INDIA

These were the years in which, for the first time since the arrival of the Jesuits in India, their number rapidly increased.

The increase had its drawbacks as well as its advantages. The great majority of the recruits had been sent out from Europe, especially from Portugal, where Simon Rodriguez was serving as provincial on behalf of Ignatius. Some, however, were older men, on whom the services rendered by the Jesuits had left such an impression that, on or after their arrival in India, they desired to associate themselves permanently with the society. Others were adventurous youths, attracted by the glamour of foreign parts and missionary work, with little idea of the sacrifices demanded by the religious life. Antony Gomes, while acting as head of the mission, had been somewhat open-handed in admitting postulants, including one *mestiço*. Some of these Xavier on his return rejected out of hand; others fell by the wayside, not being able to stay the course; only a few remained to become valuable colleagues. And Xavier became more and more doubtful of the possibility of building up the forces of the society by recruitment in India – Portuguese were few; *mestiços* in general lacked stability; what he had seen of the Indian clergy did not encourage him to think that men of the iron resolution he expected of his colleagues would readily be found among them.

Xavier found it necessary to dismiss from the society some who had been admitted and trained. In most cases the cause was not so much misconduct as disobedience. Some recruits had not understood the nature of the unconditional and unquestioning obedience which Xavier regarded as the very life-blood of the society. As the terrors of life among the Muslims in the Moluccas came to be better understood, some of those appointed to that region refused to go, and others withdrew without permission from their posts. This was not to be endured; the insubordinate might find other places in which to serve the cause of Jesus Christ, but not within the sacred precincts of the Society of Jesus.⁷⁹

All, however, was not dark. Increase in numbers made possible a number of new adventures, and far better organisation in places where a start had been made.

On the Fisher Coast something like a parochial system began to take shape. The superior, Antony Criminali, appointed by Lancilotto but approved by Xavier, though not yet thirty years old was warmly accepted by his colleagues as their head. Of him Xavier wrote to Ignatius on 14 January 1549:

Believe me, he is a really holy man, and excellently suited for the cultivation of these fields . . . The brethren in the Comorin field obey him. He is wonderfully dear to the Indian Christians, and also to Hindus and Muslims alike. I can hardly find words to express how much he is loved by the brethren over whom he presides.⁸⁰

The long narrow coastal area had been divided into five districts, with one or two Jesuits resident in each. The great step forward was that a beginning had been made in the study of the difficult Tamil language. Criminali himself had made a start. Two of the younger men had shewn great promise, and already in 1550 one of them was said to be able to hear confessions. Both of these unfortunately died young.

The real hero of this particular enterprise was Henry Henriques, who in spite of constant ill-health and a tendency towards depression, held on for fifty years, and ended his ministry, still at work, on 6 February 1600. Henriques had had some difficulty in entering the society, partly because he was a 'new Christian', partly because he had been for a time a member of the Franciscan order.⁸¹ He had little natural gift for languages, and at times was in despair of ever being able to master, without the aid of grammar or dictionary, a language which Europeans have always found it extremely difficult to learn. Of his prowess more will be recorded in another connection.

Henriques' whole time was not spent in caring for his Fisher Christians. In a letter of 21 November 1549 he writes of a yogi with whom he had established a firm friendship:

Little by little I have declared to him the truths of our faith, and one day he declared to me his intention of becoming a Christian, since the articles of our faith appeared to be very holy and conformable to all good reason. [He then became so active in reproving the deeds of the heathen that] these unhappy people have been reduced to a state of total confusion, and said 'This yogi is not really a Hindu, he is a Christian.'⁸²

On 25 May 1550 the yogi was baptised in Punnaikāyal, taking the name Manuel Coutinho, after the captain of the Coast who stood as his sponsor.⁸³

The ministry of Antony Criminali was not to be of long duration. He lost his life in the year 1549 in one of the endless quarrels between the *vadukkārar* and the local inhabitants, including Christians. The Portuguese had erected a stockade in the neighbourhood of Rāmesvaram, one of the holiest places in India and still a great place of pilgrimage for Hindus. The local Brāhmans objected and brought down a large band of *vadukkārar* to drive out the Portuguese. Two assaults were resisted; when the third was delivered, the Portuguese found it necessary to escape by sea, and the Christians also took to their boats. Criminali could easily have saved himself

by embarking; but, seeing that a number of women and children were still on shore, he stayed to help them, and then found that his retreat had been cut off. He survived two lance-thrusts, and was still moving towards the church where he had said mass that morning, when a third group fell upon him; one, who was identified as a Muslim, struck him on the shoulder with his halberd and, after he had fallen on his knees, cut off his head and carried it away. After the *vadukkārar* had withdrawn, some Christians were able to take up the remains and give them hasty burial in the sands of the sea.⁸⁴

Xavier spent the greater part of the years 1549 to 1552 in Japan. Before setting out on the last voyage, which led to his death on the island of Sancian, he had one further brief period of residence in Goa. Of all the many problems with which he had to deal in these last two periods of service in India, none caused him more distress than the delicate and difficult affair of Antony Gomes.

Gomes had been sent to India by Simon Rodriguez, carrying in his pocket his letter of appointment as rector of the college in Goa. Everyone who knew Gomes, even those who most fully appreciated his gifts, agreed that he had not the qualities which would make a man a good rector. All this is perhaps best expressed in the words of the gentle but sometimes querulous Lancilotto:

It is true that he had more talent for preaching and hearing confessions than for government and administration . . . As soon as Antony Gomes had taken over the college, he began to give it in everything a new form, declaring that as regards the studies of the students he wanted to introduce the Paris methods, and as regards meditation and the life of prayer the methods to which our students in Coimbra become accustomed . . . With God's help he will carry all this through, though with difficulties, since the students in the college are a miscellaneous collection from ten nations, each more barbarous than the next, the most barbarous and uncivilized people in the world.⁸⁵

When Xavier arrived back in Goa, Gomes lost no time in putting his ideas before him. The college of St Paul as it was, with its mixture of ages and pupils on all levels from the most elementary studies to the rudiments of philosophy, was no use. It must be reconstituted as a Jesuit university for philosophy and theology. Lower schools must be founded in Cochin and Chaul from which the best students could come on to the Coimbra of the East in Goa. According to Gomes' own account Xavier agreed with him, and added the further proposal of a college in Quilon for the sons of Portuguese parents.⁸⁶

Rejecting all advice to move prudently and gently, Gomes, taking up the attitude that he alone knew the true spirit of the society and understood its

rules, began to stir up everything and to direct with a high hand. Lancilotto describes the situation as he had himself experienced it:

He therefore began his rule by laying his hands on our eating and drinking, sleeping, reading, praying, even on our saying mass, quantitatively and qualitatively, as though he had taken for his maxim *Recedant vetera, nova sint omnia* . . . We were not the only ones to suffer; for he constrained and harassed the Indians . . . also with a variety of orders and constitutions, fixing for them hours of prayer, contemplation and examination of conscience. I had been familiar with these students for years, and knew them to be incapable of following such a regime. I accordingly told Fr Gomes that new wine should not be put into old bottles, that we should proceed step by step with the young men, and be satisfied with the fact that they are Christians.⁸⁷

What Gomes was doing was to turn a school, in which only a minority of the pupils would go forward to ordination, into a seminary governed by rules suitable only to candidates for the priesthood. A number of the pupils were not boys but young men of twenty or twenty-one years old. They were not ready to submit to such harsh discipline; it is not surprising that some of them began to leap over the confining walls and to run away.

The vial of the iniquities of Gomes was not yet full. At the beginning of the year 1550, relying on the authority of the governor Cabral but contrary to the documents of foundation, against the advice of Cosme Anes and the other founders, against the will of the bishop and the people, against the wishes of his brethren and of the king and queen, he dismissed all the Indian pupils, including those from the Fisher Coast and from the Moluccas.⁸⁸

By now it was clear that Gomes was no longer tolerable, and that he must be dismissed from the society. The measures taken by Xavier to this end were not a little devious. But at the beginning of 1553 Gomes, then in Diu, was shewn the letter of dismissal signed by Xavier before his departure for the Far East. Gomes had never realised the extent of his transgressions and regarded himself as having been hardly used. He decided to return to Europe and to lay his case before the pope in person. Accordingly on 1 February 1554 he took ship on the *São Bento*, the best and strongest ship in the fleet. But the voyage was not prosperous. On 23 April the good ship was wrecked off the mouth of the Great Fish River, east of the Cape of Good Hope, and among those who lost their lives was Fr Antony Gomes. This was a sad conclusion to the life of a highly gifted man, ruined by his ardent temperament and by his failure to understand the virtues of humility and obedience.⁸⁹

On Maundy Thursday 1552 Xavier left Goa on his last eastern journey, accompanied by a small number of companions – Balthasar Gago, who gave

many years of service in Japan;⁹⁰ Alvaro Ferreira, a Jesuit postulant not yet ordained;⁹¹ an excellent Chinese Christian who had studied for eight years at the college of St Paul; and Christopher, a Christian from Malabar, who was Xavier's personal servant. From this journey he was never to return.

What manner of man was this great apostle of the East?

Everyone who came in contact with Xavier seems to have agreed that he was a saint. Men might disagree with him; but in all the extensive records there is not a single word that runs contrary to the general verdict as to his saintliness. There are many references to the long hours that he spent in prayer and in rapt contemplation of his Lord. He disclaimed anything in the way of miraculous powers; in his devotions there was nothing that could be called mystical in any strict sense of that term. He seems to have followed the broad lines of medieval devotional practice, profoundly influenced by the *Spiritual Exercises* of his master Ignatius.

Xavier, like Ignatius, was in all things a medieval man, untouched by any of the new currents of thought in theology or in the daily affairs of life. It is probable that, in the ten years of his sojourn in the East, he never possessed a Bible or even a New Testament. Apart from his breviary and his missal, his sole companion seems to have been the work of Marcus Marulus, *Opus de religiose vivendi institutione*, a thick book of 680 pages, published at Cologne in 1531.⁹² He seems rarely to have based his discourses directly on the Bible; he never arranged for a single chapter of the Bible to be translated into Tamil or Malayalam.

Of his capacity to draw men to himself and to hold their affection there can be no doubt at all. His letters bear witness to his own deeply affectionate nature. The restraints of his strictly ascetic life seem to find compensation in the effusive outpourings of his heart whenever he thinks of his brethren, especially of Ignatius, and of the others whom he does not expect ever again to see in this life.

Under this affection lay a will of steel, and a severity which at times would brook no compromise. Those who break the rules of the society must be ruthlessly expelled, whatever it may cost. But that the emotional cost was high is clear from many expressions in his letters. In one of his very last letters, written to Gaspar Berze on 25 October 1552, he instructs him to expel from the society any disorderly layman or priest, and not to receive such offenders back, even though the viceroy and the whole of India were to plead their cause. At most they might be given a letter to the rector of Coimbra; even if unsuitable in India, they might render good service in Portugal.⁹³ Yet he could write to express his horror at the claim made by Antony Gomes that he had authority to send back to Portugal in irons disorderly members of the society:

Up to the present it has never seemed to me suitable to keep in the company anyone by force and against his will, but only by the force of love and charity. I did indeed dismiss from the society those who did not seem suited to it, even though they desired to continue in it . . . It seems to me that the term Society of Jesus should be understood as the society of love and fellowship of spirits, and not of harshness or servile fear.⁹⁴

From the extent and volume of his correspondence it appears that Xavier can rarely have been without a pen in his hand; never even in his remotest wanderings does he seem to have lacked for parchment and ink. These letters reveal his tender care for all his friends. At times, however, they evince almost the temper of a governess. No detail is too small for his attention; he piles injunction upon injunction; it never seems to occur to him that his friends might have some commonsense, and might have grace on occasion to make use of it.

In another respect Xavier was a man of his time. He relied greatly on the power of the civil arm, and on more than one occasion wrote to the king of Portugal urging him to exercise his powers as the vicar of Christ under the *padroado* agreement for the furtherance of the cause of Christ in Asia. The most surprising and disturbing outburst is contained in a letter despatched from Cochin on 20 January 1548. The king is urged to regard the governor as more important, in the work of spreading the gospel in India, than any religious person. Let the king warn the governor that

should he fail to take active steps for the great increase of our faith, you are determined to punish him, and inform him with a solemn oath that, on his return to Portugal, all his property will be forfeited for the benefit of the *Santa Misericordia*, and beyond this tell him that you will keep him in irons for a number of years . . . There is no better way of ensuring that all in India become Christians than that your highness should inflict severe punishment on a governor.⁹⁵

Xavier shared the view of his contemporaries that the Inquisition was a benevolent and useful institution. On this subject also he wrote to the king:

By another route I have written to your highness of the great need there is in India for preachers . . . The second necessity which obtains in India, if those who live there are to be good Christians, is that your highness should institute the holy Inquisition; for there are many who live according to the law of Moses or the law of Muhammad without any fear of God or shame before men.⁹⁶

Xavier was, of course, referring principally to the 'new Christians' of Portugal, whose conversion to the Christian faith had been only nominal and who, when opportunity offered, were ready to revert to the faith of their fathers. He did not intend, as has sometimes been asserted, that the terrors of the Inquisition should be used to compel non-Christians to enter the Christian church.

During the lifetime of Xavier and since his death there have been many who have maintained that he should have spent more of his time in India, and that his endless peregrinations to the far places of the earth were a source of weakness rather than of strength to the Christian cause in its infancy. It may well be granted that the work in India suffered gravely from the lack of continuous and regular direction, and that much confusion and some disasters could have been avoided, if the provincial had been steadily at the head of affairs. But this was not the way in which Xavier understood his commission. Wherever the Portuguese were, there he was to be, and if possible a little ahead of them. For the evangelisation of the nations the chosen instrument in the hand of God was the Society of Jesus. These peoples of the Farther East had been included in the commission given him by the king and the pope. How could he plan wisely for the planting of the holy church among them, unless he had first seen them, and personally made their acquaintance?⁹⁷ It was no mean feat to have lived for two and a half years in Japan, the first European ever to have done so. His observations on that country were of undoubted geographical and ethnological value. And the effect of his letters on the Christians of his day was incalculably great; a whole new world arose in the astonished consciousness of Europe and of the Roman Catholic church. What the voyages of Captain Cook did two centuries later for the English-speaking world, the letters of Xavier and his companions did for the Mediterranean world, and beyond it, in the sixteenth century.⁹⁸

8 ESTIMATE OF A PERIOD

The state of the Christian church in India at the end of half a century's work was full of promise rather than of fulfilment.

The established church had followed the Portuguese, and existed, often in rudimentary form, in every settlement where Europeans were to be found. The hierarchy existed visibly in the person of one aged and much respected bishop. Many of the vicars were men of moderate talents and in some cases of scandalous life. Some cynics felt that it would be better if they were not there at all. They did, however, represent in some sense a presence of the church and at least a minimal care for the spiritual well-being of foreigners in India.

The Franciscans were well established in Goa, Cochin and Cranganore. Their outreach was limited; but their reputation stood high, and they represented an ideal of sanctity in sharp contrast to the laxity of the secular clergy and to the licentiousness of Portuguese life in general.

The Dominicans, after a rather long interval, had at last responded to a strong recommendation from the king, backed up by a generous royal grant

for the building of a convent and by the promise of an annual grant from the revenues of Goa, and had decided in 1548 to launch out again on an Indian mission.⁹⁹ The newcomers received a warm welcome from the Franciscans, with whom they were temporarily lodged until they were able to find a site for the residence that was to be erected for them. The vicar general of the newly formed province, Fr Diego Bermudez, soon won the respect of all by the integrity of his character and the strictness of the discipline which he imposed upon himself and upon his brethren; but his zeal seems hardly to have been matched by wise prudence; it is wiser for a newcomer not immediately to denounce the evils by which he may find himself surrounded. Like many of his contemporaries, Bermudez may have been inclined to rely too much on royal support as the golden means to success in the work. Like others he had become aware of the grave difficulties in the way of conversion, and so felt himself compelled to write to the king: 'Your highness must understand that we religious can do nothing here without great favour shewn by your highness to our work; if this is lacking, we lose heart and accomplish nothing.'¹⁰⁰

The official name of the Dominican order, the Order of Preachers, indicates the special area in which it was hoped that the friars would render help to the beleaguered forces in India. Among those already in the country there were some effective, even powerful, preachers. But the constant pleas in the letters of Xavier to the authorities in Europe for the sending out of men capable of preaching is an indication of the lack, which was even greater among the secular clergy than among the regulars.

In the decade 1542 to 1552, the lion's share in the work of the evangelisation of India was taken by the Jesuits. By the year 1549 they were everywhere in the world of Portuguese India and beyond it. In a letter dated 14 January 1549 Xavier reports to Ignatius: 'In every part of India where Christians live there are to be found some Fathers of our society; in the Moluccas there are four, in Malacca two, at Cape Comorin six, in Quilon two, in Bassein two, in Socotra four, in Goa a much larger number, apart from the Indians in the college.'¹⁰¹

In 1551 the Jesuits in India were joined by twelve recruits, among whom Melchior Nunes Barreto, Emmanuel de Morais (senior), Antony de Heredia and Emmanuel Teixeira, who wrote a life of Xavier, were men of some distinction.¹⁰² In that year the experiment was made of sending nine orphan boys from Portugal (their age is not specified) to be brought up in India and to aid the missionaries. Some among them later joined the society.¹⁰³

By 1552 a large proportion of the inhabitants of the city of Goa but by no means all, were already Christians, and the bishop had divided the island into parishes. Pupils of the college of St Paul were already beginning to take

a share in the work of the church. As early as 1545 it was reported that two of the older pupils were preaching in Konkanī in the parish churches to the great edification of both Portuguese and Indian Christians. Another had preached in 1546 in the college chapel. In 1547 four had begun to preach in Konkanī. One highly gifted Parava boy had preached in fluent Portuguese, and gave promise of one day becoming a great preacher.¹⁰⁴

The ministration of the sacraments was irregular and conditioned by the fervour, or lack of fervour, of the priests.

Baptism was ministered in the towns with considerable ceremony; but in the villages often with truncated ceremonial.¹⁰⁵

The bishop ministered confirmation wherever he was; but in view of his age his journeys were limited, and he never visited the area where the largest number of Christians lived, the Fisher Coast.¹⁰⁶ In view of this defect the question was often raised whether dispensation should not be given at least to the vicars to minister confirmation in the absence of the bishop.¹⁰⁷ Once converts had been baptised, they were regarded as ready also to receive holy communion, the practice in India differing widely from that followed in the missions west of the Atlantic. But voices were heard, among them naturally that of Lancilotto, raising the question whether these simple people had a sufficient understanding of the nature of the sacrament to qualify them as worthy communicants: 'Since these people are very new in the faith and do not understand the sacrament, it might be no bad thing to prohibit for a time the giving of holy communion to any Indian Christians.'¹⁰⁸

Marriage was a source of endless problems. It was the generally accepted view that those who had married as Hindus should continue to live with the partners they had chosen, and that the union should be blessed by the priest unless it was found to be contrary to the law of God. But differences between western customs and those of India, both on the east coast and the west, were considerable; and when account is taken of the rigid rules concerning kindred and affinity maintained by the medieval church, it is not surprising that a great many marriages contracted before baptism were within the prohibited degrees; the question constantly arose whether the powers of dispensation granted by Rome to those in India were adequate to cover all the cases which came before them.¹⁰⁹

Of sacramental confession nothing is heard in the earlier years of the mission. Xavier, tireless in hearing the confessions of Portuguese, seems never to have ventured on hearing the confessions of Indian Christians, probably being hesitant to hear confessions in a language which he did not understand. The first reference seems to be for the year 1549, by which time Henry Henriques and Paulo do Vale had made sufficient progress in Tamil to understand what they heard. The lack continued in other areas where the missionaries had not learned the local languages.¹¹⁰

Ordination long continued to be a problem. Bishop Duarte Nunes had ordained four Franciscans,¹¹¹ and Bishop Albuquerque seems to have been generous in ordaining both Franciscans and Jesuits without insisting on all the canonical requirements in vogue in Portugal at the time. But the ordination of the first Indian student from the college in Goa still lay in the future. We do hear of a number of Indian priests, who at times gave less than satisfaction to the Portuguese with whom they worked. But detailed information is lacking. Some at least of these priests were Thomas Christians who had come over to the Portuguese and had been ordained according to the Latin rite, thus making themselves unacceptable to their own people.¹¹²

In the absence of priests the work of the catechists was of capital importance, especially on the Fisher Coast. These men were carefully chosen and entrusted with the duties not only of catechising, but also of baptising in cases of necessity, which with the high rate of mortality prevailing were many, and in general of maintaining discipline in the congregations. But their knowledge was limited, and they could do little more than hammer in by rote the essentials of the faith and of worship in the form laid down by Xavier and improved by Henry Henriques. In 1550 Henriques started a little class at Punnaikāyal for the training of young catechists, but after only two years financial stringency brought to an end an enterprise of real promise.¹¹³

The greatest hindrance of all was the lack of books. Xavier in his spare time had made a beginning with the preparation of a *Doutrina*, often called his *Smaller Catechism*, and followed it up in 1546 with a *Declaração* of the Creed, which passed under the name of the *Larger Catechism*.¹¹⁴ These circulated among the brethren in manuscript, and eventually a Tamil translation was made.¹¹⁵

When the extent and the population of India are considered, all that had so far been achieved by the Christian church may seem to be little more than trivial. But foundations had been laid. The Portuguese were now dealing with three fairly solid blocks of Christians – in and around Goa, the Thomas Christians in Kerala, and the now Christian Paravas of the Fisher Coast. The total number of Christians may have been in the neighbourhood of 150,000. Those who had come directly under Portuguese influence had been much westernised, largely at their own desire; they prided themselves on being as much like Portuguese as possible, a process helped by the intermarriage which was going on all the time. But the Thomas Christians had made it plain that they were not going to be weaned away from their ancient ways; at some points they had adopted the fashions of Rome, rather grudgingly; but they were and would remain for ever different in a great many

ways from Christians of the Latin rite. The Paravas, though many of them had adopted Portuguese names, had made hardly any other changes in their manner of living. Fisher folk they were and fisher folk they would remain. No one meeting them could doubt that they were Indians of the Indians, and so they are today. This rootedness of the majority of Christians in the soil was of supreme importance for the future. The Western connection was at times to lead the Christians into difficulties with their fellow-countrymen; but the idea that Christianity, even that part of it which had come in with the Western powers, would disappear if at any time India should re-assert its independence of the Western world, was from the start and has always been an illusion.

8 · Akbar and the Jesuits

I AN INQUIRING SPIRIT

If Akbar had been nothing more than a conqueror and a notable administrator, he would still have held a place among the memorable rulers of mankind. What gives him a claim to special regard is the width and magnanimity of his views, his restless searching for the truth, and his readiness to believe that there might be truth in religions other than that in which he had been brought up.

The Mughuls were foreigners in India, and never pretended to be anything else. They were conquerors and bequeathed to all Muslims in India the proud conviction of belonging to a conquering race. Akbar, however, saw more clearly than his predecessors that the rule of his dynasty was not likely to continue unless it could be made in general acceptable to the majority of those over whom that rule was exercised. Conversion to Islam had gone on fairly rapidly, but it was already clear that the old religions were not likely to disappear, and that it was no more probable that all Indians would become Muslims than that they would all learn to speak Persian. If peaceful conditions were to be maintained, there must be some modification of such distinctions as were based on differences of religion, language and custom.

One of the first steps taken in this direction was the abolition in 1564 of the *jizya*, the hated poll-tax. In all Muslim countries, Muslims were exempt from payment of this tax. This exemption was felt to be a sign that only Muslims were fully citizens; all others were no more than tolerated peoples, tolerated as long as they accepted a position of inferiority, and made no claim to full rights as citizens.¹ As a result of Akbar's action, Hindus and Muslims could for the first time feel themselves to be sharers in a common citizenship. The custom of destroying Hindu temples had fallen into desuetude, but it had come to be generally assumed that no more idol-houses could be built. Akbar removed the prohibition, and in a number of cities Hindu places of worship began again to rise from the ground.²

No doubt there was an element of political calculation in such actions; but it would be a mistake to assume that this was the sole motive by which Akbar was actuated. Throughout his career he seems to have been under the influence of a deep and restless yearning after a religious faith that would satisfy him on all levels of his being.

One of the recorded sayings of Akbar is that 'on the completion of my twentieth year, I experienced an internal bitterness, and for the lack of spiritual provision for my last journey, my soul was seized with exceeding sorrow'.³

More startling, and less susceptible of a purely rational explanation, is the experience recorded as having taken place on 24 April 1578. In the midst of a tremendous hunt, Akbar, under the influence of some sudden repulsion, ordered that the hunt was to cease, the hunters were to be dispersed, and no living creature was to be injured. The experience is recorded in different ways. The unctuous Abu'l Fazl writes that

the lamp of vision became brilliant. A sublime joy took possession of his bodily frame. The attraction of *jazaba*, of cognition of God, cast its ray. The description of it cannot be comprehended by the feeble intellect of commonplace people, nor can every enlightened sage attain to an understanding of it . . . About this time the primacy of the spiritual world took possession of his holy form, and gave a new aspect to his world-adorning beauty.⁴

The highly orthodox Sunnī Badā'ūnī is hardly more illuminating:

Suddenly all at once a strange state and strong frenzy came upon the emperor, and an extraordinary change was manifest in his manner, to such an extent as cannot be accounted for. And everyone attempted to explain it in his own way, but God alone knoweth secrets.⁵

One of the problems that Akbar had to face was the lack of agreement among learned Muslims, even among those who laid claim to the strictest orthodoxy, especially in the realm of judicial decisions. To encourage open debate and discussion he had built in 1575, that is three years before the notable experience described above, a spacious hall which came to be known as the *Ibādat-khāna*. This term has been at times translated as 'hall of worship'; but it might more accurately be rendered 'debating hall'. Here on Thursday evenings were gathered learned men of various schools for the discussion of matters of moment. Those invited, all Muslims, included *Shaikhs*, those who had a reputation for sanctity; *Sayyids*, descendants of the Prophet; '*Ulamā*', the doctors of the law; and nobles of the court interested in speculative questions. Akbar was deeply disturbed by the acrimony with which the debates at times were carried on, and by the failure

to reach agreement even on important matters. This may have been one of the causes for the dissatisfaction he increasingly felt with the religion in which he had been brought up.

This dissatisfaction found expression in one of the most remarkable events of the reign, the promulgation of the so-called 'infallibility decree' on 3 September 1579. It is hardly true to say that Akbar was 'preparing to assume spiritual as well as temporal authority over his subjects'.⁶ What he was doing was to claim for himself the position of *Imām-i-Ādil*, 'equitable leader', the supreme legal authority in the realm and the arbiter in all disputes. The essential section of the decree is as follows:

Should therefore in future a religious question come up, regarding which the opinions of the *mujtahids* are at variance, and his majesty in his penetrating understanding and clear wisdom be inclined to adopt, for the benefit of the nation, and as a political expedient, any of the conflicting opinions which exist on the point, and issue a decree to that effect, we do hereby agree that such a decree shall be binding on us and on the whole nation.

Further we declare that should his majesty think fit to issue a new order, we and the nation shall likewise be bound by it, provided always that such order be not only in accordance with some verse of the Koran, but also of real benefit to the nation; and further that any opposition on the part of his subjects to such order passed by his majesty shall involve damnation in the world to come, and loss of property and religious privileges in this.⁷

What Akbar is claiming is quite clear. Debate may go on for a time, but sooner or later decision must be reached, and that decision must be beyond the possibility of appeal. It is now to be the prerogative of the emperor to make such decisions. But Akbar was not claiming to set himself above the law. The Koran still stands as the supreme authority, and the wise sovereign will always consider the real well-being of his subjects. What Akbar was claiming was not unlike the claim made, fifty years before his time by King Henry VIII of England, to be *fons utriusque juris*, the supreme arbiter in matters of law for his subjects in both the civil and the spiritual sphere. But neither Henry nor Akbar claimed to be infallible or above the law of God; each, in the words of the decree, is 'the shadow of God in the world'.⁸

Soon after this, the discussions in the hall of debate were resumed, but with this difference – that representatives of various religions were made welcome and that the discussions were extended to include the views and tenets of religions other than Islam. Such concerns were no new thing in the mind of Akbar; his inquiring spirit had long sought information about these other religions and often through personal contact with their adherents.

Naturally he was familiar with the tenets of the Shī'ahs, though his

questionings about Islam went much deeper than the somewhat limited differences between Sunnī orthodox and Shī'ah heretic. He may have been attracted by the doctrines of the Sufis. Badā'ūnī, with his usual thin-lipped disapproval, records that on 31 March 1576 Sharīf of Amul arrived at the court and that the emperor had a long talk with him on Sufi nonsense.⁹

Akbar had made acquaintance with Zoroastrians in 1573, and five years later seems to have invited one of the leaders, Dastūr Meherji Rāṇā, to join him at the court. From this time on he gave orders that the sacred fire should be kept burning by day and night 'according to the custom of the ancient Persian kings . . . for fire was one of the manifestations of God and a ray of rays. On the New Year's Day of the 25th year of his reign, he openly worshipped the Fire and the Sun by ritual prostrations.'¹⁰

With the Jains his contacts went back to at latest 1568. As dislike of killing animals grew, he would naturally find himself drawn by the Jain doctrine of *ahimsā*. We have records of invitations issued by Akbar to more than one Jain saint or sage to come and visit him.¹¹

With Buddhists it is unlikely that Akbar had any contact since Buddhism had long since died out in India. But his Hindu wives, whom he permitted to carry out Hindu ceremonies within the precincts of the palace itself, made him directly aware of Hindu practice. It is said that his great friend Rājā Bīrbal (Bīr Bar), a Brāhman, and other Brāhman, initiated him into the secrets and legends of Hinduism, 'into the manner of worshipping idols – the sun, the stars, and of revering the chief gods of these unbelievers, as Brahmo, Mahadev, Vishnu, Krishna, Ram and the rest'.

Naturally opinions differed as to the value of all these contacts; Badā'ūnī writes: 'His majesty till now had shewn every sincerity and was searching for the truth . . . but when the strong embankment of our clear law had once been broken through, his majesty grew colder and colder, until within the short space of five or six years not a trace of Islamic feeling was left in his heart.' But another less prejudiced writer, Nūru'l Hakk, is of the opinion that 'he endeavoured to extract what was good from the contrary opinions which were expressed, giving the most deliberate attention to all that he heard, for his mind was solely bent on ascertaining the truth'.¹²

2 ENTER THE CHRISTIANS

It was into this maelstrom of thinking and talking about religion, under the aegis of a large-hearted but not always perfectly serious emperor, that the Jesuits plunged, when they entered upon the strange adventure of the Jesuits at the Court of the Great Mogul.

For information as to the immediate cause of Akbar's putting himself in touch with the Christians at Goa, we are in the main dependent on the

letters of the somewhat garrulous secular priest Aegidius Eanes Pereira, a virtuous but not highly educated man, who in 1578 had been sent by Henry de Távora, then bishop of Cochin,¹³ to minister to the Portuguese in their settlements in Bengal. While he was there, word seems to have reached the emperor that Fathers of the Society of Jesus¹⁴ had refused to absolve merchants who had infringed the rights of the emperor by failure to pay taxes due to the imperial exchequer;

the king was greatly astonished at the purity and truth of the Christian law, which commands and lays it down that justice is to be observed even in relation to foreigners and to those who live outside that law. This inspired in him such a desire and wish to understand that law that he set himself to obtain all the information about it that he could.¹⁵

So Fr Pereira, instead of being able to return to Goa, found himself whisked away to the court of Akbar at Fathpur Sīkrī. He arrived on 8 March 1579, and was received by the king with all honour. Akbar, it appeared, was ill satisfied with the religion in which he had been brought up and was open to learn new things. One of the new things that he wished to learn was, oddly enough, the Portuguese language in which he told Fr Pereira to instruct him. The first thing that the Father taught him was to say 'in the name of Jesus Christ'; this pleased the king so much that whenever the Father came to him, he would say 'in the name of Jesus Christ', to which the Father would reply, 'and may he be with you'.¹⁶

Fr Pereira was not the man to answer all the emperor's questions, or to stand up to the *mullāhs* by whom he was surrounded. Akbar warmly welcomed the suggestion that he should invite the Jesuit provincial in Goa to send him two Fathers and a good Persian interpreter. A *firmān* to that effect was drawn up without delay:

For the Father Provincial, in the name of God. *Firmān* of Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar Shah, the king appointed by the hand of God: Principal Father of the Order of St Paul: understand that I am very friendly disposed towards you. I am sending you Abdallah my ambassador, and Dominic Pires,¹⁷ to ask you to send me two learned priests, who should bring with them the principal books of your religion, the Gospel, in order that I may understand the law and the perfection of it, since I have a great desire to learn it . . . Let the Fathers be assured that they will be received with the greatest possible honours, and that I shall take much pleasure in their visit.¹⁸

The ambassador arrived and was received with as much ceremony as a viceroy at his entry into Goa. He was put up in the college of St Paul with great contentment on both sides, and showed that he had *firmāns* to all the captains of the regions through which the Fathers would pass, instructing

them to supply the travellers with all that they might need, and to offer them protection if this should be necessary.¹⁹

On receiving the good news, the provincial was inclined to send at once three Fathers instead of the two asked for, on the sensible ground that, if one of them were to die on the way, it would not be good for one to be left alone in the midst of so many non-Christians. But one difficulty had to be cleared out of the way. The Portuguese viceroy seems to have feared that Fathers sent to the court might be held as hostages by the emperor,²⁰ and desired that the matter might be submitted to higher ecclesiastical authority. Accordingly the archbishop of Goa²¹ called together the bishops of Cochin, Malacca and China (Macao), and the licentiate Andrew Fernandez. In a tremendous sentence twenty-eight lines long the most reverend ecclesiastics express their considered opinion that, although the Fathers might run the risk of martyrdom which could be only to the glory of God, and considering the importance of the business, His Excellency might send the Fathers on their way, trusting only in the protection of God, and hoping that Akbar would turn out to be a second Constantine, for the total destruction of the sect of Muhammad, as had occurred in Europe for the destruction of idolatry and for the augmentation of the Christian faith.²²

This difficulty having been overcome, the provincial was able to proceed to the selection of the men who were to go on the mission. The three chosen were Rudolf Aquaviva, Antony Monserrate and Francis Henriquez. Aquaviva, an aristocrat and son of the Duke of Atri, was born in the region of Naples in 1550. He had been ordained in Portugal in 1578, and arrived in India in the same year. In spite of his comparative youth and lack of experience he seemed fitted by his learning and prudence to be head of the party. Antony Monserrate had spent some time on the Fisher Coast,²³ and a little later in Cochin, where he was occupied in learning Malayalam. He proved to be one of the most valuable of the early Jesuit historians – it is to his *Relaçam* and *Commentarius* that we are indebted for much of our knowledge of the first mission to the Mughul court.²⁴ The third of the party, Henriquez, born in Ormuz in 1538, was a convert from Islam who had joined the Society in Bassein in 1556. He was sent as Persian interpreter; but, if Fr Wicki is right in his note *linguam nativam fere oblitus erat* ('he had almost forgotten his native language'), he is not likely to have been of very much service in that capacity.²⁵ We owe to Matthew Ricci the interesting information that one of the treasures which the Fathers carried with them was a copy of Plantin's Polyglot, the *Royal Amsterdam Polyglot* of the Bible, which had passed through the press between 1569 and 1573, and appeared in six volumes, to which two supplementary volumes were later added.²⁶ It

was reported that, when this notable gift was presented to Akbar, he expressed great appreciation, asked in which volume the *injīl* (Gospel) was contained, and having been informed displayed particular reverence towards this volume.²⁷

The mission of the Jesuits to Akbar was from the start condemned to frustration and to final ineffectiveness. The points of view of the various participants were so divergent as to make almost impossible any real meeting of minds. The motives in the mind of Akbar were known only to Akbar himself. It was his habit to play his cards very close to his chest: 'he was so close and self-contained with twists and words and deeds so divergent one from the other, and at most times so contradictory, that even by much seeking one could not find a clue to his thoughts'.²⁸

Without doubt one motive was simple curiosity; Akbar loved to study the minds of men and their ways of thinking and living.

It would, however, be a mistake to underestimate the religious factor in Akbar's approach to the questions raised by the Gospel. Naturally, political considerations were in the forefront of his mind. It would be useful to have at his court Portuguese who could give him information about Europe and the lands from which these potentially troublesome intruders came; and, if necessary, could serve as intermediaries with their authorities on the Indian shore. Yet at the same time he was a genuine seeker after truth, dissatisfied with the Muslim faith and contemptuous of those who professed to teach it. He may well have thought that in some other religious system he might find a refuge from uncertainty, and a place of rest for his restless and unquiet spirit.

We may be in doubt as to the views and purposes of Akbar. No such doubt clouds our understanding of the mind and hopes of the Jesuit Fathers. In Europe their colleagues had set their hopes on the conversion of princes and aristocrats. It was natural that such ideas and hopes should transfer themselves to India. There had been faint indications that these hopes were a little more solid than dreams in such events as the baptism of the *rājā* of Tanor.²⁹ And the extreme courtesy of the invitation issued by Akbar and the promise of his protection were enough to kindle hopes and expectations, which, as time was to show, were never to be fulfilled.

The three Fathers set out in the company of the ambassador of the emperor, and of the mixed mob which in those days always accompanied an eminent person on his travels. The journey took forty-three days. It is good evidence of the accuracy of Monserrate that, in spite of the difficulty which he experienced in transliterating Indian names, we have no difficulty in following the course of the journey, until it brought the travellers to Fathpur Sikrī, where Akbar was at that time holding his court.³⁰ Contemporary

letters from the Indian end depict with slightly naive enthusiasm the eagerness of Akbar for the arrival of the visitors; he would say 'only four days now', 'only three days now', and awaited their arrival with evident impatience.³¹

From the start, the fulfilment of the purposes of the mission was hindered by the difficulty of communication. During the delays of the journey the Fathers had made a start with the study of the Persian language. But it was not long before they became aware of the narrow limits of their progress and of the incompetence of their interpreters. Aquaviva asked the emperor to help them by providing a really good teacher. Once this was done, progress could be made. It is reported that at the end of three months Aquaviva could express himself readily, and that some of the nobles had complimented him on the excellence of his pronunciation.³² This comment expressed rather the surprise of the nobles that a foreigner could speak their language at all than an objective estimate of his achievement. Fluency and readiness of communication came only with the third Jesuit mission.

The Jesuits, more prudent than many later missionaries, had realised their need for some preparation for their work, and above all for some knowledge of the beliefs of those whom they were about to meet. With this in view, they 'had brought with them a volume of the Mahometan law, rendered into the Lusitanian idiom, in order that they might the more readily reprobate the lies and follies contained in it'.³³ It seems that the Fathers had profited to some extent by their studies. Akbar himself noted the accuracy of their references to the Koran, and that they never made a mistake in their quotations. The participants in discussion with them seem to have been startled by the extent of their knowledge. Three days after the first of their disputations, they initiated a second on the nature of the blessedness promised by Muhammad to his followers. They were able so convincingly to show that it was *lascivum et impudicum* that the *mullāhs* (*moulvies*) were compelled to blush for shame; the emperor, seeing their confusion, came to their rescue, but could not deny the absurdities which the Fathers had adduced from the Koran.³⁴

At this time Akbar had three sons and two daughters. One of the most remarkable evidences of the confidence he felt in the Fathers is his willingness to entrust to them his second son, then thirteen years old, for instruction in the Portuguese language and, as the Jesuit records add, in the rudiments of the Christian faith.³⁵ The boy showed such promise that there seemed to be good hope of his developing into a proficient scholar. Akbar himself on occasion supervised the instruction; one day, when he told the boy to read aloud what he had written at the instruction of the Father, and the pupil read *In nomine Dei*, Akbar told him to add *et Jesu Christi veri Prophetæ et Fili Dei*.³⁶

Throughout the stay of the Jesuits Akbar continued to show them unwonted favours. When the accommodation provided for them proved unsuitable because of the disturbance caused by those who were continually coming and going, he arranged another residence for them hard against the wall of the palace, so that, when a door had been opened in the wall, he could pay them visits whenever he wished without the whole world knowing what he was doing. He seems to have been specially attracted by Aquaviva, whose modesty and extremely ascetic manner of living met with his warm commendation. He was seen to lay his hand on the Jesuit's shoulder³⁷ and at times even to walk arm in arm with him, a favour never at any time shewn to any other man. At times he would send the Fathers dainties from his own table, this also a favour never granted to others.³⁸

All this was welcomed by the Fathers as a sign of the divine favour resting on their mission; but it had very little to do with the real purpose of that mission, the conversion of the emperor. Akbar gave to the Fathers the privilege of speaking to him with a frankness which he would certainly not have tolerated in any of his own entourage. On the subject of *Satī*, the immolation of Hindu widows on their husbands' pyres, they spoke with such openness that 'the whole city was filled with praise and admiration when the news was brought that the Franks had dared to rebuke the king regarding this offence'.³⁹ On the subject of polygamy, Aquaviva is credited with a less than conciliatory address:

Wherefore let such a man know that he can keep only one wife, the first namely whom he married. The rest are all courtesans and adulteresses, whom by the commandment of God and Christ it is wickedness to retain. Firstly therefore this man must repent of his past sins; secondly he must put away all his paramours; thirdly he must give himself up to fasting and acts of penance, . . . and perform other pious acts.⁴⁰

Aquaviva was declaring no more than the rule of the Western church as it had taken shape through the centuries. He can have had little sympathy for the special problems which confronted Akbar. For diplomatic reasons the emperor had married a number of Hindu wives, as a means of establishing dynastic relations with some of the great princely families which he had subdued. The repudiation of ladies of these houses would have caused repercussions more violent than those arising from the rejection by Henry VIII of England of his first wife Katharine of Aragon.

All such questions were in reality secondary. Everything turned on certain articles of the Christian creed, and especially on the idea of the divine sonship of Jesus Christ, and the consequent doctrine that God is one in three and three in one. The Muslim, like the Jew, committed to the view that the unity of God is like that of the mathematical point which admits of

no division, cannot entertain any idea which even seems to conflict with his understanding of essential unity.

So, like all missionaries in Muslim lands, the Fathers found themselves assailed on every hand by a torrent of denial of that which they held most dear. After seven months at the court Aquaviva writes in deep distress to the provincial at Goa:

Scarcely do we hear the most sweet name of Jesus. For the Muslims only call him Jesus the Prophet and say that he is not the Son of God . . . When I say openly and console myself by repeating 'Christ Jesus, Son of God', then all the suffering and sorrow of my mind is renewed, because one of the Mohammedans cries out '*astafarla*' [*Istaqfaru'llah*, God forbid], another closes his ears, a third mocks, while another blasphemes . . . 'How can we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?'⁴¹

3 AKBAR ON THE MARCH

Just one year after the arrival of the Jesuit mission public disputations and private interviews alike were brought to an end by the decision of the king to march against his half-brother Muhammad Hakīm, the ruler of Kābul, who had been incautious enough to invade the Punjab.

On 8 February 1581 the immense cavalcade set out on its long pilgrimage through north-west India. On 1 December of that year Akbar was back again in Fathpur Sikrī. Monserrate, in his capacity of tutor to Prince Murād, was allowed to accompany the host; and it thus comes about that we have a first-hand account from an intelligent observer of a great Mughul army on the march, through the Punjab and north-west India to the Khaibar Pass and beyond to Kābul. The story gradually unfolds itself, more like that of a pleasant imperial picnic than of a serious military campaign. The emperor allowed himself plenty of time for his favourite pastime of hunting, not without advantage to the commissariat of the army. And he was not too busy to engage in religious discussions. These are meticulously recorded by Fr Monserrate; a brief account of two of them will shed light on the minds and methods of each of the participants.

The emperor puts the question:

Why did not the Lord Jesus, who was so anxious that the Jews should believe in him and be saved, accept the challenge of the Jews when he was on the cross – 'If thou art the Son of God, descend from the cross, and we will believe in thee?'

The priest very sensibly answers:

Man can be justified only by faith . . . If Christ had come down from the cross, this proof would have removed the possibility of faith . . . For if Christ had come down from the cross, they would not have been made better, but would probably have put

down the miracle to magic, as has frequently happened; for many miracles which can only be performed by the power of God are attributed to the prince of the devils.

The king heartily approved of the reply, though the priest's Persian was both clumsy and scanty, and explained it to his followers, who declared that their doubts had been removed.⁴²

On another occasion the emperor asked what Christians mean by affirming that God the Father has no mortal body, yet that Christ sat down by the right hand of the Father – a typical example of the difficulty which Muslims experience in understanding symbolic or analogical language. The priest replied:

We do not mean by this a bodily sitting down, but we say that Christ sits at the right hand of the Father, because, since Christ is God, he has the same glory, honour and power as his Father, to whom he is equal . . . The honour and glory which has been conferred upon Christ is superior to that which others have received; and this is typified by the name of 'right hand', which is superior to the left.⁴³

These discussions give evidence of Akbar's continued interest in matters of religion; but, though the Fathers did not yet know it (though there are some indications that they already suspected what was in the wind), his mind was exercised by something that to him was of far greater importance than conversion to Christianity, namely the proclamation of his own version of an universal religion.

The institution by Akbar of the *Dīn-i-Ilāhī*, the divine monotheism (*Tauhīd-i-Ilāhī*), is surrounded by every kind of obscurity, and, as regards the interpretation of it, it is possible to say only *quot homines tot sententiae*.

Tradition has it that Akbar summoned a general council of the high officials of the realm; but this depends solely on the testimony of Fr Daniel Bartoli SJ, writing nearly a century after the events which he records.⁴⁴ His account is as follows:

[His plan] was to make himself the founder and head of a new religion, compounded out of various religious elements, taken partly from the Koran of Muhammad, partly from the Scriptures of the Brāhmans, and to a certain extent, as far as suited his purpose, from the Gospel of Christ.

In order to do that he summoned a General Council, and invited to it all the masters of learning and the military commandants of the cities round about . . . When he had them all assembled in front of him, he spoke . . . For an empire ruled by one head it was a bad thing to have the members divided among themselves and at variance one with the other . . . We ought, therefore, to bring them all into one, but in such fashion that they should be both 'one' and 'all', with the great advantage of not losing what is good in any one religion, while gaining whatever is better in another. In that way honour would be rendered to God . . . peace given to the

peoples and security to the empire . . . Thus he spake; and the men of note, especially the commandants who had no God other than the King, and no law other than his will, all with one voice replied, 'Yes; inasmuch as he who was nearer to heaven, both by reason of his office and because of his lofty intellect, should prescribe for the whole empire gods, ceremonies, sacrifices, mysteries, rules, solemnities and whatever else was required to constitute one perfect and universal religion.'⁴⁵

Abu'l Fazl, as was to be expected, gives an extremely favourable account of the religious policy of Akbar: 'He is now the spiritual guide of the nation, and sees in the performance of this duty a means of pleasing God. He has now opened the gate that leads to the right path, and satisfies the thirst of all that wander about panting for truth.'⁴⁶ Others were less than enthusiastic. Statements as to the large numbers of those who joined the *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* rest on no authority. By one writer we are reminded that Akbar appointed no missionaries, and by another that 'the organisation of the adherents of the *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* was that of an Order rather than of a church'.⁴⁷ Perhaps Dr Krishnamurti is not far from the truth when he writes: 'The *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* was more in the nature of a society of seekers of Truth than of a religion founded on the authority of a Prophet. The seeking had to be done by each member and no revelation was to be expected from any outside authority.'⁴⁸ Few synthetic religions have shewn much power of survival. The *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* depended almost wholly on Akbar's personal example and influence. There is no evidence that it ever had any wide following among the common people. Abu'l Fazl, the favourite of Akbar and his eager supporter in all his plans was assassinated in 1602, and thus the *Dīn* lost one of its principal supporters; after the death of Akbar in 1605 nothing more was heard of it.

4 JESUIT DISILLUSIONMENT

Akbar's religious experiments demand mention in this narrative only because of their effects on the hopes and plans of the Jesuit Fathers. Their position was becoming increasingly uncomfortable. It was now clear that Akbar had no intention of ever becoming a Christian. His attitude towards the Portuguese was at best ambiguous, and he had dissembled, if he had not actually lied to them, about his involvement in certain actions taken against them in Damaun. The Jesuit provincial in Goa, who from the letters received from the Fathers had formed a rather unfavourable impression of the prospects of 'the mission to Mogor', wrote recalling them to Goa, where he thought that he could better employ them in other projects.⁴⁹

When the emperor heard of this letter he was much distressed, and refused to give his consent to the withdrawal of the Fathers. In spite of his calculated reserve in matters of religion, he was genuinely fond of them and

did not want to let them go. It was, however, possible for them to renew their request for leave to depart in connection with the desire of Akbar to send an embassy to congratulate Philip II of Spain on his accession to the crown of Portugal.⁵⁰ It was decided that one of the Fathers should accompany the embassy. In view of Akbar's special affection for Aquaviva, the lot for departure fell not on him but on Monserrate. After a journey not free from adventures the embassy reached Surat on 5 August 1582; and not long after Monserrate was safe at home with his brethren in Goa.⁵¹ Aquaviva was to remain at the Mughul court in solitude for another year.

The mission seemed to have ended in failure. Yet just at what seemed the lowest point in its fortunes Aquaviva wrote a letter to his uncle, who by that time was head of the Jesuit Order in Rome, setting forth five reasons which led him to think that the mission ought not to be abandoned. After discussing the possibility of a mission to the Bottans (Tibetans), he concludes correctly and wisely:

Where we are is the true India, and this realm is but a ladder which leads to the greater part of Asia . . .; and now that the society has obtained a footing which is favoured by so great an emperor and his sons, it seems not fitting to leave it before trying all possible means to commence the conversion of the mainland of India, seeing that all that has so far been done has been only on the sea-coast.⁵²

The final year that Aquaviva spent at the court of Akbar he seems to have devoted almost entirely to the life of an ascetic and a devotee, concentrating on prayer, meditation, poverty and self-discipline. The pen of a colleague who knew him exceptionally well has preserved for us a picture of him as he appeared and as he was:

Rudolf was gentle and simple, and thought all others to be like himself in these respects. He was devoted to the study of religious treatises and to prayer. Indeed the only thing that would tempt him away from these pious pursuits was the necessary study of Persian or of some similar subject . . . He was most particular in his observance of the rules and discipline of the Society, especially as regards poverty. He was glad to wear old worn-out garments and shoes. His mind was constantly fixed on God, so that he often forgot what he was about. Very frequently he could not remember where he had left his hat, his spectacles, his books and the like . . . He was of marvellous patience and of extreme humility.⁵³

All this time Akbar was extremely unwilling to let Aquaviva go. At last, in February 1583 he gave the necessary permission, hoping that it would be for a temporary absence only. He wrote to the provincial at Goa, expressing his deep affection for Aquaviva, and urging the provincial to make sure that he returned.⁵⁴

Aquaviva was urged to accept a parting present; but he would receive nothing other than the liberation of a family of Russian Christians, who had lived so long as slaves in the emperor's entourage that they had become

almost indistinguishable from Saracens, but who, we are told by du Jarric, from that time on lived in Goa as good Christians. In 1583 Aquaviva arrived back in Goa looking, again according to du Jarric,⁵⁵ like a man who had come back not from a court, but from enduring the penances of a novitiate. He did not know that he would never see Akbar again.

So ended the first mission to the Great Mogul, in apparent failure but having permanently enlarged the consciousness of Europe as to the possibilities of Christian missions in India.

5 THE SECOND MISSION

During the following seven years there was little intercourse between Akbar and the Portuguese, and it seemed unlikely that the mission to his court would ever be renewed. The unexpected event of the second mission seems to have been mainly due to the presence at the court of Akbar of a young Greek sub-deacon named Leon Grimon, who was on his way back to his own country and was due to pass through Goa. He appears to have been an intelligent young man, and to have pleased Akbar by his conversation and by his knowledge of the world.⁵⁶ Akbar decided to make use of the services of this gifted visitor as an emissary to the Portuguese, and despatched him with a safe-conduct and a letter to the Fathers at Goa. The *firmān* contains the remarkable sentence: 'I hope by his means to ensure the despatch of certain other Fathers . . . through whose holy doctrine I hope to be restored from death to life, even as their Master Jesus Christ, who came down from heaven to earth, raised many from the dead and gave them new life.' In the letter to the Fathers, he expresses the hope that 'in disputation with my doctors I may compare their several learning and character and see the superiority of the Fathers over my doctors, whom we call Caziques [Arab.: *Kashish*], and who by this means may be taught to know the truth'.⁵⁷

Grimon appears to have told the provincial that the emperor seemed strongly disposed to become a Christian; this may have led the provincial to forget the disappointment of seven years earlier, and to conclude that the time was ripe for a new assault on the conscience of Akbar. Fr Edward Leitão and Fr Christopher de Vega were sent off with a lay companion, and reached Lahore in May 1591.

As before, the reception accorded to the visitors lacked nothing in courtesy and generosity. They were given a convenient house in which to lodge, and Akbar asked them to start a school for the instruction of the sons of his nobles, and of a son and grandson (nephew?) of his own, in the Portuguese language. But hardly had the Fathers begun their work when difficulties began to arise and to multiply. In less than a year after their arrival, they had been recalled, and the mission ended almost before it had begun.⁵⁸

6 THE THIRD MISSION

With the third mission, which began with the arrival of a group of new missionaries at Lahore in 1595, we reach a calmer climate and a greater measure of historical certainty. This marked the beginnings of a Jesuit contact with the realm of the Great Mogul which lasted for more than two centuries, and of the work of the great leader of the expedition, Jerome Xavier, who was to spend more than twenty years in the service of the mission. The days of uncertain experiment were at an end, and something like consistency in mission methods was attained.⁵⁹

The proper name of Xavier was Jerome de Ezpeleta y Goni. His father was a nephew of Francis Xavier. Jerome was born in 1549 in the castle of his father in the Spanish province of Navarre. He entered the Society of Jesus on 7 May 1568; it was at that time that he adopted the name of his famous great-uncle. The new Xavier arrived in India in September 1581. Six years were spent quietly in the capacity of rector of the college in Cochin where Xavier had occasion to acquaint himself with the affairs of the Thomas Christians. From Cochin he was called in 1592 to be superior of the professed house at Goa. The years which he spent in Goa were unhappy. The reason usually given is that a Spanish superior could not control Portuguese subjects, and this may well have contributed to the tensions which made life intolerable. It was a fortunate chance that, just when things were at their worst, Akbar made for the third time a request that Fathers should be sent to his capital. Naturally the mood in Goa was one of scepticism; but in the end,

knowing that it was the desire of the Reverend Father-General of the Company that there should always be some Fathers at the court of so great a monarch, both for the benefit of the Christians who were there, as well as for sundry other considerations, he at last after consulting with the most eminent Fathers in Goa, gave his consent.⁶⁰

No greater good fortune could have befallen the adventure than the availability precisely at that moment of Fr Jerome Xavier. The mission was now to be headed by a mature man, forty-five years old, who had already had fourteen years of varied experiences in India, and, as time was to show, possessed gifts of patience, versatility and proportion which were to be tested to the full at the court of the inscrutable Akbar.

Two companions were given to him.

Emmanuel Pinheiro had been born in the Azores in 1556, but did not reach India till 1592. He gave much of his time to pastoral work among the Portuguese and other Christians in Lahore; but at the same time he seems to have been a favourite of Akbar, and to have had influence with him — influence which he sedulously used to the disadvantage of the English.

Payne (p. 233), reports that 'from the accounts left by Fitch, Mildenhall, Hawkins and Finch, he appears to have been a past master in the arts of intrigue, and thoroughly unscrupulous in the means he adopted to discredit the English in the eyes of the Emperor, and to defeat their attempts to obtain a commercial footing in India'. Of Xavier, Nicholas Withington writes, 9 November 1613, that the Mogul 'would do nothing against the Portuguese soe long as that witch Savier liveth, (for so the Moores themselves term him) which is an ould Jesuitt residing with the kinge, whom hee much affects'.⁶¹

The third member of the mission, Brother Benedict de Goes, also a native of the Azores, was born in 1562, and joined the Society of Jesus in 1588 after what appears to have been a somewhat disorderly youth. Fate has made of him by far the most famous of the three, not because of anything that he did in the mission of Mogor but by reason of the amazing journey which carried him across Central Asia, and ended with his death at Su-chou in western China in 1607.⁶²

In nothing is the excellence of Xavier as a missionary more clearly seen than in the eagerness and patience which he displayed in making himself a master of the Persian tongue. Less than four months after his arrival he wrote to the general in Rome: 'now our entire occupation is to learn the Persian language, and, moreover, we trust in God's mercy that within the space of one year we shall speak it; only then shall we be able to say that we are in Lahore, for up to now we are statues'.⁶³

This proved to be an optimistic assessment. At the end of a year Xavier could make himself reasonably well understood; but he had become aware of the great difference between the common speech and that used in the discussion of philosophical and religious problems. In the latter the educated class would make use, for the sake of elegance, of a most copious vocabulary, and with this the missionary must be acquainted if he wishes to talk with them on anything like equal terms. In the year 1600 the Visitor Pimenta reported that the Persians themselves took pleasure in hearing Xavier speak, and admired the propriety of his vocabulary and choice of words.⁶⁴

Xavier himself was less optimistic about his progress. In 1609, in the dedication to Akbar of his book *The Fount of Life*, he expresses regret that 'the style and language will be vulgar, as they are my own, who am so feeble in all things, and especially in this language'.⁶⁵

As with the other missions the beginnings were favourable and encouraging. Akbar continued to show interest in the Christian faith, and was especially pleased by the pictures which the Fathers had brought with them. He gave the Fathers permission to baptise anyone who desired to receive baptism, and also to erect a church.⁶⁶ A school was opened and attended by sons of a

number of the feudatory princes. Before the end of the year two of these had expressed a desire to become Christians. One of them, entering the chapel, threw aside his turban, and kneeling before the altar, said in a loud voice, 'O Saviour Jesus Christ, remember me.' Another, rebuked because he had not fasted on a fast day, asked, 'And who has commanded this fast?' 'Muhammad'. 'And who is Muhammad, if not a false prophet and an impostor?'⁶⁷

Xavier was too old a hand to be taken in by such fair promises. In a letter of 2 August 1598 he writes:

Here all our work consists in clearing the ground of brambles and sowing *supra petrosa Maurorum super spinas Gentilium* (on the rocky ground of the Muslims and the thorny places of the Hindus) . . . As these are beginnings, we have to have patience *ut fructum afferamus* (in order that we may bring forth fruit) . . . but may God help and console us with certain fruit.⁶⁸

On 15 July Xavier was able to have a long conversation with the emperor, and desired to have a plain statement of his attitude; he had failed to listen to them as he had promised to do, and they still had no idea of the way in which his mind was working. Akbar, as usual, refused to be drawn. He was about to leave for the Deccan, and that would bring him into the neighbourhood of Goa where he would be able to listen to the Fathers at leisure. At least he had done this much for the Fathers that, whereas under former rulers they would not have dared to affirm the divinity of Christ, they could now do so with perfect safety.⁶⁹

Xavier and his companions were devoting themselves almost exclusively to the evangelisation of the ruling classes, many of whom would understand Persian, the official language of the court. The majority of the people, however, were Hindus, and spoke an Indo-European language, presumably some form of what is now called Hindi.⁷⁰ Fr Corsi soon after his arrival in 1600 gave himself to the study of Hindustani.⁷¹ Later the Fathers found themselves driven to make fuller use of that language in order to minister to the Indian wives of Portuguese and to others who had become Christians.

Public discussions, of the kind so often mentioned during the time of the first mission, had not entirely ceased, but seem to have been sporadic rather than frequent. On occasion the Fathers, relying on the protection of the emperor, spoke with more frankness than prudence. A Muslim who was friendly to the Fathers, having heard them accuse the Prophet Muhammad of various vices and crimes, urged them to speak cautiously of the Islamic religion, as he himself, although the Fathers' friend, 'boiled with indignation and felt himself inclined to stab them with his dagger, when he heard them arguing against Muhammad'.⁷²

Two activities distinguished the third mission from the other two – the serious attempt to create a Christian literature in Persian, and extensive use

of the liturgical ceremonies of the Christian church to bring home to the people the meaning of the Gospel and of Christian worship.

Xavier had early come to the conclusion that violent controversy was not the right method of winning over the Muslims: 'the sword is not a key giving admission to the heart, never, never! It is reasons, instruction, good example, tenderness and benefits that open well-locked hearts. That key was used by Jesus Christ, our Lord, whereas Muhammad wielded the sword.'⁷³ The Christian controversialist must retain his liberty to speak freely, but he must be actuated by the love of truth and not by any malicious intention.⁷⁴

Only divine grace, can bring the Muslim to saving faith such as leads to salvation; but, before conversion can be expected to take place, rational demonstration must first have done its work. This is specially important in dealing with Muslims, since they argue that theirs is a rational religion and that its articles of faith can be proved by rational arguments. Thus Xavier falls into the succession of the great Christian apologists of the late middle ages, and especially of Ramon Llull (1235–1316) who also undertook to demonstrate the articles of the Christian faith by *rationes necessariae*, but at the same time checked all his arguments in the light of an intimate and accurate knowledge of the Muslim faith.

By far the most important of the controversial works of Xavier is the *Fuente de Vida*, the 'Fountain of Life', written by him in Portuguese and laboriously translated into Persian with the help of the best scholars that he could find. For more than three centuries this majestic work of 540 pages was known only in its Persian form. But Dr A. Camps was fortunate enough to find, in the Roman archives of the Society of Jesus, a Spanish text, which seems to be contemporary and may possibly be the work of Xavier himself. The nature of the work is here precisely described: 'Herein are declared the things of the religion of the Gospel, and reasons are given for the principal mysteries of the same, and the religions which are contrary to the same are controverted.'⁷⁵

The *Fount of Life* takes the form of a dialogue between a Jesuit Father, a Muslim scholar and a philosopher, 'a scholar in human philosophy but very averse to every divine law'. As the philosopher does not believe in miracles and does not admit the Christian scriptures to be superior to scriptures which the adherents of other religions equally hold to be true, there is nothing to be done but to fall back on unaided human reason, and to see how far it will carry us. The Father lays down three criteria for judging the truth of any religion: 'It has to teach mankind to know God in the most sublime manner; it has to instruct mankind to serve God and to accomplish his will in a spiritual manner, since God is a spiritual and not a corporeal being; it should provide mankind with the aids necessary to weak human nature in order to fulfil God's will.'⁷⁶

The philosopher is convinced, perhaps a little too easily, by the

arguments of the Father.⁷⁷ The Muslim scholar is an altogether tougher proposition, and will not yield easily to the power of what is set before him as Christian truth. Dr Camps judges the second disputation to be 'an extremely logical, harmonious and well-ordered treatise', and to be superior to the first as being realistic in character. 'The discussion by no means gives an impression of artificiality. Both the Muslim and the Christian stand-points, which are equally well reproduced, contain reflections of the usual manner of disputing between Muslims and Christians.'⁷⁸

One of the concerns of Xavier was to have at hand a reliable translation of the Koran. He wrote repeatedly to Europe, asking for a translation of the Koran in Latin, Italian, Spanish or Portuguese; and, when at last the promised copy arrived, was not a little chagrined to find that it was in Arabic and not in any one of the languages asked for: 'We have no end of them here.'⁷⁹ He reports that, in the absence of a translation such as he had asked for, he has had the Koran translated into Persian and from Persian into Portuguese, an immense task which he is not likely to have carried out himself.

It has been reported from time to time that Xavier translated or arranged for others to translate the Gospels into Persian. This does not seem to correspond with the facts. What he did was to revise and improve an older and existing translation. A somewhat romantic story is told as to the way in which this earlier translation fell into the hands of the Fathers. The Armenians in Lahore had been expecting the arrival of an archbishop, but their archbishop . . . died on his way to India. Having reached Ormuz, he had been prevented from continuing his journey by sea and set out for Lahor by way of Persia. He perished on the road unsuccoured by God or man. His books and all else he possessed were stolen. The former fell into the hands of Fr Pinheiro, which greatly annoyed the Armenians who had desired to present them to the king. They thought that the prelate was coming to India to be archbishop of the Serra . . . but that office was filled in a different manner, as will appear later.⁸⁰

Whatever the exact circumstances under which the Persian Gospels came into the hands of Xavier,⁸¹ it seems clear that he arranged for the manuscript to be corrected and copied, and that he then sent copies in a number of different directions, including some despatched to Rome. He refers to translations more than 300 years old.⁸² Xavier's concern for correction arose from the divergences in the Persian from the Latin Vulgate, which had been declared by the Council of Trent to be alone authoritative.⁸³ It was a copy corrected in this fashion that was presented to the emperor Jahāngīr in March 1607.

This concern for a translation of the Gospels seems to mark a change in Jesuit missionary methods since the time of the older Xavier, who as we

have seen never arranged for the translation of any part of the scriptures into any Indian language. The change was probably due to the exigencies of a mission to Muslims. The hearers knew of the existence of the *injīl* (Gospel), though they had never seen it; in view of their insistence on the perfection of the Koran, it was essential to be able to confront them with a Scripture in their own tongue, which the Fathers asserted to be of higher value even than the Koran.⁸⁴

During a period of about ten years the Fathers were in almost constant attendance on Akbar. When he paid a visit to Kashmir in 1597, Xavier and Goes were with him. Similarly, when Akbar left for the Deccan, where he stayed for more than two years, he was accompanied by the same pair of Jesuits. Goes left Agra on 6 January 1603 to carry out his famous journey to China. In October 1605 the Jesuits at Lahore were Xavier and Machado, who had joined the mission in 1602; in Agra, Pinheiro, the 'Mogul', and Corsi, who had arrived in 1600, held the fort.

7 NOT ALL WAS BRIGHT

From the start the Fathers had found work to do among the Europeans scattered in the Mughul dominions. These were a most miscellaneous collection, drawn from many races and keeping themselves alive by manifesting a variety of skills – merchants, lapidaries, enamellers, goldsmiths, physicians, surgeons and artisans of all descriptions, and very commonly artillerymen in the Mughul army.⁸⁵ Many of these men were deserters or renegades. Almost all were adventurers, and almost all had formed irregular unions with Muslim or Hindu women. They had forgotten all that they knew of the Christian faith, and were not always pleased to be reminded of its existence. The bad example set by them was one of the great hindrances to the spread of the Gospel. Yet congregations did come into existence in Agra and Lahore, and the Indian wives of these aliens formed a not unimportant part of the Christian communities.

A second important element in the Christian church was made up of the Armenians. Some of these were Armenians only in the general sense indicated above; others, however, really were Armenians by race and language, and were therefore members of what the Fathers regarded as an heretical church.⁸⁶ Regular ministrations of their own church seem only rarely to have been available to these exiles. Some accepted the Roman Catholic form of the Christian faith,⁸⁷ but even with those who did not the Fathers seem to have maintained friendly and generous relations. In one recorded case the Fathers were indebted to a young Armenian 'of very honourable disposition' for a notable piece of service. After the capture of

Asirgarh (1601) by the Mughul forces, a number of half-caste Portuguese had been reduced to slavery by the victors. The Fathers set themselves to recover these unfortunates, and were successful in securing their release. But there remained the problem of the wives, daughters and other relatives who had been left behind. The Armenian paid their debts and brought them back, 'trusting to the Fathers to repay him for what he had spent, which they did very willingly, thanking him for having done so good a work'.⁸⁸ After they had reached Agra, baptism was administered to those who had not received it, and a number were regularly married according to the laws of the church. And so they settled down to live 'like honest men, keeping the commandments of God and the Church, and recognising very clearly the truth of the Christian faith, and the grace which God has shewn them in receiving them into his fold'.⁸⁹

The main purpose of the mission was, however, as it had always been, to reach the Indian population with the message of the Gospel. One of the principal methods adopted by the Fathers was the manifestation of the faith to a largely illiterate population through eye-gate – by way of images, pictures, processions and the splendour of liturgical ceremonial.

Many examples are given in the contemporary records of the effects achieved by pictures of sacred subjects. This may seem strange in a Muslim society, in which the ban on any representation of the human form is technically in force. But this was a law to which the Mughuls sat singularly loose – Indian art has been immensely enriched by the miniatures painted for them or at their courts.⁹⁰ Akbar himself was interested in the arts, and was much pleased with some of the pictures presented to him by the Fathers.

The most elaborate account of the display of a picture, and of the attraction exercised by it on the crowds, is that provided by du Jarric in his narrative of the years 1601–2. A picture of our Lady, copied from one in Rome, had been received by the Fathers; at Christmastide 1601 they decided to exhibit it in the church. Almost at once crowds began to gather, and received in their own language an account of what the picture signified, after which they went away 'full of veneration for the Virgin, and deeply impressed by her sanctity'. During the first days most of those who came were of the lower orders, and, being Hindus, were prepared to be interested in what may have reminded them of things already familiar in their own religion:

But on the third and following days men of learning, who are called Mullas, began to come, as well as nobles and others of rank, who had before deemed it discreditable to enter a Christian church. The example of these great ones was followed by people of every sort and quality. By counting those who entered the church on a particular day, it was shown that the daily attendance exceeded ten thousand persons.⁹¹

The great festivals of the Christian year were celebrated with every kind of solemnity. In 1598 the Christmas crib was exposed at Lahore for twenty days, and visited by between three and four thousand people.⁹² On Easter morning there would be a procession through the streets, headed by musicians, followed by the Christians in their festal garments and carrying candles in their hands; the Fathers followed them wearing their surplices and singing at the tops of their voices. In a letter of 6 September 1604 Xavier describes in considerable detail the way in which the sacred season was observed:

The offices for Holy Week are simply recited, but the other ceremonies are carried out with all solemnity. The washing of the feet is performed fully with great devotion and consolation. All go to confession during Lent; and on Maundy Thursday and Easter day more than forty persons of both sexes who a few years ago were followers of Muhammad received Holy Communion . . . May God keep them and advance them in perfection every day. Amen.⁹³

Naturally the most important events of all were the baptisms of converts. It is impossible to determine with any precision how many Indians were baptised in the first ten years of the third mission. In 1599 Fr Pinheiro reports that in six months or so thirty-eight persons had been baptised in Lahore.⁹⁴ Under the year 1600, du Jarric, following Guerreiro, reports that 'In the course of this year, the Fathers baptized on one occasion thirty-nine persons, on another twenty, and on a third occasion forty-seven. The last of these services was conducted with great solemnity on the Octave of the Assumption of our Lady [August 22], and was largely attended both by Christians and by infidels.'

For 1604, Fr Pinheiro relates sadly that 'the events above related closed the door to conversions during the year so that we have not any to relate'.

In this mission, as in others, we have always to allow for the baptisms of infants *in articulo mortis*, which were often included in the statistics and swelled the figures. There is a notable example of this in connection with the great famine in the vale of Kashmir in 1597, at which time Xavier and Goes were in that area in the train of the emperor. The mothers would put their children in the streets to die, and the Fathers would then collect and baptise them. Sometimes the mothers would themselves call on the priests to baptise their children at the point of death. When they were about to leave the valley, one woman besought them to take charge of her child.⁹⁵

The baptism of older persons was made an occasion of great solemnity, often accompanied by processions through the streets. A letter of Fr Pinheiro of the year 1599 describes the baptism of two Hindus converted against the will of their relations. On Whitsunday they were led in procession through the city with palms in their hands, and 'then having

passed through a large and somewhat noisy multitude to the church, were therein baptised'. Pinheiro adds the interesting circumstances that a Muslim girl aged sixteen, seeing this baptism taking place, insisted on being baptised herself. Having convinced the Father that she understood very well what she was doing, she was baptised with the Christian name of Grace; and, having resisted all attempts of her relatives to get her back, was not long after married to a Christian.⁹⁶

Undoubtedly the majority of the converts came from the poorer ranks of society, as is natural in that hierarchically ordered world. The Italian traveller Gianbattista Vechiete, who was in Agra in 1604 notes that the Christians were *della gente bassa* ('of the lower classes'), and Xavier at a slightly later date used almost exactly the same expression – *gente comum e baixa* ('common people of the lower orders').⁹⁷ But there were a number of converts of higher station, who certainly had nothing to gain from their change of faith. Du Jarric gives at great length the story of a young man, whose name is given as Polada,⁹⁸ a Brāhman and a *paṇḍit*, who enrolled himself as a catechumen. Every possible means, including the use of poison and of violence, was used to turn him from his new faith. The only result was that his wife decided to follow her husband. Threatened with death, the young man replied,

Do your will. I am quite ready to die, for this has long been my greatest desire. It is a very strange thing that when any Gentile wishes to become a Iogue, or a Mahometan, there is none to stand in his way; but when he wishes to become a Christian, it seems that the Devil and hell are leagued against him to turn him from his purpose.

At last the catechumen was brought before 'the king's Cazique'. He was first required to sign a deed divesting himself of all his property and of everything that he was heir to; he was then handed over to the custody of Fr Pinheiro.⁹⁹

In all these records there is hardly anything about any attempt on the part of the Fathers to perpetuate the work of the mission by preparing local Christians to serve as catechists or later as priests, perhaps because of the scattered nature of the congregations and the difficulty of providing supervision. Only one definite notice has come to light in the sources available. In a letter dated 1 December 1600 the Visitor Nicolas Pimenta records that on 2 January of that year

we met nine young men of Hindustan whom Fr Pinheiro had sent from the city of Lahore via Sind. Another had joined them who among them is regarded as very noble (because descended from Muhammad) and who more than once has strenuously fought in defence of the Christian religion . . . Of these nine young men we kept four at Bandora in order that they might be taught by the best masters

every kind of musical instrument for the new church at Lahore. A fifth entered our Society in the College of Santa Fé [St Paul] together with another young man of rare talent who had tried to study the Korān at Mecca itself and had learned a good part of it by heart, [but later] bent his head to receive the holy waters of baptism.¹⁰⁰

Unfortunately Pimenta does not give any names. There seem to be no further records of the young men who went to Goa, nor is there any evidence that either of them was ordained to the priesthood.

8 THE LAST DAYS OF THE GREAT AKBAR

Through good report and ill report the Fathers had clung to the hope that one day Akbar would be converted. For all his genuine and long-continued friendliness to them, they were deceiving themselves in imagining that he could ever make the change. He was bound to consider the chaos that would follow in the empire, if he adopted a religion which was cordially detested by the majority of his subjects.

In the year 1605 Akbar, who was then sixty-three years of age, completed fifty years of rule. In September of that year he fell seriously ill, and it became clear that he had not long to live. On the night of 25/26 October he died. The Fathers had made strenuous attempts to see him; 'but they could find no one who would make their arrival known to the king, or dare to speak to him of them; for already such matters were more in the hands of his great nobles than of the king himself, and hence every means by which the Fathers tried to gain entrance was ineffectual'.¹⁰¹

Akbar remained conscious long enough to fix the succession to the throne on his eldest son Salim. Then he suffered his last agonies, attended only by a few of his most faithful retainers. 'They sought to put him in mind of their Mahomet; but he made no sign of assent; only it seemed that from time to time he tried to utter the name of God.'¹⁰²

Attempts were made from time to time to show that Akbar was a Christian when he died. But for this there really was no ground. Du Jarric is probably right in saying that 'he died as he had lived, for as no one knew what law he followed in his life-time, so none knew that in which he died'. Attempts to prove that he died a Muslim are equally fruitless. One report has it that on his death-bed Akbar repeated the Muslim confession of faith after the *mufti*, speaking in a loud and clear voice. But this is almost certainly due to a desire to cover up the fact that Akbar did not die a Muslim.¹⁰³ Xavier, who knew him so well, was surely right when he wrote that Akbar 'died neither as a Moor nor as a Christian, but in the Gentile sect which he had embraced'.¹⁰⁴

When Akbar died, men knew that a great man and a great ruler had

passed from among them. Something of the esteem in which he was held breathes in what the Christians wrote about him:

He was a prince beloved of all, firm with the great, kind to those of low estate, and just to all men, high or low, neighbour or stranger, Christian, Muslim or Hindu . . . He lived in the fear of God, to whom he never failed to pray four times daily, at sunrise, at sunset, at midday and at midnight, and, despite his many duties, his prayers on these four occasions . . . were never curtailed . . . Akbar was one of the most fortunate monarchs of his time . . . Scarcely ever did he engage in any enterprise which he did not bring to a successful conclusion . . . but he missed the greatest thing of all: the knowledge of the true God and his only Son Jesus Christ who came to save mankind.¹⁰⁵

Fr Monserrate, who knew the great king in his prime, has left a vivid portrait of him:

He was in face and stature fit for the dignity of a king, so that anybody even at the first glance would easily recognise him as the king . . . His brow was broad and open, and his eyes sparkled as does the sea when lighted by the sun. When he laughs he is distorted, but when he is tranquil and serene he has a noble mien and great dignity. In his wrath he is majestic.¹⁰⁶

The death of Akbar did indeed mark a turning-point in history. With him the Mughul empire passed its zenith, though this did not immediately appear. None of his successors was his equal or near to being so. The empire had begun its long decline, though that which had taken eighty years to rise took a hundred and sixty years to sink to the point at which it became clear that another power had effectively taken its place. Portuguese power in the East, and with it Portuguese supremacy in Christian missions, had equally reached its apogee, though in this case close on two hundred years were to pass before that which had taken a hundred years to build was to descend to its final and irrecoverable collapse.

9 · Rome and the Thomas Christians

I CONTACTS BETWEEN CHRISTIANS WESTERN AND EASTERN

The Thomas Christians had lived for centuries in their small world between the mountains and the sea, in almost total isolation from the rest of Christendom. Only occasionally did some sounds reach them from that outer and unknown world and disturb for a moment the stillness of their existence. Such contacts as came their way were mainly with the patriarchate of Babylon, from which their episcopal succession was maintained, somewhat irregularly, and as our sources suggest with considerable intervals during which there was no bishop in the Serra.¹ So, when the great ships of a Western power arrived in the harbour of Cochin, there was not unnaturally great jubilation among the local Christians.

During the second voyage of Vasco da Gama formal contact was made between the Eastern and the Western Christians. On 19 November 1502 a number of Christians of distinguished appearance came to Cochin from Mangalor,² greeted da Gama in the name of their king, presented him with a 'rod of justice', a painted staff red in colour, both ends plated in silver with three bells of silver at each end, and assured him that from that time they would not administer justice or pronounce judgement against any malefactor except in the name of the king of Portugal. They claimed to represent a population of 30,000 adults, and expressed a hope that the king of Portugal would build a fort in their country, from which he could control the entire neighbourhood.

So far the sober narrative of Thomas Lopes, a usually reliable witness.³ Almost all the Portuguese chroniclers dwell on this event, adding to it picturesque details, and perhaps attributing to it greater importance than it possessed in reality.⁴ Gouvea adds the ridiculous statement that the Christians supplied the rājā of Cochin with an army of fifty thousand gunmen, who are such good shots that they rarely miss. He further tells us that at one time the Thomas Christians had had a king named Beliarde, but that when their dynasty came to an end, the rājā of Cochin 'claimed to have

more jurisdiction and right over these Christians than the other rājās in whose lands they dwelt'.⁵

The confusion in these accounts is typical of the mixture of fact and fantasy which meets us in all the records of the Thomas Christians in the sixteenth century.

How many Thomas Christians were there when the first contacts were made with the Portuguese? Lopes mentions 30,000 adults, implying a total population of at least 45,000. Barros speaks of more than 30,000 persons. Gouvea suggests a much larger number. From other sources we gather that the Thomas Christians had sixty churches, by which we may understand parishes. It is unlikely that more than 600 Christians, on an average, would have been attached to each parish; we reach, therefore, by rough calculation, a maximum of 36,000 persons. This suggests that Barros may not have been far out in his reckoning. The Christians were gathered in considerable numbers in Cranganore and in Quilon, these representing roughly the northern and the southern limits of the territory in which they were found; but the majority were scattered far and wide over the hills, in many cases not more than three or four families being found together.

The Christians had to deal all the time with local rulers, who were many, and almost all of whom were Hindus. There are in the records constant complaints of high-handed action on the part of these rulers and infringement of the rights of the Christians. The actions of these rulers towards their Hindu and Muslim subjects were often capricious and at times oppressive; a minority community such as the Christians might naturally come off rather worse than groups which were both larger and more closely related to the sovereigns. On the other hand, the Christians had so long been there, and had come to be so much taken for granted as part of the local scene, that only in rare cases is it possible to apply the term 'persecution' to such hardships as the Christians had to endure.

It must be regarded as unlikely that the Christians ever had a king of their own.⁶ If they ever had a protector named Beliarte, it is probable that he was a Hindu rather than a Christian. We are told that he ruled from Koyoor, and that as a price for his protection the Christians were bound to pay him an annual tax, and also to recognise him as defender and protector of the Thomas Christians.⁷ Whatever their relations to other rulers, there is no reason to doubt that the Thomas Christians had leaders of their own, who seem to have had considerable powers of jurisdiction among them. If a time came when it proved impossible to maintain their rights against the aggressions of Hindu rulers, it might seem not unreasonable to call in as protector a distant but apparently immensely powerful Christian authority, such as they realised the king of Portugal to be.

So the scene is set for the story of intrigue, alliance, hostility and

reconciliation, which is the history of Kerala in the sixteenth century. The four main powers were the Hindu rulers, the Thomas Christians, the Portuguese political authorities, and the Portuguese ecclesiastics. But even this does not give a complete picture of the complexities of the story. Portuguese clerics were by no means always in agreement. The Franciscans rarely saw eye to eye with the Jesuits, and neither had a high opinion of the secular clergy. Among the Thomas Christians were northists and southists;⁸ some were friendly to the Portuguese, others, more passionately attached to their ancient traditions, were from the start suspicious of them.

2 EASTERN BISHOPS ENTER THE SCENE

The Indian church had at times been left without bishops. But just at the end of the fifteenth century this defect was remedied through an initiative taken by the Indian church itself. Three Christians had been sent from India in 1490 to the catholicos, Mar Simon, patriarch of the East. One died on the way, but the other two arrived safely. What followed is best described in the words of a letter sent out in 1504 by Eastern prelates at that time resident in India:

The Catholicos . . . was greatly pleased with them. One of them was called George and the other Joseph. The Catholicos ordained both of them priests in the holy church of St George at Gazarta, because they were well instructed, and sent them to the holy monastery of St Eugenius. They took from there two monks, the name of both of whom was Joseph, and the Catholicos ordained both of them bishops in the church of St George. He named one Thomas and the other John, and wrote to them admirable letters patent signed with his own seal. After having prayed for them and blessed them, he despatched them to India in the company of the Indians. By the assistance of Christ our Lord, the four of them reached there alive.⁹

The first-named Joseph was later to become well-known as Joseph the Indian. When Cabral, who made the second Portuguese voyage to India, was about to leave Cochin and sail home, he received an urgent request from two brothers, Joseph and Mathias, that he would take them on his ship, as they desired to go to Lisbon and Rome, and from there to Jerusalem and to Armenia¹⁰ to see their patriarch. Cabral was pleased with their request and readily granted it. Mathias died on the way, but Joseph survived to undergo a whole series of adventures. In Venice he was interviewed by an interlocutor, who admittedly found it difficult to understand all that he said, and gave an account not only of his travels but also of the church of which he was a member. All this was made up into a little book *The Travels of Joseph the Indian*. For many years this was regarded as a primary authority for the affairs of the Thomas Christians at the beginning of the sixteenth century; but some of the statements in the work are so outrageously improbable that later times have generally written Joseph off as a mere romancer. Perhaps

posterity has been too hard on him. The book became generally known through its inclusion in the work published in Basel in 1532 by Simon Grynaeus and known as *Novus Orbis Regionum ac Insularum veteribus incognitarum*. But it was known that Grynaeus had taken considerable liberties in translating the Italian into Latin, and that a much more reliable account of what Joseph said is to be found in a work published in Vicenza in 1507.¹¹ One detail recorded by Joseph is interesting and may well be authentic. The Thomas Christians used wine in the Eucharist, if they had it; but, if they had no wine, they soaked raisins in water and used the resulting liquid; raisins were regularly brought by merchants from China.¹²

The story of the bishops despatched from Mesopotamia to India continues as follows:

[When these four came], the faithful were greatly pleased with them, and went to meet them joyfully with Gospels, cross, thurible and candles, and ushered them in with great pomp and psalms and canticles. They consecrated altars and ordained many priests, because the Indians were for a long time without bishops. Bishop John remained in India, and Bishop Thomas, his companion, returned after a short time to the Catholicos.

The interest of the Mesopotamian church in the church in India had been revived by the despatch of the first two bishops. In 1503 the new patriarch Elias V decided to strengthen the work by the consecration of four further bishops. The first of these Raban David, surnamed 'the long' (*Arrīkha*) was given the name Yahb Alaha and appointed metropolitan. With him were George, Mar Denha in religion, and Raban Masud, called Mar Jacob. The fourth may have been Mar Thomas – there is considerable uncertainty as to the names and careers of these bishops. The four were instructed to go not only to India but also to the islands of the sea that are between Dabag (Java), Sin (China) and Ma-Sin (Great China=Japan?). It is unlikely that there were any Christians in these areas at that time, or that any of these bishops ever reached them.¹³

On reaching India the bishops put in first at Cannanore, and introduced themselves as Christians to the twenty or so Portuguese who were living there. They were most kindly received, and helped with clothes and money. They stayed for about two and a half months. Before they left, they were invited to celebrate the holy mysteries after their own fashion: 'They prepared for it a beautiful place fit for prayer, where there was a kind of oratory . . . Therefore on the Sunday *Nosardel* [seven days after Pentecost], after their priests had celebrated, we also were admitted and celebrated the Holy Sacrifice, and it was pleasing in their eyes.'

From Cannanore the bishops went on to discover the Thomas Christians, and were glad to find that one of the original bishops, Mar John, was still

alive. The Christians were reported to be in a state of considerable prosperity and to have need of nothing; some of them had begun to build new churches.

Three of these bishops remain shadowy figures. But Mar Jacob was destined to survive till 1549, and to play a very important role in the life of the Thomas Christians during that long period.

Friendly relations had by now been established between the Thomas Christians and the Portuguese, who in various places were their neighbours. These relations were from the first compromised by a fatal misunderstanding that was later to be the cause of much embitterment. From the start the Portuguese had no difficulty in accepting the Thomas Christians as Christians on a basis of mutual recognition and friendship. They showed sympathetic understanding for the differences in rite and customs which had grown up during the long isolation in which these Christians had lived, but they were confident that these defects could easily be rectified; their new friends would rejoice to find themselves under the jurisdiction of the great patriarch of the West, and would learn quietly to abandon the heresies of Nestorius which they had been beguiled into accepting in the dark days before the coming of the Portuguese. What the Portuguese failed from the start, and through long years, to understand was the intensity of the attachment of the Thomas Christians to the ancient ways and in particular to Syriac their liturgical language. They did not regard themselves as being in any way inferior to the Christians of the West; what they had received from the Great Thomas himself they would maintain to their dying day. They did not deny that in certain respects improvements were possible. But images they would not have, very naturally, living as they did in an idolatrous country; and, whatever respect they might be persuaded to accord to the distant pope, this must not be allowed in any way to diminish their regard for the nearer patriarch to whom they had always been profoundly attached. Those who lived in the neighbourhood of the great Portuguese centres came in time to be deeply influenced by them; the majority who lived in remote places in the hills were subject to no such influences, and, when the time came, would show that their ancient loyalties had been neither weakened nor undermined.

3 THE PORTUGUESE TAKE A HAND

Not many days passed before the Thomas Christians found occasion to ask the help of their new friends from the west. They were much concerned that their rights of civil and criminal jurisdiction among themselves should not be infringed by the Hindu rulers. Albuquerque was able to assure them that

their rights had been safeguarded in the treaty which he had concluded with the queen of Quilon, and that his factor had been instructed to see to it that the terms of the treaty were strictly adhered to. In gratitude for this favour, the Christians wished to send to the king of Portugal the golden cross which was the principal ornament of their church. Albuquerque replied that he would take only a silver cross 'as a sign that there were Christians in that land who worshipped the Cross whereon our Lord Jesus Christ had suffered; for this was (as it were) the gold with which the king of Portugal would be most pleased'.¹⁴

It is further recorded that Albuquerque left with them Fr Rodrigo, a Dominican, 'and he took such care during the days that he was there that with his teaching and good example he converted many heathen to the faith of Jesus Christ, and baptized many Christians thirty and forty years of age, as they did not remember whether they had been baptized or not'.¹⁵ This note raises interesting questions about the state of the Thomas Christians. Were the priests so few that in many places baptism was not administered? Or does this indicate the survival of the ancient custom that only the bishop baptised?¹⁶ If that were so, in times when there was no bishop there would have been no baptisms, and this would explain how it came about that so many adults did not know whether they had been baptised or not. When the opportunity was offered, they had apparently no objection to being baptised by a Western priest.

The attempts of the Portuguese to bring the Thomas Christians into conformity with every detail of Roman doctrine and practice seem to have begun with Fr Alvaro Penteado, a priest who came to India in 1510 or 1511 of his own volition, and after some years in Goa was sent by the Portuguese governor to Cranganore to care for the Thomas Christians since 'that has the head and primacy among them'. Our main authority for the work of Penteado is a letter written by him, probably in 1518. Penteado is condemned out of his own mouth as one of those narrow-minded Roman Catholic priests, of whom Bishop Roz was later to complain so bitterly, as not understanding anything at all that was not of the Roman rite and condemning everything else at once as heresy and superstition.¹⁷ Everything was to be done according to the Roman rite and everything else was to be classed simply as 'error'. Penteado managed to quarrel with the 'chief priest' of Cranganore, who may have been none other than Joseph the Indian, and who forbade his Portuguese colleague to enter the principal church in Cranganore.

The bad impression which Penteado gives of himself is confirmed by others. The vicar general Sebastian Pires writes to King John III from Cochin in 1527,

Your majesty sent Fr Alvaro Penteado there, but he does not seem to me the right man, for he is extremely obstinate and has a very hot temper; and the people, who have been Christians from the time of St Thomas, are very little satisfied with him, and this they told me already many times . . . with me these Christians are on good terms.¹⁸

Even more significant is the protest of the gentle Mar Jacob to King John that Penteado was baptising Christians, using the full and to them unfamiliar ritual of the Roman church:

Do not imagine that I am so innocent and so ignorant in matters of religion that I do not know the sacred Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments in all that pertains to the question of baptism, even though it be the case that I am not instructed in the usages of the popes and in the Roman usage. But if, even in spite of this, you give orders that I am to allow the said Alvaro Penteado and other Fathers to baptize, I will permit it. But, as it seems to me, you will forfeit the friendship of these Christians, since they hold me in great respect, and do not wish that anyone else should baptize as long as I am alive.¹⁹

Mar Jacob writes in even stronger terms in a letter of 30 December 1530: 'I do not take Fr Alvaro Penteado with me when I go there . . . I do not dare to do so for fear of the people, who are not on very good terms with him.'²⁰

Not all Roman Catholics were as unpleasant as Fr Penteado. Fr Vincent de Lagos had been one of the companions of the first bishop of Goa John d'Albuquerque on his voyage to India in 1538. Not a single writer of the time has a word to say against him; he made on all, and not least on Francis Xavier, a deep impression of sincerity, zeal and devotion. Vincent, as convinced as any of his contemporaries that the Thomas Christians must be brought into complete conformity with Rome at every point, had seen that the only way in which this could be brought about was the replacement of the old race of *cattanārs* (priests), deeply imbued as these were with the ancient customs of the Eastern churches, by a new race of young priests, into whom from their youth up the hitherto unfamiliar customs of the Roman church had been instilled. A college for the training of Indian priests must be brought into being. The Thomas Christians were deeply attached to their ancient customs and usages, and so held the Indian clergy in far deeper affection than the European priests, though the latter were of notably better quality than the former.²¹

The place chosen was Cranganore. Plans for the building of a Portuguese fort at this great centre of the Thomas Christians had been made as early as 1524. But the project languished, and it was not until 1536 that building work was taken seriously in hand. By 1540 all was in readiness, and this was the date chosen also for the foundation of the college of St James. The name

indicated what was to be expected of this college. If it had been called after St Thomas, it might have been supposed that it was to be a college on Indian lines. Instead of this, here there was to be nothing that would remind the pupils of their origin and of their old traditions.

Vincent had, however, been prudent enough to secure ecclesiastical approval for his work. Mar Jacob had realised the contribution that the better education now offered by the Portuguese might make to the future well-being of the Thomas Christians. When he arrived from Mesopotamia in 1503 he had found few *cattanārs*, and those not well instructed in the faith. There was no seminary and no tradition of theological learning. The priests were chosen regularly from a number of leading families, and it was held to be an honour to have a priest in the family. But candidates were not always numerous. The intending *cattanār* would spend some time with an older priest, and would learn from him enough Syriac to enable him to carry out the complex ceremonies of the liturgy, and enough theology to qualify him to give elementary religious instruction to children. But that was all.²² The *cattanārs* rarely preached. They were not qualified to build up an Indian tradition in theology, or to carry on evangelistic work among the non-Christians around them. To Mar Jacob higher education for his clergy must have seemed an attractive idea.

The college seems from the start to have been in favour with the Thomas Christians even more than with Vincent's Franciscan brethren in Cochin.²³ It was not long before boys began to come in, and by 1548 Vincent had a flock of seventy pupils, many of them from the best families among the Thomas Christians.²⁴

From accounts that have been preserved it is clear that the college was in point of fact a seminary.²⁵ The boys spent a great deal of their time in church or in processions. Study was mainly of the Latin and Portuguese languages, no attention being paid to Syriac or Malayālam, except that some boys may have learnt enough Syriac to enable them to celebrate the Eastern *Qurbāna*. The liturgy was invariably that of the Roman rite. It was taken for granted that the Portuguese bishop of Goa, and later of Cochin, was their bishop and that, when the time for ordinations came, these would be performed by the foreign bishop and not by Mar Jacob.²⁶

Testimonies in favour of the college and of the excellent work carried on there are not lacking. Already in 1545 Xavier was telling the king of Portugal that

within a few years we may hope that religious men will emerge from that college, who will bring the whole of Malabar, how deeply sunk it may be at the present time in vices and errors, to a saving sense of shame at its miserable condition and will bring to those blind minds the light of Christ and will manifest his name.²⁷

Three years later John Pereira, the captain of Cochin, writes to the king that the students

are of such good life and doctrine as I never expected in these parts. Among them there are already three clerics of the mass [priests], ten of the epistle and Gospel [sub-deacon and deacon]. On the first of this January one celebrated his first mass. And they are of such good life that Frey Vincent needs for this college no other colleague; his own boys with the help of God should produce much fruit, spreading themselves through the land with the good doctrine and example which are given by them.²⁸

Great things were expected of the college. But in point of fact a fatal error had been built into its very foundation. It was believed that by Latinising a group of boys it would be possible to Latinise a whole church, and that this would be a good thing to do. Later years showed, what had already begun to be evident as early as 1540, that there was no art or device of man by which the Thomas Christians could be completely Latinised. In the early days parents were delighted with the quality of the education given to their sons, and by the effects of good Western discipline on their characters. Later they were dismayed to find aliens in their homes, and aliens so arrogant as to disparage the ancient ways of their people, and to accept as good nothing that did not fit in with what they had been taught in the college. It was found that priestlings from St James were wholly unacceptable in the parishes; they could find employment only in the missionary work of the church, or in parishes in which Portuguese was spoken. Many of the Indian priests mentioned in the records of the next forty years of the mission seem to have been waifs and orphans of this type; they remain shadowy and considerable figures.²⁹

4 BISHOPS – SYRIAN AND OTHERS

It seems that about the year 1543 Mar Jacob, feeling the weight of years, withdrew from active direction of the affairs of the Serra and settled in the Franciscan convent of St Antony in Cochin (he had a long-standing friendship with the friars of that convent). Though not an outstanding leader, Mar Jacob was a man of great integrity highly respected by all who knew him. In a letter dated 26 January 1549 Xavier urges the king of Portugal to show him special favour:

There is a bishop from Armenia named Abuna Jacob, who for forty-five years has been serving God and your highness in these parts, a very old man, virtuous and holy and at the same time disfavoured by your highness and almost by all here in India . . . May it please your highness to write him a letter expressing much

affection . . . he has been working much among the Thomas Christians, and moreover in his old age he has become highly obedient to the usages of our holy mother the church of Rome.³⁰

Xavier is not suggesting, as some have supposed, that Mar Jacob had lost the confidence of his own people by going too far in the direction of Rome. The bishop had rendered considerable services to the Portuguese in making sure that they could buy good quality pepper at reasonable prices, and for this he had received no adequate reward. Now in his old age he did not so much need temporal help – the Franciscans were seeing to his needs; but it would be a gratification to him to know that he was held in honour by the king and that his services had not gone unrecognised.

How far had Mar Jacob gone in adapting himself to the ways of the Roman Catholic church?

Clear information on the subject is lacking. He was not a man who loved controversy. Living as he did among the Franciscans, he is not likely to have insisted on customs that would cause them offence. He certainly recognised the value of some Latin practices, and may have moved some distance towards the adoption of them. We are told by one authority that, being a virtuous man, he put an end to the tyranny, long established among the Thomas Christians, of charging a fee for baptism. He is also said to have introduced the custom of private confession, and to have translated into Syriac the Latin formula of absolution. Whether he went further than this must be regarded as doubtful. For the last seven years of his life he was living in a Franciscan convent where the Latin mass was celebrated every day. With few, if any, of his own people around him, he cannot have had many opportunities of celebrating the Syriac *Qurbāna* to which he had been accustomed from his boyhood. It may be taken as probable that he regularly attended the Latin service, and received communion at the hands of the Franciscans.³¹

One touching occurrence is related in connection with the death of Mar Jacob. On his death bed he asked his friend Pero Sequeira to redeem for him the copper-plate grant recording the privileges of the Thomas Christians, about which he had written to the king of Portugal in 1523, but which he had later given in pledge to a man in the interior for twenty cruzados. Before his death he had the happiness of knowing that this had been done.³²

The first half century of relations between the Portuguese and the Thomas Christians were, in spite of misunderstandings, on the whole marked by cordiality and good will. Mar Jacob had maintained good relations with the Westerners throughout the long period of his episcopate, and was rewarded by the good opinions expressed by many concerning him. With his death the entire situation changed. There was a hardening of the Roman attitude

towards these Christians, now regarded as dissident, and a consequent and growing resentment among the Indian Christians at what they regarded as infringement of their rights and liberties.

The history of this remote corner of the Christian world cannot be considered in isolation from what was happening in other parts of the world nearer to the great centres of the Christian tradition. Since the fourth century the bishops of Rome had been engaged in a quiet but ceaseless struggle to impose their supremacy on the entire Christian world. This supremacy, as distinct from a certain primacy of the See of Peter, was never accepted by the Eastern churches, and was one of the many causes that underlie the lasting separation between East and West. At times Eastern patriarchs found it convenient to link themselves to Rome, as at the Council of Florence in 1415; but such links were soon severed by a patriotic and anti-Western reaction in the East. But the East itself was divided, and much of the history is the record of rivalries and contentions between patriarchs of one school or another and their followers.

When the modern period in history begins, the patriarchate of the East was located in Antioch, where the patriarch was recognised to be the successor of Peter, the first bishop of Antioch. In view of Zoroastrian, and later of Muslim, oppression, and of the difficulties of communication, much independence was granted to the catholicos of Seleucia, resident at Diarbekir in Mesopotamia. The catholicos claimed, and was recognised to have, the right to appoint bishops and metropolitans for the remoter areas, and these unquestionably included India. Attempts to have been made to show that these Eastern prelates were in communion with Rome,³³ but the evidence is less than convincing, and it is likely that the connections between Rome and this part of the Christian world, if they existed at all, were tenuous.

The question of authority was raised in dramatic form by events which took place in the year 1552. On the death of the catholicos Simon VII bar Māmā, a monk named John, abbot of the convent of Rabban Hormizd, was elected as catholicos and took the name Simon Sulākā.³⁴ This, however, did not satisfy all the bishops, since the custom had long been established (and was maintained until the twentieth century) that the catholicos should be succeeded by his nephew, and John did not stand in the right relationship to his predecessor. Accordingly a number of bishops chose Simon bar Denha, a nephew of Simon bar Māmā, to succeed to the vacant throne. Anxious to win the support of Rome against his rival, Sulākā made the long journey to Rome, and presented a confession of faith which proved acceptable. He did not long enjoy his powers, since on his return to his home in Mosul the rival party stirred up the enmity of the Turks against him, and in 1555 procured his assassination. The adherents of the pro-Roman party then elected one

Ebed Jesu ('Abdišo') to succeed him; this was the 'Abdišo' who signed the acts of the Council of Trent as patriarch of Syria, India and China.

As soon as convenient Ebed Jesu took thought for his wider responsibilities, consecrated as bishops for India one Joseph the brother of Simon Sulākā with the title of Mar Joseph, and another as Mar Elias, and sent them off with the Maltese Dominican bishop Ambrose Buttigeg, who had been given to Mar Joseph as his companion and papal nuncio, to take charge of affairs in India. This action of Ebed Jesu, who had been chosen as loyal to the Roman cause, shows clearly that he assumed that he, and no one else, had the right to consecrate bishops for the Thomas Christians and to send them out in his name, and that no one else could claim any authority in the matter at all.

The new bishops arrived in Goa in November 1556, but their reception was not exactly what they had expected. Their credentials were perfectly in order, but every possible step was taken to prevent their reaching the Serra. The ecclesiastical authorities in Goa had already reached a firm determination to bring the Thomas Christians under the sole jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome; the civil authorities were one with them in this intention, and took the view that no Chaldaean bishops were in any circumstances to be admitted, especially as such bishops, whatever their professions, might be suspected of being crypto-Nestorians. So Ambrose Buttigeg was held at Goa, by no means the only bishop to find himself marooned in Goa for an indefinite period, and employed himself usefully in teaching and preaching. The two Chaldaeans were committed to the care of Antony da Porto SJ in Bassein.³⁵

The two Eastern bishops made a favourable impression on all who met them by their sober, devout and disciplined life. 'They are so quiet and retiring, that they do not go out, unless absolutely necessary, spending all their time in prayer and contemplation, studying the sacred Scriptures and the saintly doctors.' At first they said mass only in Syriac. But gradually, isolated as they were in little Bassein, separated from all of their own kind and with absolutely nothing to do, they began to yield to the Latinising influences by which they were surrounded. Fr Antony tells us that he taught them to say mass in Latin with all the accessories of the Roman rite; after a little practice they were able to do this to the edification of all beholders. Fr Antony adds the interesting note that 'the only thing that is unusual is that their pronunciation is like that of Italians or Frenchmen'. He further explained to them the reasons for which they could not go to the Serra, as the bishop of Goa was the bishop of Malabar, 'and of the whole of India, and of all the other parts of the Orient conquered by your highness, and that no one without his leave could interfere with the Christians of those parts'. Fr Antony concludes his letter by urging that the king of Portugal should send

a bishop to the Serra with a special mandate giving him authority over the Thomas Christians, and that he should ask the pope to inform the patriarch that he should in no circumstances send a bishop to the Serra.

After eighteen months Buttigeg and his companions managed to make their way by somewhat devious routes to the Serra. Buttigeg died in Cochin not long after his arrival,³⁶ and Mar Elias returned to his own archbishopric of Diarbekir in Mesopotamia.³⁷ Joseph was left alone, and, for the time being unhindered by the Portuguese, was able to minister to his fellow-churchmen, among whom, as it seems, he introduced the previously unknown rites of auricular confession, confirmation and extreme unction.³⁸

Before long, however, doubts were raised as to the orthodoxy of Mar Joseph. He was apprehended and packed off to Goa, and thence to Lisbon. There he managed to secure the favour of the queen and of Cardinal Henry, the uncle of the king, and by them was sent back to India having fully cleared himself of all suspicion. He arrived in 1565. But his new freedom did not last long. The first Council of Goa, held in 1567, took up his case, and concluded that all the charges against him had been proved; so once again he was sent off to Portugal. From there he managed to make his way to Rome, and for the second time was able to prove his innocence to the satisfaction of the Roman authorities. He was just about to return to India, to be once again a thorn in the side of the Latinisers, when death relieved them of his unwelcome presence.

5 THE MYSTERIOUS MAR ABRAHAM

Just about this time the Jesuits began to take a more active part in the affairs of the Thomas Christians. Fr Carneiro³⁹ was in Cochin, and while there received news that a heretical bishop, presumably a Nestorian, had arrived secretly and was at work in the remoter parts of the Serra, where he had perverted many.⁴⁰ This could not be endured; so Carneiro set himself to the task, never before undertaken by any of the Portuguese missionaries, of penetrating the inner parts of the Serra.⁴¹ His account of his doings is rather confused, and the difficulty invariably experienced by the Portuguese in transcribing Indian names makes it difficult to follow his route. He does not seem to have travelled very far. He was in the 'pepper kingdom', Vadakkankur, and in the neighbourhood of Ankamāli – in the absence of roads and amid wild scenery the distance may have seemed to him longer than it actually was. He was welcomed by one *cattanār*, who had adhered to the Roman ways, and was received eagerly by the common people, who had never before seen a missionary in their midst. But he was unsuccessful in his attempt to locate the elusive bishop, to bring him to a confrontation and to persuade him to abandon his Nestorian errors. In one church which he tried

to enter he found his way barred by the *cattanār* in charge. Before reaching Ankamāli, he was warned not to proceed any further, since two thousand of the Christians had declared themselves *amoces* of the bishop, desperadoes prepared to sell their own lives in defence of his. Just at this moment an urgent message reached Carneiro from the patriarch of Ethiopia⁴² bidding him come to Goa in order that he might be consecrated as assistant bishop for Ethiopia.⁴³ So Carneiro was fain to quit the Serra, with little effected, but leaving behind him the memory of a devoted missionary, and bringing with him a good deal of reliable information as to the state of the Thomas Christians at that time.

There were now two patriarchs of Babylon, one subject to the Roman obedience, and the other maintaining the ancient liberties of the Eastern churches. It seems clear that the independent patriarch, acting in response to a petition from the Serra, had consecrated a Thomas Christian as metropolitan, had given him the name Mar Abraham, and despatched him to India, where he arrived in or about the year 1565, and immediately found himself in rivalry with Mar Joseph. The Portuguese managed to arrest him and sent him off to Europe. But on the way he succeeded in escaping at Moçambique, whence he made his way to Mosul, and presented himself to Ebed Jesu ('Abdišo'), the pro-Roman patriarch. This prelate wrote to the archbishop of Goa, on 24 August 1567, that while Abraham was with him 'he helped him much in everything, and in all obedience to the great church of Rome; and, after he had consecrated him metropolitan, he had sent him with letters to our lord Pope Pius IV'.⁴⁴ Arrived in Rome, Abraham explained to the pope a dilemma in which he found himself. All the orders which he had received had been conferred in the independent Eastern church, and were therefore from the strict Roman point of view invalid. Ebed Jesu was unaware of this, when he consecrated him metropolitan. The pope agreed that the consecration in Mosul was highly dubious. In order to set all doubts at rest, he arranged for all the orders up to and including the episcopate to be quietly conferred on Mar Abraham, who thus for the third time found himself a mitred bishop, this time with the august approval of the Roman bishop himself. Being now satisfied of his orthodoxy and his obedience to the Roman See, the pope sent him off to the Serra, having requested the patriarch Ebed Jesu to divide the diocese between Mar Joseph and Mar Abraham. (This arrangement was never carried into effect, since Mar Joseph died in 1569.) Mar Abraham, having eluded the authorities in Goa, who as usual were suspicious and hostile, made his way to his diocese where he was acclaimed as the sole and undoubted metropolitan of the Serra.

Abraham's first task was to ordain all the priests whom he had ordained during his first visit to the Serra, since he now held that at that time he had not been a bishop.

For the remaining twenty-six years of his life the situation of Mar Abraham was difficult and precarious. It is impossible to defend him against the charges of tergiversation and dishonesty in his dealings with the Portuguese; but his conduct may seem less odious if his difficulties are fairly considered. He seems to have been sincerely anxious to keep on good terms with the pope. At the same time it was clear to him that his primary loyalty was to the patriarch in Mosul, and that hindrances must be placed in the way of the policy of extreme Latinisation favoured by the Portuguese clerics and the civil authorities. When all this is borne in mind, he seems to have played his cards with considerable skill.

First he wrote to the patriarch, warning him of the intended aggression against his jurisdiction over the churches of the East. He attached a request from a number of the leading Thomas Christians to the effect that five bishops would be needed to care adequately for the Christians of the Serra, but that in no case should a Latin bishop be sent, since, in view of the deep attachment of the people to the Chaldaean bishops, the very life of a bishop of another sort would be in danger.

Next, Abraham asserted his independence against the Latin authorities. The Second Council of Goa had laid down⁴⁵ that the Christians of the Serra should be under the jurisdiction of a bishop sent by the king of Portugal and not from Chaldaea. If this was not possible, the pope should instruct the archbishop of Ankamāli to attend the council, since he had no suffragans with whom to form a provincial council of his own, and because of the great distance it would be difficult for him to go to Syria. Abraham refused to go to Goa, and wrote to the pope defending his absence; he had no confidence at all in the Portuguese, and, in view of what had happened to other Eastern bishops, his attitude should cause no surprise. We have an interesting letter from the rājā of Cochin to the pope, in which he plumes himself on treating the Christians with no difference from others who are more directly his subjects, and defends the archbishop as duly 'obedient to the holy apostolic see' in spite of his failure to attend the council.⁴⁶ The pope sends a courteous reply, acknowledging the letter of the rājā, and expressing the wish that he may soon come to the recognition of that genuine and highest blessedness which the true religion teaches, and also to the adoption of the same.⁴⁷

More important is a letter from the cardinal of Como, Peter Wenzel, to the pope, urging upon him the formal recognition of the archbishop, and also of the archdeacon, the importance of whose position in the affairs of the church had now become known to the authorities in Rome. The archbishop should be instructed to attend the next council, but '*senza timore di alcuna vessatione o molesta*'. The Portuguese bishops must be told to receive him with all honour as a prelate canonically elected. Also the archdeacon, George

(a worthy person, and very well suited for the administration of this diocese), should be named as the administrator of the diocese in the event of the death of Mar Abraham.⁴⁸

The pope seems to have agreed to the second of these requests, and to have authorised the consecration of the archdeacon as bishop of Pālayur and as suffragan and successor to the archbishop. This consecration was, however, never carried out.⁴⁹

These references to the archdeacon require some elucidation. The administration of the church of the Serra was different from that of the majority of the Christian churches. Since the bishop was always a foreigner, with no more than a somewhat rudimentary knowledge of the local language, it was essential that he should have the services of a competent administrator, familiar with Malayālam, and with all the customs of Hindus, Muslims, Jews and Christians. This person was the archdeacon. The Thomas Christians treated, and treat, their bishops with immense reverence. But the bishop was a somewhat remote figure, surrounded by an aura of majesty. The archdeacon was the one with whom the Christians had to do in all matters of practical relevance, and in all their relationships with the many non-Christian powers by which their lives were so largely conditioned. There were among the Thomas Christians two families of especial distinction, which, as was believed, had been endowed by the apostle Thomas himself with sacerdotal powers.⁵⁰ The archdeacon always belonged to the Pakalomarṇam family. In earlier times he seems never to have aspired to the episcopal dignity, perhaps because in those days he was not required to abstain from marriage, whereas the rule of episcopal celibacy was strictly observed in the Chaldaean church. At the start the Portuguese were hardly aware of the importance of the archdeacon in all ecclesiastical affairs; experience was to teach them.

Mar Abraham was more favourable to the Jesuits than to the Portuguese secular clergy, and was glad to make use of them for the reformation of the churches in his diocese. Their great achievement was the foundation of a seminary at Vaippikkotta not far from Cranganore. After the death of Fr Vincent de Lagos in 1552 the old Franciscan seminary at Cranganore had languished, there being no one to carry it on with equal zeal and devotion. The Jesuit seminary soon began to attract students by the excellence both of its discipline and of the instruction given. Moreover it had been fortunate in securing the services of an able Father, who had realised the dangers implicit in the policy of extreme Latinisation pursued by others. Francis Roz, in addition to acquiring a good knowledge of Malayālam, had been to Mar Abraham to learn Syriac. In 1584, in face of considerable opposition from the Latinisers, he added a course in Syriac to the curriculum. The future students of the seminary were not to be wholly alienated from the traditions

of their fathers. One of the teachers at the seminary was Fr Peter Luis, a Brāhman convert from Quilon, who was later to become the first Indian member of the Society of Jesus.⁵¹

Apart from the presence of a rival Chaldaean bishop Mar Simon, who was supported by some of the Franciscans,⁵² the Serra enjoyed for ten years a period of peaceful development, so much so that in 1583 it was possible to hold a diocesan synod. Two years later Mar Abraham had so far recovered confidence in the Portuguese as to feel able to attend the third Council of Goa. Here a further humiliation awaited him. On the ground that, in ordinations carried out by him, at the *porrectio instrumentorum* there had been no wine in the chalice handed to the newly ordained priest, the Roman authorities in Goa declared that all these ordinations were invalid.⁵³ Mar Abraham found it advisable to submit to this humiliation, on 24 November 1585 dutifully signed those decrees of the council which dealt with the affairs of the Serra, and on his return ordained all his priests for the third time.

In spite of this complaisance the closing years of Mar Abraham were not to be free from trouble. The accusations made against him by the Westerners may be summed up under four heads:⁵⁴

The archbishop, at the council, had promised to revise the service books of the Thomas Christians and to purge them of all traces of Nestorian heresy; he has failed to take any steps to carry out this undertaking.

In 1590 he refused to ordain the candidates put forward by the Vaippikkotta seminary, presumably on the grounds that they had been too deeply Latinised to be acceptable in the churches of the Serra.

The archbishop is simoniacal and sells the sacraments. This charge, constantly repeated, rested on a misunderstanding. The Western church had provided a steady income for its clergy, usually in the form of manors for bishops, and glebe land for priests. The Eastern churches made no such provision, the clergy being dependent on occasional offerings made by the faithful, for the priests especially at marriage and for the bishop especially at ordination. Either system is susceptible of grave abuse; but each is an attempt to take seriously the injunction of St Paul that those who serve the Gospel are entitled to live of the Gospel.

When Mar Abraham prays for his patriarch, he refers to him as universal pastor and head of all Christians, titles which belong of right only to the bishop of Rome.

In the present state of research it is impossible to say how far these allegations were well founded. If they were true, they would undoubtedly, in the eyes of those brought up in the strict paths of Tridentine orthodoxy,

constitute evidence that Mar Abraham had departed from the faith. The Thomas Christians might well have regarded them as no more than a legitimate protest made by an Eastern archbishop against attempts to change the order of an ancient Eastern church.

Old and weary, Mar Abraham died in February 1597.⁵⁵

6 MENEZES AND THE SYNOD OF DIAMPER

Mar Abraham before his death had appointed the archdeacon George as vicar general of the diocese. The new archbishop of Goa, Alexis de Menezes, tried to set this on one side and to appoint Francis Roz to the position. As it appeared that the reaction of the Thomas Christians to this proposal was likely to be violent, the archbishop found it prudent to give way and to accept the appointment of the archdeacon.⁵⁶ But George was so evasive, rejecting one after the other all the restrictions which the archbishop tried to impose upon him, that deep distrust grew up between the two men.

Alexis de Menezes, aristocratic, well connected and well educated, was only thirty-five years old, when in 1595 he was appointed to the dignity of archbishop of Goa and primate of the east.⁵⁷ From the point of view of the Portuguese a better choice could not have been made. The new archbishop was a man of considerable personal courage, endowed with charm and diplomatic skill, devout according to the strictest letter of Tridentine orthodoxy, and of an inflexible will.

Of one thing Menezes was absolutely certain – that his was the supreme ecclesiastical authority in the East, and that the Thomas Christians must be led to acknowledge that authority, to return to that unconditional obedience to the bishop of Rome from which they should never have departed, and to accept only such bishops as might be nominated by the pope to care for their spiritual welfare. The conjuncture of the times was propitious to the enterprise of Menezes. Since the death of Mar Abraham and the departure of Mar Simon, there was no one else in the Serra who could claim to be a legitimate bishop; and the Portuguese were keeping so careful a watch on the ports that it was very unlikely that any one pretending to the episcopal office would be able to slip through the net.

In other ways the moment was favourable. For once the civil and ecclesiastical authorities in the east were in agreement, and Menezes could count on support in all his actions both from the viceroy in Goa and from the captain of Cochin. The rājā of Cochin was at that time most anxious to avoid any friction with the Portuguese, and may have felt that it would be good to have the Portuguese on his side in the event of the Thomas Christians showing an inclination to assert an independence greater than that to which they had traditionally been entitled. Even among the Thomas Christians

there were some who felt that the favour of the Portuguese was a matter of great moment. They were deeply involved in the traffic in pepper, and had been able to render considerable services to the Portuguese in the development of their share in it. If the Portuguese and the rājā of Cochin combined against them, they might find themselves cut off from their share in the trade, and this was a greater risk than they were prepared to run.

The archdeacon had made a profession of faith which seemed to be satisfactory, and had received from the archbishop appointment as vicar general of the Serra. But it was not long before events took place which cast a dubious light on his sincerity. It seems that the archdeacon was still hoping that a bishop might come from Mesopotamia to replace Mar Abraham.⁵⁸ He was said to have declared that the document sent by the archbishop conveyed to him no authority beyond that which he already had as archdeacon, and that the pope of Rome had no more to do with the apostolical church of St Thomas than the church of Thomas had to do with that of Rome. At this time there was a happening which, though trivial in itself, is none the less significant as indicating the depth of the feeling among the Thomas Christians against what they regarded as the Roman aggression. One of the pupils of the Vaippikkotta seminary, while saying his daily office in church, was overheard by some of the *cattanārs* praying for the pope before the patriarch of Babylon; the priests treated him very roughly, turned him out of the church, and

spoke also to his father to whip him out of praying for the pope, who they said was none of their prelates, nor had anything to do with them. The Archbishop being informed thereof wrote immediately to the Arch-Deacon, commanding him to make examples of those impudent Hereticks for what they had said and done to the Boy; which the Arch-Deacon was so far from doing that he Honoured those men for it.⁵⁹

Clearly it was time for Menezes to carry out his projected visitation of the Serra – nothing but his personal presence could bring order into the situation. On 27 December 1598, disregarding the tears and warnings of those who tried to dissuade him from so perilous a venture, he set out from Goa, accompanied by a considerable retinue, and after a stay of sixteen days in Cannanore proceeded to Cochin, where he was splendidly received by the captain and the entire city.

From the start there were deep misunderstandings on both sides. The Thomas Christians regarded Menezes as a visitor whom it was their duty to receive with all friendship and courtesy, who should be permitted to celebrate mass in their churches, to preach to the people and to bless the congregation; but actions which implied jurisdiction, such as carrying out visitations, conferring orders, passing sentence of excommunication and

revoking it, could not be permitted. Menezes regarded himself as having full rights of jurisdiction, and being entitled to do exactly those things which in the judgement of the Thomas Christians were excluded.

The archbishop spent four months in carrying out a visitation of the Serra in preparation for the synod which it was his intention to convene. At the start he found himself faced with a solid wall of hostility; by the end of that time he had succeeded in imposing his authority and in winning over to his side no small part of the leadership among the Thomas Christians.

Among the most notable of his successes was the reduction of the archdeacon to submission. Menezes had declared on several occasions his intention of excommunicating George and replacing him by a *cattanār* named Thomas Kurian, a near relation of George. Those present interceded on behalf of the archdeacon; he was a young man who had fallen into the hands of evil counsellors; let the archbishop be patient, and he could be brought back into the right way. Menezes drew up a long list of conditions to be observed by the archdeacon, among them the pledge not to recognise any bishop other than those sent by the pope, and to secure good attendance at the synod which was shortly to be held. At last the two men met at Vaippikkotta. The archbishop treated the penitent with the greatest kindness, assured him that the past should all be forgotten, and permitted him to make his submission to Rome in private.⁶⁰ All went off well; but the feeling remains that neither man reposed any confidence in the other; nor was there any reason why he should.

For two years the Thomas Christians had been without a bishop, and for a number of years before that they had hardly ever seen Mar Abraham. Menezes took every opportunity of appearing before them in the full splendour of Western episcopal array. He preached by interpretation long sermons, in which he set forth the object of his mission, the duty of total submission which they owed to the pope, and the blessings which would come to them through being again admitted to the full fellowship of the one true church of Christ. On Easter Day at Kaṭutturutti he celebrated in full the rites of the day, accompanied by the Fathers and the students of the seminary. The people were deeply impressed by the splendour of the occasion and by the devout reverence manifested by all the participants.

The records surviving from this period are extensive, but they are all written exclusively from the Portuguese point of view. Even such occasional letters as that sent by the archdeacon to the pope on 20 December 1601,⁶¹ were clearly written by the Jesuits, and expressed rather what they felt should be said than what the alleged writer may actually have wished to say. Our chief authority, Antony Gouvea, seems, though his reliability has been questioned by some, to be an accurate and trustworthy recorder of events; but he too is a partisan in whose eyes Menezes can do no wrong. Only by

reading between the lines of his careful narrative is it possible to detect something of what was passing in the minds of the Thomas Christians.

This is specially the case when we come to consider the most questionable of the actions of the archbishop. He announced that on the Saturday before Passion Sunday he would confer holy orders in the church at Udiyampērūr (Diamper) not far from Cochin.⁶² At once the archdeacon was up in arms. He declared that this intention of the archbishop was contrary to the agreement reached between them that Menezes would perform no acts implying jurisdiction until after the conclusion of the synod which it had been agreed between them should be held. Menezes replied that that agreement was now out of date, and that he intended to exercise full jurisdiction according to the brief which he had received from his holiness the pope. The archdeacon then pleaded with him to ordain only Latins and not Syrians,⁶³ and that those whom he ordained should be sent to work only in the diocese of Cochin and not in the Serra. Menezes affirmed that he would ordain any whom he chose from either group, and that it was his express intention to bring to an end the separation between Latins and Syrians, and to bring all to a common obedience to the one pastor of the universal church.⁶⁴

The actions of Menezes were not lacking in shrewdness. He had noted the deep devotion felt by the *cattanārs* for the bishop who had ordained them. For a number of years there had been no ordinations, since Mar Abraham had refused to ordain students trained by the Jesuits, and from the time of his death there had been no bishop in the Serra. Menezes was aware that there were in the Serra a number of young men who desired to be ordained; by ordaining them he would attach them to himself by bonds of special devotion, and would thus assure himself of a strong party in his favour at the forthcoming synod. Ordination fees had been one of the main sources of income for the Syrian bishops; by remitting the fees and thus making possible the ordination of poorer students, Menezes would place many of the new *cattanārs* under special obligations to himself.

The manner in which Menezes acted must be held to have been both dishonest and high-handed. He repudiated a pledge which he had undoubtedly given. And he was anticipating the decisions of a synod, to be convened largely in order to determine the limits of the authority which might be exercised by a Western bishop over an Eastern church.

Objections notwithstanding, on the appointed day the candidates to the number of thirty-eight were drawn up before Menezes, and examined as to their character and morals and also as to the adequacy of their knowledge of Syriac.⁶⁵ Having made a comprehensive renunciation of the patriarch of Babylon and an act of comprehensive submission to the bishop of Rome, all the candidates were then ordained.

This was not the only occasion on which Menezes conferred holy orders.

Following up the success of his first venture, he gave notice throughout the Serra that he would hold an ordination service in the church at Paravūr on the fourth Sunday after Trinity.⁶⁶ No less than fifty candidates appeared, and after having made the usual renunciations and submissions were admitted to holy orders. Gouvea adds pointedly that 'these, together with those who had been ordained on other occasions,⁶⁷ constituted a goodly number on whom he could confidently count that they would be on his side, with their parents and other relations, in all that concerned the synod'.⁶⁸ Other *cattanārs* were also drawn into the official party by favours and kindnesses which Menezes had shown to them.

Brief mention should be made of two other methods used by Menezes to establish his hold on the minds of the Thomas Christians.

Wherever he went on his visitations, he was sedulous in his care for the sick and the afflicted, visiting them in their homes and providing for their needs by generous alms. The Christians could not but contrast his ways with those of their former Syrian bishops, who were accustomed to receive from the faithful rather than to give. They failed to note that Menezes had at his disposal the lavish funds provided by the king, which made him not only the third man in standing but also one of the richest men in the *Estado*.⁶⁹

This gentleness towards the Christians was matched by asperity towards the officials of the local rulers, to whom Menezes used such language as no other Christian would have dared to use. He was prepared to stand up to the princes themselves. In one letter he ventured to remind the *rājā* of Cochin that 'when our people entered upon friendship with the *rājās* of Cochin, they were very poor and insignificant princelings of Malabar, whereas today the Portuguese have enriched them and have added to their power'. Naturally the Christians were impressed by this kind of conduct. They seem to have concluded that, if they had as their bishop or prelate a Portuguese, they would be held in greater esteem by the non-Christians, and would not be troubled or tyrannised over by their arbitrary *rājās*.⁷⁰

All preparations having now been made, the next step was to hold the long-promised synod. The archbishop rejected the proposal that the synod should be held at Ankamāli, the ancient centre of the diocese, and fixed upon Diamper, mainly because of the propinquity of the Portuguese garrison on the help of which he would be able to count in the event of any disorder. On 11 May 1599 both the archbishop and the archdeacon sent out documents, summoning all the *cattanārs* and four representatives from each parish to be present at Diamper on the day appointed for the opening of the synod, 20 June 1599.⁷¹ This done, Menezes together with his attendants withdrew to the seminary at Vaippikkotta, and spent four weeks in the arduous labour of drawing up in Portuguese the decrees which were to be passed by the synod, and securing the translation of them into Malayālam. The acts and decrees

of the synod fill more than three hundred pages in the English translation made by Michael Geddes; from this it is possible to judge the speed and vigour with which Menezes and his assistants carried out their task.

On the appointed day *cattanārs* to the number of 153,⁷² and lay representatives to the number of 650,⁷³ were gathered together in Diamper. With them were assembled the entire chapter of the cathedral of Cochin, the Portuguese captain Antony de Noronha, a man much esteemed by Christians and non-Christians alike, many of the civic authorities of the city, and a number of others who had come out of curiosity to see what was going on. The local rulers, suspicious that, whatever might be said, the real aim of the meeting was to withdraw the Christians from their due and natural allegiance, had their spies everywhere.

Menezes was concerned that everything that was done at the synod should be understood by all, in order that none should have the opportunity to say afterwards that he had been tricked into accepting what he had not understood. Therefore, before any business was transacted, he insisted that a competent interpreter must be chosen. The choice fell upon a *cattanār*, Jacob, who was well skilled in both languages, with, to help him 'and in case he was at any time at fault, to correct him', Francis Roz SJ and Antony Toscana SJ. The archbishop then celebrated solemn pontifical mass *ad tollendum schisma*, and Francis Roz preached to the great edification of all present. One important decree was passed on this first day, forbidding all on pain of excommunication to assemble in any kind of *Juntoes* (Geddes), small meetings, to discuss any matters relating to the synod, without express permission from the archbishop, a prohibition which it proved impossible to enforce.

The second day was entirely taken up with receiving from the participants the profession and declaration of the faith. The profession and oath⁷⁴ had been drawn up in extended form, to lay stress upon those articles of the Tridentine faith which had previously been unknown to the Thomas Christians, and to repudiate all Nestorian error and in particular all allegiance to the patriarch of Babylon, 'whom I condemn, reject and anathematize as being a Nestorian heretic and schismatic, and out of the obedience of the holy Roman church, and for that reason out of a state of salvation'. Such professions of faith were unfamiliar and disagreeable to many of those present. To quiet their minds, Menezes himself put off his mitre, and kneeling before the altar made the whole profession in a loud voice. Even so there was much murmuring among the people. They had always been Christians; why should they now make professions of the faith as though previously they had not had it? When the archdeacon followed the example of Menezes, the opposition was stilled and others were prepared to do the same. The proceedings took no less than seven hours, during the

whole of which Menezes sat robed upon his throne. On that day no other business was carried through.

The third day should have been given to questions of faith. But at the request of the Thomas Christians these were postponed till the feast of John the Baptist (24 June), when it was known that no Portuguese would be present, and the arraignment of Nestorian doctrines could be carried out in a private session of the synod. The amount of work to be got through was immense; it was therefore agreed that sessions should be held every day from seven till eleven in the morning, and from two till six in the afternoon. More discussion and questioning was allowed than from the authoritarian temper of Menezes might have been expected. But steps were taken to quell such opposition as was threatened, and to meet argument by counter-argument. Six elderly *cattanārs* had been chosen as counsellors, and to them everything was explained in advance of the sessions.

The fourth day was spent in closed session to which no Portuguese were admitted. Morning, afternoon, and through a large part of the night the sessions continued, in accordance with the request of the Thomas Christians that everything relating to major issues of doctrine should be concluded on that one day. It was decided that certain books should be burned and others purged of errors and corrected, and that major changes should be introduced in the services for Advent and Christmas Day which were found to be gravely affected by Nestorian ways of thinking.

So the days passed in this tedious and exacting labour. The number and variety of the decrees passed indicates the extent of the knowledge which the archbishop had acquired of all the affairs of the church of the Serra. He saw his role as that of the judge – *cuncta stricte discussurus* – nothing was too small to attract his attention, and no error must be allowed to persist in any nook or cranny.⁷⁵ One principle ruled all his actions – everything must be reduced to the most exact conformity with Rome and the Roman ways; Trent had spoken, and the words of Trent are the direct expression of the divine wisdom. From now on *cattanārs* must be unmarried. All the seven sacraments must be accepted, and superstitious usages must be given up. The one exception was in the field of liturgy. By now Menezes had realised the intense affection felt by the Thomas Christians for the Syriac language and the Eastern rites. They should be allowed to keep their own liturgy, but the rite should be purged of everything that was unacceptable by Tridentine standards.

Much of what was achieved at the synod was good. For instance, the division of the whole area of the Serra into parishes was clearly a sensible measure. There had been great laxity in administration and in practice. Isolated as they had been for centuries from all other Christians and living in the midst of a far more numerous Hindu population, the Thomas Christians had inevitably been influenced by their non-Christian neighbours and had

come to include among their customs elements which could not easily be reconciled with Christian faith. For instance, Christians had adopted from the Hindus the practice of ordeals, such as touching a red-hot iron, putting the hand in boiling oil, or swimming across a river infested with crocodiles. Such practices were forbidden by decree no. 257. Many of the reforms introduced by the synod were desirable. But the ruthlessness of Menezes in his handling of this ancient and venerable church, and the rigidity with which he excluded everything that did not exactly conform to Roman usage, can hardly be commended, and were in fact likely to prove counter-productive.⁷⁶

When all was done, a final opportunity was given for those who had doubts or objections to raise them. Some difficulties were raised and dealt with. Then followed the signing of the decrees. Naturally the archbishop signed first, and then the archdeacon, followed by the priests and deacons, and then by the lay people in order due, each declaring that he had accepted the decrees without compulsion and of his own free-will. When all was done, the archbishop fell on his knees and began to intone the canticle *Te Deum Laudamus* with great joy. Then all formed themselves up for a solemn procession, in front the people singing songs in Malayālam, then the *cattanārs* chanting in Syriac, finally the priests who had come with Menezes or who had come over from Cochin singing hymns and psalms in Latin, so that, as Gouvea phrases it, God who is Three in One was exalted and praised in three languages, Malayālam and Syriac and Latin, without confusion, by one people, united and fashioned in the unity of faith, hope and charity.

One adverse circumstance threatened to mar the joy of the proceedings. This was monsoon time. The sky was black with clouds, with storm and tempest, and so heavy a rain was falling that it seemed impossible that the cross-bearer should take even a single step outside the church. To some this presented itself as a clear sign of the disapproval of God – God was approving the old ways and passing judgement on the new. Menezes knew well what was passing in the minds of the people and was determined that the procession must go forward, with whatever danger to copes and to tempers. Twice he cried out in a voice of thunder that the cross must move. He was obeyed. As the cross-bearer stepped out of the church, the rain stopped, the clouds disappeared and the sky was as clear as though it had never rained. Luck had been with Menezes all through, and it remained with him to the last.

After the end of the synod Menezes remained in the Serra for a further six months to complete the visitation which he had begun earlier in the year. This involved him in very great labour. The nature of his proceedings has been admirably summarised by W. Germann:

The proceedings in all the visitations was the same – announcement of his arrival, a solemn entry, procession from the point at which he had alighted to the church, pronouncement of the blessing and dispensations, collection of books in Syriac and the surrender of books too heretical to be corrected in order that they might be burned, checking of baptisms and as it appears [conditional] repetition of baptism in a great many cases, invitations to those dwelling in remote places to come to the beloved *Nerchai*, the primitive love-feast of the Christians, and in consequence a gathering of the entire Christian population, absolution for those who had been excommunicated.⁷⁷

The decrees of the synod were communicated, and the *cattanārs* encouraged to make sure that they were carried out in every detail.

Menezes, before he returned to Goa, had still to deal with two all-important matters – he must provide the people with a liturgy, and he must provide them with a bishop.

Over a long period it was generally believed that Menezes had so completely uprooted the ancient customs of the people that it was no longer possible to say what their liturgy had been before the synod of Diamper. But the careful researches of Dom R.H. Connolly have made it clear that the changes were less extensive than had been supposed. The church had used the Eastern liturgy of Addai and Mari; no change was made in the general structure of this service. This liturgy was unique among the liturgies of the world in not including the words of institution pronounced by the Lord at the last supper.⁷⁸ These were supplied from the Roman rite. The Nicene creed was westernised by the inclusion of the *filioque*. The commemoration of those whom the Roman church regarded as heretics was naturally removed, and the names replaced by those more acceptable in Roman eyes. But a great many purely Eastern features were retained, and the people would have no difficulty in recognising this as their own service, especially as the Syriac language had been retained.⁷⁹

Menezes was determined that no bishop should ever again be allowed to come to the Serra from Mesopotamia or from the patriarch of Babylon. The bishop must be a Latin. But he was aware of a strong feeling among the people that the new bishop should not be a Jesuit and should not be a Portuguese. The people, when first asked for their opinion, said that they would rather have Menezes himself than anyone else – a notable tribute to the hold that he had gained on their affections. He replied that he would be willing to resign the archbishopric of Goa and come to serve them, provided that the pope was willing to set him free. He must have known that this was unlikely, and in fact he had already chosen his man. On 20 December 1599, on the motion of Cardinal Gesualdo,⁸⁰ the name of Francis Roz was put forward in Rome for appointment to the bishopric of Ankamāli.⁸¹ Menezes must have written to Rome not later than February 1599, that is just at the

time at which he was *beginning* his visitation, in order that the letter might be sent with the Portuguese fleet which would sail in that month. Roz was a Jesuit and this might be held against him. But he was a Catalan and not a Portuguese. Moreover he was well known to the people of the Serra and had a good knowledge of both Syriac and Malayalam. If a Latin bishop was to be appointed to this Eastern church, it is probable that no better choice could have been made.⁸²

In view of the distance and the lack of bishops in India, the pope was pleased to waive the rule that three bishops must take part in an episcopal consecration, and to agree that Roz 'may receive consecration from any bishop of his choice in communion with the apostolic see, in the presence of three or at least two dignitaries of the see of Ankamāli, or if they are lacking, canons of the same see'.⁸³ In accordance with this permission but by his own account unwillingly, Francis Roz SJ was raised to the episcopate by Menezes in Goa on 25 January 1601.⁸⁴

One grave error had been made. The bishop in the Serra had always been a metropolitan, subject to the patriarch of Babylon but not to any other bishop. Now it had been decided in Rome that Ankamāli was to be reduced to the status of a bishopric, and like Cochin was to be a suffragan bishopric of Goa. This could not but be resented by the Thomas Christians. Whatever advantages there might be in union with Rome, these had been purchased at too high a price if they involved the degradation of their archbishopric from its previous distinction. And too close a connection with Goa was the very thing that they wished to avoid. From the beginning the scales were weighted against Francis Roz.

At this point we take leave of a remarkable man.⁸⁵ All the faults of Alexis de Menezes have become plain in the story recounted in this chapter. He was imperious and high-handed; he was arrogant and could be brutal; when once he had made up his mind what had to be done, nothing could deflect him from his purpose. Among the servants of Portugal in India only Affonso de Albuquerque takes rank with him as the man who knew how to get things done. India was not the end of his story. In 1610 he was recalled to Portugal⁸⁶ and appointed bishop of Braga and primate of Portugal. He held office also as viceroy of Portugal, and president of the council of the state of Portugal in Madrid.⁸⁷ When he died he was only fifty-eight years old.⁸⁸

7 CONTROVERSY ABOUT THE SYNOD

The synod of Diamper raises a number of difficult questions which, though they belong to the field of canon law rather than that of history, cannot be entirely disregarded by the historian.

Almost all students of the period, even conservative scholars such as E.

Tisserant,⁸⁹ agree that Menezes acted in a high-handed and intolerant manner in changing so radically the customs of an ancient Eastern church, just at the time at which Rome was beginning to adopt a more complaisant policy in relation to such bodies as the Maronite church in the Levant. Menezes certainly held that he had authority to act as he did. But the question has been raised as to whether he had in point of fact any such authority, and whether the decrees of the synod of Diamper have any validity from the point of view of canon law. On this question the dispute is hot and active at the present time.⁹⁰

The problems involved can be summarised under four headings:

Was the synod legitimately convoked?

Was it correctly conducted?

Was it approved by competent authority?

To what extent, if any, has later custom modified the legal aspect of the synod?

The first question may be rather differently stated: Had Menezes authority to convene and conduct such a synod in the diocese of the Serra? In support of his claim to do so Menezes referred to two briefs issued by the pope on, respectively, 27 January 1595 and 21 January 1597. These deal primarily with the question of Mar Abraham, and the appointment of a vicar general in the event of his death.⁹¹ It is clear that the pope recognises the metropolitanical authority of Goa over the Serra and has no doubt of his own right to appoint a successor to Mar Abraham. But did this confer on Menezes the right to hold a diocesan synod, as the synod of Diamper undoubtedly was, and to interfere in the detailed administration of the diocese during the vacancy of the See? The general view of the canonists seems to be that it did not.

If Menezes had the authority to hold a synod, there was little to object to in the manner of convening it. Summonses in proper form had been sent out both by the archbishop and the archdeacon. As this was an Eastern synod, no objection could rightly be taken to the presence of lay delegates with voting rights.

When we come to the question of the manner in which the synod was conducted, difficulties loom very much larger. In fact our authorities directly contradict one another. Gouvea, whom we have mainly followed in the account given above, gives the impression that great care was taken to make sure that the delegates understood what was going on and that their consent was freely given. Other contemporary authorities present a very different picture.

In a letter to Rome dated 20 November 1603, Francis Roz writes as follows:

For to tell you the entire truth, some of the canons of the above-mentioned synod were added by the archbishop himself after the synod had ended. Not a single canon was discussed or altered . . . They heard them without understanding what was being said, as I can myself bear ample witness, as also can the other Fathers who understand the language. His Excellency said many a time that the synod was intended merely to show them the way of their salvation without obstacle.⁹²

Furthermore Roz distinctly contradicts what Gouvea had said about the provision of interpreters. He states that the decrees were read in Portuguese, and that in consequence no one understood what was being said. He adds that the Malayālam text was much shorter than the Portuguese.⁹³

Roz can hardly have been mistaken. His report, if it is accepted, casts a sinister light on the proceedings of Menezes. The fact of the matter is that Menezes was attempting the impossible. Many of the points under discussion related to complicated questions of technical theology. To express these in Malayālam would have been extremely difficult; to make sure that simple people gathered from a hundred villages would be able to understand them all was beyond all the devices of communication at that time available to man. If, as seems possible, the aim of Menezes was that people should consent rather than that they should understand, he may not have been too much concerned about the lack of communication.

The extent to which the Acts of the synod of Diamper received higher approval is not clear.⁹⁴ It seems that Menezes gave up the idea of securing formal approval from the Holy See.⁹⁵ But the pope's letter of congratulation to Menezes on the work that had been done and the publication of the *Jornada* of Gouvea may have been held to constitute *de facto* the necessary confirmation. In any case, as the synod was a diocesan synod and not a provincial council, approval by a higher authority was not strictly necessary.⁹⁶

All this, however, is of no more than technical interest. The synod of Diamper had taken place and its effects remained. Its Acts were taken as the charter for the new age of the Thomas Christians. Menezes believed that he had brought peace, order and unity to the ancient church. But force has a way of rebounding on itself. What he had actually done was to sow the seeds of dissensions and divisions – divisions which up to the time of writing have not been healed.⁹⁷

10 · Lights and Shadows

I CHRISTIAN CHARITY IN ACTION

The charge has often been made that Portuguese missions were vitiated from the start by efforts to coerce people into abandoning their old faith and accepting the new. The charge can be substantiated or repudiated only on the basis of a careful study of the methods actually used by the Portuguese over a period of time for winning converts to the faith and for building up an Indian church.

We have earlier taken note of the *Misericordia* of Goa as one of the notable works of charity maintained in that city. This was directed only to the needs of the Portuguese, and had no specific function as an evangelistic operation. Yet we have the record of at least one Brāhman converted as a consequence of the good work that he had seen carried on there. This man had been in the employ of the *Misericordia*, and carried on its business and wrote its documents with as much credit and authority as if he had been one of the brethren. He affirmed that there were two causes of his conversion; first, seeing the works of charity which the Christians carried on among themselves with so much love and diligence; second, the reading of spiritual books, which had shewn him the truth and purity of the Christian religion and the ignorance and falsehoods in which the Hindus lived ensnared.¹

Among the Christians deeply engaged in this and other works of mercy we have noted the name of Cosme Anes. We have a touching account of the death of this good man in a letter of Br Luis Fróis dated 1 December 1560:

In this year died in the college Cosme Anes, . . . a founder of this house and a great supporter of it. When he knew that his death was approaching, he requested the Fr Provincial to permit him to experience his passing away here among the brethren, in order that he might be helped by them with their prayers and sacrifices. He was received and welcomed by all with such religious charity and love as he had deserved, and as the brethren observed towards him, carrying out for him such rites and offices as it is customary to carry out for those who are actually members of the society.²

Other charitable works were carried on for the benefit of Goanese Christians, and also of the non-Christians.

One of the Jesuits, who was also a surgeon, has left us a vivid account of his daily routine and of the ceaseless labours in which he was engaged.³ From a rather later date (1563) we have a report that in one year seventy persons have become Christians as a result of the ministrations of the hospital.⁴

Among the good works regularly recognised at that time was that of visiting the gaols, conditions in which were described as terrible, and the galleys, places of terror, and accompanying to the scaffold those condemned to death. In a number of cases baptism was administered actually on the scaffold, one man declaring that he wished to die in the faith of the Christians, because he believed it to be the true law in which men are saved, and he desired that after his death his wife and children would also accept the faith.⁵

One method of evangelisation was that of public lectures, in itself perfectly justifiable except for a certain element of coercion, since the Brāhmans were required to attend the lectures on Sunday afternoons, just as the Jews in Browning's *Holy Cross Day* were required in Rome to attend Christian sermons on certain days of the year. In the account of the year 1559 we are told that the Dominican Fr Gonçalo took the lead, and was later followed by Fr Francis Rodriguez of the Jesuits, with Andrew Vaz, a Goanese Christian, as interpreter. At first the Hindus answered with frivolous and insignificant reasons; but later admitted that they were not learned men, and that their scholars were to be found in the kingdom of Vijayanagar. In the end, however, the majority of the Brāhmans affirmed that they would die in their own religion, which was also that of their fathers.⁶

More effective, probably, than these occasional utterances was the steady teaching, given by the pupils of the college of St Paul in Goa and the surrounding villages. These boys used to accompany the Fathers on their rounds, and made up by their knowledge of the language and of the customs of the people for the ignorance of the Fathers, none of whom could as yet speak an Indian language well.

The schools afforded an even better opportunity for patient and regular instruction. Nicolas Lancilotto, who was always inclined to take a pessimistic view of the situation, writes from Quilon, in a letter of 29 October 1552, of his pupils:

I work extremely hard to explain to them, by natural reasons and by comparisons and by clear examples, that the rites and customs of the heathen are all vanities and lies and deceits invented by evil men, and that they are all contrary to God, to natural law and reason . . . The people of this land have intelligence equal to ours, and are as capable as we are of learning and understanding, and for this reason I am certain that (if proper methods are adopted) a very great Christian church can come into being in these parts.⁷

It can be taken for granted that, when converts came in crowds to be baptised, many of them knew very little about what they were doing, and that their intentions, however sincere, could not be matched by any great depth of conviction in their faith. Yet this was far from being always the case, even when many came together for baptism. There are, in addition, records of a number of cases of individual conversion in which there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of the one who was asking for baptism.

One such baptism of exceptional note took place in Goa on 15 August 1557, and attracted perhaps more attention than any other.⁸

Among the residents of Goa at that time was Malle Adil Shāh, known to the Portuguese as Meale Khān, the eldest son and natural successor of Ismāil Adil Khān. Having become involved in the endless quarrels of the local rulers the prince had come to Goa, and was there held by successive governors, with a comfortable pension from the Portuguese government but without opportunity to return to his own country. This man had two sons and one daughter. The girl, as Muslim custom requires, was kept in strict seclusion, but was able to beguile the tedium of her days by listening at the window to the Christian songs sung by the choirboys of the college as they went to and fro on their way between home and school. Hearing the songs again and again, the princess became deeply interested in the Christian faith, an interest strengthened by a more or less clandestine friendship with a noble Portuguese lady, Maria Toscana, the wife of Xavier's firm friend Diogo Pereira. Gradually she became possessed of an intense desire to become a Christian, but was afraid to inform her parents of her desire for fear that they might kill her rather than endure the disgrace of losing a daughter from the faith.

A plan was therefore made to remove her from her father's house and make the baptism possible. On St Lawrence's day, 11 August, while the governor engaged the girl's father in conversation, Doña Maria with some other ladies slipped into the house and up the staircase to the place where the girl was waiting ready to descend another staircase and to escape from the house by a small backdoor. But the girl's mother, realising what was afoot, caught hold of the girl and engaged in what can only be called a free-for-all with the Portuguese ladies. Only the intervention of the governor made it possible to get her into the street, where a splendid palanquin was waiting to take her away. She was lodged in the house of Diogo Pereira and treated with all the honour due to a princess.

The baptism was fixed for the feast of the Assumption, 15 August. The governor and the patriarch of Ethiopia stood as sponsors, Doña Maria and other Portuguese ladies being the godmothers. The patriarch himself carried out the baptism and gave the convert the name Mary in honour of

the day on which she was baptised. This was the first occasion on which a Muslim lady of such consequence had been baptised in Goa. In order that she might be maintained in the state befitting her rank, the governor assigned to her an annual income of a thousand *pardãos*, a grant which was later confirmed by the king.⁹

Baptisms were commonly made an occasion of great festivity, for the great consolation and fervour of the Christians and the greater confusion of the Brāhmans and the Hindus.¹⁰ Of one such baptism we are told that the governor with the Fathers and brothers of the college and a large part of the population, went in procession; as the children moved through the streets, they sang psalms and hymns to the sound of many instruments – flutes, trumpets and drums, which the governor had ordered to be present. The governor accepted some of the candidates as his godchildren, as did every other member of the gentry. When the baptism was ended, the newly baptised together with many others, all with lighted candles in their hands, went round the courtyard of the college, happy and contented as people who had recovered their primitive innocence.¹¹

2 THE PORTUGUESE AUTHORITIES INTERVENE

The king of Portugal took seriously his obligations as the chief supporter of the Christian cause in the East, and constantly impressed on his officials the importance of lending their aid to the Christian propaganda. The extent to which his good intentions were carried into effect depended very much on the attitude of the successive governors and the relations they established with the Christian forces.

Interesting character sketches of a number of governors have been gathered by a modern author from the chroniclers of the time. Of Francis Barreto (1555–8) we are told that ‘this courtier was throughout a great person, and the kings always availed themselves of him for great enterprises’. Constantine de Bragança (1558–61) was ‘a man of medium stature, short, broad-shouldered, bearded, well bred, mild, affable, a great promoter of the cause of religion, a great friend of justice, truthful, chaste, at least always so careful as never to give reason for scandal’. Francis de Coutinho, count of Redondo (1561–4), was ‘a person well fitted for the post of viceroy of India, by reason of his many qualities of foresight, prudence and determination, of all of which he had given abundant proof over a long period’. Antony de Noronha (1564–8) was ‘a courtier of great discernment, capacity of government and prudence . . . the residents received him with real joy, for he was very much liked by them, as they were aware of his ability and qualities, and therefore expected very good government’.¹² De

Coutinho was the governor of whom the Jesuits least approved; and de Bragança was the one who more than others had gained their favour as having a real enthusiasm for what they were doing.¹³

Even before the beginning of the period with which we are now dealing, there was a feeling abroad that too much pressure to become Christians was being exercised on the population by the royal officials. In a remarkable letter addressed to the king by a learned Hindu, Azu Naik, in the year 1549, there is a serious warning of the dangers of haste and of the reactions to which it could give rise: 'Your highness should not want to have everything accomplished in a single hour. For in Rome where the Holy Father is, he permits all kinds of people to live, and he does not send them away if they do not want to become Christians. Since this is so, why should they act in Goa as they do?'¹⁴

After the middle of the century the shadows begin to darken. We are entering on the period of the 'Rigour of Mercy'.¹⁵ The Rigour worked in two ways. So many privileges were granted to Christians that the Christian fold might seem to be a very pleasant place to be. And life might be made so unpleasant to those who chose to remain outside that to come in might seem to be the easier choice. It may truly be claimed that the maxim of the parable 'compel them to come in' was never fully applied; but there are many means of effective persuasion short of actual compulsion.

Changes in policy in India usually reflected changes of attitude and policy in Europe. The second half of the sixteenth century was far less tolerant than the first. This is reflected in the attitude of the younger members of the society who came out after 1552. Even the Jesuits complain at times of their intolerance. For instance, in the report for 1566 we read:

there are, specially among recent arrivals from the kingdom, some who indeed possess zeal but not according to knowledge. For no sooner do they see these Christians depart just a little from the customs of Spain than they think all this is a question of Hindu religion and idolatry. They do not know how to distinguish between that which is simply a religious emblem, and Hindu belief, and the custom of the land or region; with the result that the people are offended, which is a thing to be avoided.¹⁶

That the people were feeling increasingly the weight of Jesuit oppression comes out clearly in the account of what happened at Carambolim in 1560. Seeing that so many people were becoming Christians, the leaders gathered together to consider what action should be taken. One advised that the best course would be to leave the island and to go to dwell on the mainland, where they could live according to their own religion, 'for I judge it better to lose our possessions than our souls'.¹⁷ Another countered this by saying that the present vigour of Jesuit propaganda would last only as long as the

term of the viceroy in power, and would cease with his return to Portugal; it would, therefore be better to remain and to hold on as best they could in Goa. A third expressed himself in the following terms:

It does not seem to me that there is anything to be gained by calculating when the present viceroy Don Constantine will leave for Portugal; you should rather ask when the Fathers of the Society of Jesus will go away. And, as it is clear that they will never go away, and will never cease to make Christians, and will achieve the same success with any other viceroy as they have with this one, let us commit ourselves to God and agree to become Christians.

Moved by this eloquence fourteen of the leaders of the community agreed to become Christians and presented themselves to the Fathers with this in view.¹⁸

A long list can be made of the privileges accorded to Christians, and particularly to converts, by Portuguese law in Goa.¹⁹ A few examples may be given.

A decree of 22 September 1570 lays it down that Hindus who become Christians should be exempted from land-tax (*dizimos*) for fifteen years.

Slaves of Hindus who became Christians were to be set free (decree of 3 November 1572).

Alterations were made in the laws of inheritance, so that widows and daughters of Hindus, who under Hindu law would have had no claim to inheritance, should inherit, if they had become Christians.

A decree of 1562 lays it down that any Hindu wife who becomes a Christian, and who does not wish to live with her husband and separates from him on the ground that he continues to live as an unbeliever, shall have a right to all the ornaments and personal clothes which are in her possession at the time of her conversion, as well as one half of her husband's estate, movable or immovable, acquired after the date of her marriage.²⁰

The Portuguese were dependent on Brāhmans for the carrying out of many functions in the administration, and some of these, such as the well-known Krishna and his son Dādaji, acquired great influence in the community. Kings of Portugal, who were not familiar with the local conditions, tried again and again to eliminate what seemed to them an abuse. A lengthy decree of King John, dated 25 June 1557, requires that

no officials of mine . . . should utilise the services in any way whatsoever of any Brahman or other infidel [Hindu] in matters of his office . . . I hereby order that from now onwards they should not serve in those offices, and that such offices should not be given them, and that all the offices which it is customary to give to the natives of the land should be given to the Christians and not to the Hindus, as stated above.

Many of the Portuguese protested against these rules – the number of Christians qualified to hold such positions was quite inadequate; if the rules were strictly put into effect, both government and industry would collapse. Nevertheless they were reiterated in 1582 and 1591.

The law which caused the bitterest resentment amongst the Hindus was that relating to the handing over of Hindu orphans with a view to Christian instruction and baptism. The decree of 23 March 1559 orders that, if Hindu infants are left without near kin and are not of an age at which they have understanding and judgement, the Judge of Orphans is to see that they are handed over to the Fathers of the college of St Paul to be baptised, educated and indoctrinated by the Fathers, and are to be placed by them in positions according to their respective aptitudes and abilities.²¹

There were many complaints that children were taken away by force, when there were surviving relations prepared to take responsibility for them. Hindu families, concerned to evade the possibility of such abuses, were found to be sending orphan children into the non-Christian area of the mainland. The second Council of Goa, held in 1575, sought to bring order into the situation:

The Council petitions his highness to make a law to the effect that, as soon as a Hindu father dies, the Judge of Orphans should take the orphan children, not with a view to baptizing them before the age of discretion, except in cases in which the law and learned men allow it, but with a view to bringing them up well and giving them a good education in our lands, free from the dangers in which the mothers might place them.²²

Increasingly severe laws were passed against the practice of Hindu rites and ceremonies. Previously, only public celebrations of idolatrous rites had been forbidden; now it seemed that search into Hindu houses, in which it was suspected that such rites were being carried out, was to be permitted, and that even possession of idols was to be regarded as a crime. In 1559 various pieces of legislation were codified by the court, and the code now included the following regulations:

All existing images are to be destroyed and no new ones are to be made.

No Hindu feasts are to be celebrated in public.

Hindu preachers and teachers are forbidden access to the island of Goa.

The *Holi* festival is banned.²³

Sati, the burning of Hindu widows is forbidden. If the presence of images is suspected, the chief justice is to be informed. If the charge is proved, the guilty party is to be condemned to the galleys for life, half of his property to go to the informer and half to the church.²⁴

That these were no empty threats is clearly shown in a letter of Peter de

Almeida SJ written from Goa on 26 December 1558, in which he describes various raids on Hindu houses, where it was thought that Hindu rites were being carried out. In one he and his companions found in progress a festival in honour of Ganessa, Vinachoti and Vinaico (Ganesa, Vighna-nāshakar, Vināyaka); one tried to escape but was pursued, captured and presented before the vicar general; he was sentenced to life-service in the galleys with the loss of all his property. In another house were found three images called Śālagrāma. Later going to the house of a well-known sorcerer they found eleven or twelve images of diverse materials – stone, copper, brass. In this case also the man was condemned to the galleys for life; his wife and children were offered acquittal, provided that they became Christians and did not persist in their evil ways.²⁵

Most serious of all the steps taken against the Hindus was the actual expulsion of a number of Brāhmans, whose presence was judged harmful to the well-being of the state. On 2 April 1560 the pious viceroy Constantine de Bragança issued an order that a number of Brāhmans, whose names were included in the rolls appended to the order, should leave the island of Goa and the possessions of the king of Portugal. There was no confiscation of property; those sentenced to expulsion were given a month in which to dispose of their possessions.²⁶ The impression is given that this was a wholesale expulsion. Yet we learn from a letter of Luis Fróis of 1 December 1560 that only thirty persons had been expelled, of whom one had later returned and asked for baptism.²⁷ In a later form of the order (1563), all who tilled the fields with their own hands – physicians, carpenters, blacksmiths, shopkeepers and collectors of the royal revenue – are exempted from the order of expulsion.

The various measures taken by the state against the Hindus had produced a kind of panic; a great many inhabitants of Goa, apart from those expelled by authority, had voluntarily crossed the waters and settled in areas where they could live after the manner of their fathers. The next viceroy, Francis Coutinho, complains bitterly of the devastation which he found – Goa and the other islands were much depopulated, the villages deserted, and fields overflowed by the waters of the rivers. Accordingly he gave order on 5 December 1561 that ‘having regard to the great harm which I saw had resulted . . . to the interest of my king and the welfare of this land . . . I hereby order that any infidel [Hindu] who may return should be handed over his estate and that he should hold and possess the same as before.’²⁸

Naturally the high-handed methods of the Jesuits and others met with criticism; the harshest critic was found within the Jesuit order itself. Antony de Heredia came to India in 1551, returned to Portugal in 1561, and was expelled from the society in the following year. During the crucial years 1558 to 1560 he was in Goa. He was less than cautious in his use of language:

With regard to the propagation of Christianity, the manner of it was so outrageous that it could not but cause scandal throughout the whole of India . . . We claimed that we did not force our religion on anyone. But in practice they saw us forcing our religion on the inhabitants of our territories, after we had stated, and made an agreement with them, that they would be allowed to live without constraint and in peace.²⁹

Heredia accuses the Jesuits of using most improper methods to force people to become Christians, and of using students and others to police the fords leading to the mainland and to terrify the people:

Some fled saying that they did not want to become Christians, and these made for the fords, where the Jesuit students were keeping watch day and night, and lying in wait for them, some armed with firelocks, others with lances. Some people attempted to swim across, others died by falling into wells in this turmoil, others died of hunger in caves where they had taken refuge, one at least died of the bite of a serpent.³⁰

Even if it is granted that other Jesuits were right in their opinion that Heredia possessed neither judgement nor prudence and that he was an unbalanced and unsatisfactory character, it is still possible that there was some fire beneath his smoke, and that the people had cause for falling into panic, though their fears may have been greater than was justified by the worst of the measures that were being planned against them.

Confirmation of this view is afforded by a representation made to the crown of Portugal in February 1563 by the bishops of Ceuta, Lisbon, Tangier, Angra, Portalegre, Lamego and the Algarve, stating that there were grave abuses prevalent in all of the Portuguese overseas mission fields, including the use of force, and the farcical baptism of uninstructed converts. On this C.R. Boxer aptly remarks that 'it is unlikely that seven leading Portuguese prelates would have made these grave allegations without being quite sure of their facts'.³¹

3 THE INQUISITION

A further sign of the increase of rigour was the establishment of the Inquisition in Goa.

Portugal lived in a state of anxiety about 'new Christians' – Jews and others who had been baptised in circumstances not conducive to genuine conversion, and who were suspected in many cases of continuing loyalty to the traditions of their fathers and to the religious observances in which they had been brought up. The fanatical King John III, who succeeded to the throne in 1521, decided to introduce the Inquisition into his dominions, mainly to deal with these 'new Christians'. The papal bull authorising the

establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal was issued on 17 December 1531; it did not come into effect until 1541, and the first *auto da fé* was not held until August of that year.

Many Jews and new Christians took advantage of the opportunities offered by Portuguese expansion in Asia, hoping that distance from Europe would afford them better scope for the exercise of their special abilities in the fields of medicine, commerce and accountancy, and would secure for them a measure of freedom from the anxiety in which all their days in Portugal were spent. If these were their hopes, they were far from being perfectly fulfilled.

In the year 1543 a well-known doctor resident in Goa, Jerome Dias, a new Christian, was accused of having spoken certain things against the Christian faith in familiar discussions with his friends. Inquiry was made by the ecclesiastical authorities, and the charges found proved. As was the custom in those days, the convicted person was handed over to the secular authorities with the request that, if the death penalty was imposed, there should be no effusion of blood. The sentence, as recorded by Correa, was as follows:

Having seen the sentence of the Holy Church, in which bachelor [of medicine] Jerome Dias stands condemned in a case of heresy, the justice of our sire the king pronounces sentence to the effect that, in the said case, by public proclamation your body be burned alive, and reduced to ashes, for heresy against our holy catholic faith.³²

The secular priest Diogo Borba, who had accompanied Bishop d'Albuquerque to India in 1535, dealt earnestly with the convicted man, brought him to repentance, and having heard his confession absolved him. In recognition of this penitence, the grimmer part of the sentence was remitted, and Dias was strangled in prison before his body was committed to the flames.

On the following Sunday the bishop, the kindest of men, preached in the cathedral, reading aloud the bull constituting the Inquisition, stressing the duty of complete loyalty to the Catholic faith, and the obligation resting on all Christians to make known to the authorities anything that came to their knowledge of heretical words or practices contrary to the usages of that faith.

In the year 1559 five men were publicly burned alive for the crime of sodomy. This was the penalty usually exacted in that age for what was regarded as a particularly heinous offence against the laws of God and man. The Jesuit letter for that year tells us that this speedy execution of justice spread terror and fear throughout the city. There was probably also relief in the minds of the resident Portuguese that the viceroy had acted so quickly and drastically to avert from their city the wrath of God.³³

The first man, as far as we know, to recommend to the king the

establishment of the Inquisition in India was Francis Xavier, whose letter on the subject has been quoted in an earlier chapter.³⁴

The theme is taken up by Melchior Nunes Barreto. Writing to the general in Rome on 15 January 1559, he says:

This is to confirm to your paternity that the Inquisition is more necessary in these parts than anywhere else, since all the Christians here live side by side with Muslims, Jews and Hindus; and also the extent of the country itself causes laxity of conscience in persons residing therein. With the curb of the Inquisition they will lead good lives.³⁵

Alexander Valignano associates the coming of the Inquisition with the experience of the provincial Silveira and Bishop Carneiro in Cochin in 1557, where it was discovered that many of the new Christians were meeting at night in the Jewish synagogue to carry on their Jewish rites. There being no Inquisition at the time in India, twenty of these were sent to Goa and thence to Lisbon to be dealt with according to their deserts. So the Inquisition came and 'cleansed India of much corruption and wickedness'.³⁶

In 1560 the Inquisition for India was established. In that year the first archbishop of Goa, Gaspar de Leão Pimental,³⁷ arrived in Goa with the additional title of grand inquisitor, and accompanied by two other priests, to whom authority had been given to act with him as inquisitors – Alexis Dias Falcão and Francis Marques Botelho.

It is impossible to give any precise account of the operation of the Inquisition in Goa, since its records have been destroyed – no trace of them has been found either in Goa or in Lisbon.³⁸ But proceedings varied so little from country to country that a general idea of what happened in Goa and the other Portuguese possessions can be arrived at by inference.

A gloomy picture can be drawn of the fires of the Inquisition perpetually smouldering in the public places of Goa, and of the terrorised inhabitants living in a state of unchanging anxiety. A sober estimate of what actually happened suggests that the picture, grim as it undoubtedly was, was not quite as bad as that.

Careful calculation shows that in the sixty-three years between 1561 and 1623, 3,800 cases were tried by the Holy Office in Goa, or almost exactly sixty in a year. From the first establishment of the Inquisition until its abolition in 1774, 16,172 cases, or on the average 76 in a year came before it. What proportion of these were serious it is not possible to say.³⁹ In the years 1562 to 1567 eleven *autos da fé* took place. These must at all times have been terrifying displays of ecclesiastical power; but the horror was due more to menace than to execution. In a number of cases no one was actually put to death; the number of victims rarely exceeded three at the most, and only rarely was a living body committed to the flames.⁴⁰ This estimate is

confirmed by the figures for Brazil provided by C.R. Boxer; between 1591 and 1763 400 Judaisers were shipped from Brazil to Lisbon; of these only eighteen were condemned to death, and of this number only one was actually burned alive.⁴¹ It is, however, impossible to calculate even approximately the number of those who died miserably in the dungeons without ever having been brought to trial; nor is there any means of assessing the sheer misery endured by those who never knew from day to day what their fate might be, and by their relations, who never knew whether they would see them again.

There has been a tendency among historians to regard the activities of the Inquisition as among the main causes for the decline of Portuguese power in India. K.M. Panikkar, for example, writes:

the general intolerance of the authorities was well-known all over India and revolted the conscience of both Hindus and Muslims alike. The establishment of the Inquisition in Goa in 1561 and the *auto da fê* (first instance in 1563) further destroyed any chance of a sympathetic attitude towards missionary effort under the Portuguese in the powerful Hindu courts which ruled South India at the time.⁴²

These confident statements cannot in the absence of corroborative evidence be taken at their face value. There were many causes for the decline of Portuguese power in India.⁴³ The Inquisition was certainly not the chief among these causes.⁴⁴ But its contribution to disaster should not be underestimated. It can be shown that a number of traders left the Portuguese territories to enjoy the freer atmosphere of the Hindu and Muslim states. And when the British power was established in Bombay, many Indian weavers and artisans moved from Goa to British territory, impelled by fear of the Inquisition.⁴⁵

The final verdict may be given in the words of A.K. Priolkar, himself a Hindu:

Another consequence of major historical significance which resulted from the methods and activities of the Inquisition was the profound misunderstanding of the nature of Christianity which they implanted in the Indian mind . . . It was only natural that its victims should have drawn the inference that the Christian God in whose name these activities were carried on was a punitive God of vengeance and wrath.⁴⁶

The Inquisition was abolished for the first time in 1774 under the influence of the Marquis de Pombal. It was restored in a modified form in April 1778. The final abolition came about in June 1812, when the Prince Regent informed the viceroy, Count de Sarzedas, that he had decided finally and definitively to abolish the Inquisition, and to establish for the future the rule that all religious cults were to enjoy equal toleration.⁴⁷

4 COUNCILS OF THE CHURCH

The first ecclesiastical council of the Roman Catholic Church in India was held at Goa in 1567.⁴⁸

The council of Trent, at its twenty-fourth session, held on 13 November 1563, had laid it down that provincial synods were to be held once in three years, and diocesan synods every year. This was part of the policy of centralisation and increased rigidity both in doctrine and practice, which stands in sharp contrast to the comparative flexibility of the middle ages. The first council of Goa marks the official arrival in India of Tridentine ideas, and the imposition on the church of an inflexible order which was not to vary in any single point from what they do at Rome.

The council assembled in the church of St Catherine, which had been declared to be the cathedral of the archdiocese of Goa. The president was the Most Reverend Father in Christ Dom Gaspar, first archbishop of the said city. With him were 'Dom George Themudo, Bishop of Cochin,⁴⁹ Manuel Coutinho, administrator of Moçambique, Vicente Viegas, *locum tenens* and procurator of Dom George, Bishop of Malacca, with the superiors of the orders of St Dominic and St Francis, and of the Society of Jesus, and others, doctors and masters in sacred theology, canons and laws.' During the course of its labours, the council passed forty-seven decrees of general concern (Action II), thirty-five in reformation of the affairs of the church (Action III), and thirty-three in reformation of morals (Action IV). It was agreed that the decrees should be printed in a language that all could understand, and therefore 'we command that the said council be translated into our Portuguese language, and be printed, that so it may be read and known of all men'.⁵⁰

The council opened in gentle and generous fashion.

It is the chief desire of the council that all should come to the Catholic faith and be saved. But it declares in decree I that

it is not permitted to bring anyone to our faith and baptism by force through threats and intimidation, since no one comes to Christ in faith unless he be drawn by the heavenly Father in freely given love and convenient grace. Those who desire to bring the unbelievers to the true faith must see to it that they treat them with gentleness and kindness.

The second decree speaks in the same direction. The spirit of caste is so strong in Goa that any high-caste Hindu who eats or drinks with a Hindu of lower caste immediately sinks to the caste of that other. It is now expressly forbidden to give food to any of the Hindus against his will, even with the desire of making Christians. An exception may be made of course in the case of extreme physical necessity.⁵¹

Councils of the Church

From this point on the decrees tend to be less kindly, and to concentrate on a certain exclusiveness of Christians against all the rest of the world. A selection from the titles will indicate the policy to which the council was inclined:

- (6) All teachers of the non-Christian religions – Yogis, sorcerers etc. – are to be expelled.
- (7) Conversion from Hinduism to Islam and vice versa is not to be permitted, but only from a non-Christian to the Christian faith.
- (8) All heathen rites and ceremonies are forbidden and honour is not to be paid to the name of Muhammad.
- (12) Polygamy is forbidden. A man must live with his first wife, or take one of his concubines as his lawful wife.
- (25) Quarters are to be reserved in the city for Hindus and Muslims, and in them Christians will have no right to dwell.
- (31) It is desirable that non-Christians who live among Christians should keep Sunday and the greater festivals, and that shopkeepers should not open their shops until after the time of the principal mass.
- (42) Christian converts are to avoid every kind of contact with unbelievers such as might draw them back to the old ways; e.g. they are not to lament for the dead in the manner which they observed before their conversion.

As the council itself sententiously observes, it is one thing to make good laws, quite another to see that they are kept. Later councils did modify at certain points rules which had been found to be so strict that it was impossible to enforce them. But they repeat the injunctions against Hindu processions, against the lending by Christians of their jewels for Hindu purposes, against the employment of Hindus in positions of profit and consequence. If the regulations had been kept, it would not have been necessary to reiterate them. Many of the rules passed by the council were for the common good, and a real concern is shown for those who could not help themselves. But the general impression is of a nervous interference with the liberty of both Christians and non-Christians in many matters which are generally left to the conscience of the individual or to the customs of the community.

Many sources give an impression of the strength and stability of the Portuguese position in India and of the increasing power of the Roman Catholic church. Yet in reality the situation of both state and church was precarious. The years after 1560 seem to have been marked by an increase in hostility between Europeans and Indians, leading up to the tremendous events of the siege of Goa (1569–70). At no period is it possible to speak of absolute peace. The life of the European in India was exposed to many changes and chances. For those who had occasion to travel, these might

include capture by pirates, enslavement, and forcible conversion to Islam with the alternative of death. A single vivid narrative may serve as background to this aspect of the history.

In the year 1568 one Father and three brothers set out from Cochin in an excellent ship. After one day's sailing they were attacked by the Muslim crews of three coasting vessels. For a whole day they were able to defend themselves; but then an explosion in the powder magazine set the ship on fire, and most of those on board, including the Jesuit, were fain to leap into the sea. The Father was immediately recognised as such by his clerical dress, and after twice refusing the invitation to save himself by turning Muslim was savagely despatched. It seems that two of the lay brothers endured the same fate. The third whose name is given as Antony Dionysius set out to swim to shore. But Muslims were waiting for him on the shore, caught him, stripped him as naked as the day on which he was born, and subjected him to miserable captivity. During this time he was able to persuade another young Portuguese, who was on the point of renouncing the Christian faith in order to save his life, to stand up boldly and confess himself a Christian, even if he had to pay for his hardihood with his life.⁵² For the lay brother the story ended happily. His captivity did not last long, since the Muslims accepted a ransom of 150 scudi, and before long he was back among his friends in Goa none the worse for his adventures. A further letter of 9 January 1569 gives interesting details of his life in captivity, taken down from his own lips.⁵³

5 THE GREAT VISITOR

The period which we are now considering is divided almost exactly in two by a notable document sent to the Jesuit general in Rome by Alexander Valignano, the great Visitor of the East.⁵⁴

Born in 1539 in Chieti, Valignano had joined the Jesuit order in 1566 and in 1570 was ordained to the priesthood by William Chisholm, bishop of Dunblane in Scotland, whose uncle, also William, had in 1536 ordained one John Knox. In 1573 Valignano, in spite of expressed unwillingness, was secretly appointed Visitor of the province of the East Indies, which stretched from the Cape of Good Hope to Japan. On 21 March 1574 he left Lisbon, accompanied by no less than forty-one Jesuits intended for service in the eastern province. On 6 September, after a prosperous voyage, he set foot for the first time on the soil of India. He died at Macao on 26 January 1606, having never once returned to Europe, and having given more than thirty years of service to the East as against the ten achieved by Xavier.

Of Valignano Fr Wicki has rightly written that 'after Xavier he was the Jesuit who in the 16th century did more than any other to determine the destiny of the missions in the East'.⁵⁵ His services to the cause of Christ were indeed invaluable. Among other things he wrote not the first but the

most memorable of the early lives of Xavier, and thereby set a new standard for the writing of church history in India.⁵⁶

His great qualities, however, were matched by certain grave defects. Of his first long letter to the Jesuit general in 1574, the prudent editor remarks that 'the Visitor, being distressed by many things, expresses too confident a judgement, makes evident his dislike of the Portuguese, and despises the Indians, even the Christians among them. His deep affection for the mission to Japan makes him at times unfair to the missions in India.' He was irascible in temper and impetuous by nature. As a result some of the best of the Fathers, men of long experience and prudence, found it difficult to get on with him, especially when he made use of his close friendship with the general and others in Rome to extend his already considerable authority.⁵⁷

The principal complaint against him refers, however, to the relations between the Jesuits and other representatives of the church in the East. In the days of Xavier and after, relations with bishops and others had been excellent. In the time of Valignano all was changed. Jesuits and bishops came to be frequently at loggerheads. It was in the period of Valignano that grave controversies broke out in India with the Franciscans, and in Japan with the members of other religious orders which from 1593 onwards had been entering the country.

It must be recorded to his credit that he was in favour of such measure of 'accommodation' or 'adaptation' as would not be out of accord with the Catholic faith, in this going beyond what had come to be the accepted policy in Rome. The subsequent condemnation of such measures by Rome may have affected the reputation which Valignano in later times enjoyed in the church.⁵⁸

Valignano had been distressed, like many before and after him, by the ignorance which prevailed at Rome concerning conditions in the lands of the missions, and by the slowness and difficulty of communications, which meant that instructions sent out from the centre were out of date and irrelevant before they arrived. So he sends out his document, not only to help those in Rome, but also to serve as a manual for those who later may be sent to India and the East, since one who has had much experience of the government of provinces in Europe, when he arrives in India, will find himself embarrassed and raw, until with time he has obtained some knowledge of the situation, and since such a one can cause great disorder for lack of such information as can now be provided for him.⁵⁹

6 GOA AND ITS ENVIRONS

More had been done in certain directions than the somewhat pessimistic view of Valignano might suggest.

The college of St Paul had continued to grow both in numbers and in

efficiency. In 1556 it was reported that there were about 450 boys in the elementary school. Much more important was the middle school, to which boys were admitted at the age of not less than thirteen and not more than fifteen. In that year the number of Goanese boys was twenty-one, and in the following year forty.⁶⁰ The curriculum was still purely Western and based on the classics. After mastering the elements of grammar, the boys were brought up on Virgil, Cicero *de Amicitia*, Ovid's *Tristia* (a fairly safe selection from the varied works of that author), and Sallust. There is no mention of any study of any part of the Bible. Earlier attempts to teach some Greek had been given up. Plans for a class in philosophy were slow to mature, but moral theology was being taught by Fr (later Bishop) Carneiro.

One of the notable fruits of this long labour was the first ordination of a native Indian from the neighbourhood of Goa. Andrew Vaz had been one of the first pupils of the college of St Paul. For many years his conduct had been exemplary. He had a good knowledge of Portuguese and was able to interpret for the Fathers. So, as it was judged that he had the necessary gifts for carrying out the duties of a priest, he was ordained by the patriarch of Ethiopia. It was arranged that he should say his first mass with all solemnity in the college on Ascension Day 19 May 1558; the governor was present, and the church was filled by Portuguese of high station. The new priest's mother and other relations had come in from his village; as they came forward to make their offerings, they kissed his hands with tears of joy in their eyes.⁶¹

An even more important step was the decision to admit an Indian candidate to the Society of Jesus. Xavier had been against such a step being taken, having no exaggerated ideas as to the capacity and devotion of his Indian fellow-Christians. But his judgement was set on one side.

A letter written by Peter Luis in November 1559, in which he makes known to the general in Rome his desire to be admitted to the society,⁶² has been preserved. He is a Brāhman by race, with Hindu parents, but God delivered him from the jaws of hell, making him a Christian at Quilon in 1547 when he was fifteen years old. He had been for five years interpreter for Fr Nicolas Lancilotto, who would have liked to send him to Europe; this having proved impossible, he had joined the college in Goa in 1555, and had there studied grammar and rhetoric, and was about to embark on logic.

The letter written from Rome by Fr John de Polanco on 31 December 1560 contains a passage of the greatest importance:

We have considered what your reverence has written to the effect that the peoples of that country are not fitted to join the society. Fr Francis [Xavier] also wrote in similar terms to our Father Ignatius. That may have been true at that time, and may also be true at this time of the majority among them. Nevertheless it seems hard to shut the door upon those whom God may have called to this service in our institution, if they have the gifts necessary for it, since there is no acceptance of persons or nations in the sight of God.⁶³

So Luis was accepted, and began his novitiate in Goa in 1561, but had to endure hard probation. He did not receive priest's orders till 1575. Thereafter he worked in Kerala, where of course he knew the language, or on the Fisher Coast. There are many references to him in the letters of Fr Henry Henriques; these reveal him as a devout and diligent, and, though not distinguished, invaluable helper through his knowledge of the languages and his devotion to the cause of Christ. He showed considerable skill in the printing of catechisms which had been prepared in the Indian languages. He died in 1596.⁶⁴

Many years were to pass before another Indian was admitted to the Society of Jesus in India.

One of the principal obstacles to successful evangelism was the total or almost total ignorance of Hinduism in which the Portuguese had lived for sixty years. They did not care to know, and there were few Hindus who were anxious to instruct them. The darkness was to some extent lifted by an unexpected event of the year 1559.

There was on the island of Goa a young Brāhman of exceptional talents, on whom his compatriots placed great hopes. He had had many contacts with the Fathers; but it was only after long hesitation that he made up his mind and decided of his own free will to be baptised. He expressed the desire that there should be no special solemnity in his baptism, and did not ask that the viceroy should be his godfather. He received in baptism the name Manoel d'Oliveira.⁶⁵

Manoel knew that on the mainland there was a Brāhman who had spent eight years collecting and translating from Sanskrit into Marāthī many ancient books, and especially the eighteen books of *Veaço* (Vyāsa), whom they esteemed as the greatest prophet of their religion.⁶⁶ One day Manoel crossed the strait to the mainland, entered the house of the Brāhman, and carried off his entire library.⁶⁷ The Fathers realised how valuable this information would be in confounding the arguments of the Brāhmins. Manoel spent some time at the college, translating the principal sections of the Hindu works into Portuguese. The provincial arranged for a number of copies to be made, but this work was not well done, as the copyists were the boys of the college, and what they wrote was not carefully revised.⁶⁸ From a long account of a dispute between Fr Francis Rodriguez and a Hindu it appears that the Fathers had acquired some knowledge of the *Bhagavadgītā*, and that this had been translated for them into Portuguese.⁶⁹

In one other respect a beginning had been made in meeting the real needs of the situation. In 1556 only one priest could speak Konkani and hear confessions in that language; his services were therefore much appreciated by the people of Choraõ.⁷⁰ In 1563 some young Jesuits were set to study Konkani with the help of a Goanese student. But in Goa too much

Portuguese was spoken; subsequently students were sent to live on Chorao, where they would hear nothing but Konkani all the time. This experiment was so successful that when Archbishop Gaspar visited Chorao a year later, the students greeted him in elegant Konkani, with a Goan cleric to translate the speeches for his benefit. The local people said that the students explained Christian truth in Konkani better than they could have done themselves, even if they had known as much theology.⁷¹ When in 1567 two of these young men were raised to the priesthood, the number of Konkani-speaking priests reached four.

The third council of Goa (1585) (Action II, decree 25) dealt with the matter of the Indian languages. It was laid down that

a compendium of Christian doctrine, suited to the nations of these parts, should be drawn up in the Portuguese language, and that this should be taught in all parts of India to preserve conformity in all; and this should be translated into the languages of those countries where there are Christians and that instruction should be given from it. And in the same way a brief catechism, on the basis of the Tridentine catechism, but adapted to the natives of these parts, should be drawn up.⁷²

Though the council did not know it, the man who would carry into effect many of its desires was already in India.

Thomas Stephens (or Stevens) was born in 1549 in Wiltshire, the son of a well-to-do merchant. After various adventures in England, he made his way to Rome, and there on 20 October 1570 was admitted as a novice of the Society of Jesus. In 1579 he was given permission to join the Indian mission. Leaving Lisbon on 4 April of that year, he arrived in Goa on 24 October, and thus began the forty years' service of the man who is commonly known as the first Englishman to reside in India.⁷³

Few letters from the hand of Stephens have survived. But fortunately a letter written to his father less than a month after his arrival and giving details of his voyage is among them. His first impressions of India are vivid but not markedly different from those of many other travellers; he notes the scanty clothing of the majority of the people, and then proceeds:

Of the fruits and trees that be here I cannot now speake, for I should make another letter as long as this . . . For hitherto I have not seene a tree here, whose like I have seen in Europe, the vine excepted, which nevertheless here is to no purpose, so that all the wines are brought out of Portugal. The drinke of this country is good water, or wine of the Palme tree, or of a fruit called Cocos. And this shall suffice for this time.⁷⁴

A Latin letter written to his brother in 1583 gives some account of his experiences with the Konkani language:

The languages of the region are very numerous. The pronunciation of them is not disagreeable, and their structure is not unlike that of Latin and Greek; their phrases

and constructions are really admirable. Each letter has the force of a syllable,⁷⁵ and there are as many varieties of them as are the possible combinations of consonants with vowels or of mutes with liquids.⁷⁶

It is impossible to improve on the character-sketch of Stephens given by Fr Schurhammer:

He had a robust constitution, enjoyed good health, and was by natural disposition energetic, vivacious and brimful of optimism. Possessed of a keen and observant mind, he had not only made the best of his broken studies of the humanities, mathematics and theology, but had continually added to his store of knowledge and profited by long experience. Moreover he had schooled himself to such a degree of humility, that what shone in the eyes of his fellow-workers was the prudence and gentleness of his dealings, while his spiritual detachment made it impossible for his Superiors to discover any preference for any special mission station or field of work.⁷⁷

After only six months' study of theology Stephens was ordained priest and sent to the peninsula of Salsette which was to be his home for nearly forty years. At the time of his arrival, the mission had under its care about 8,000 Christians out of 80,000 inhabitants. When he died almost the whole of the population was Christian. Most of this long period was spent in quiet, uneventful labour. But in 1582 the even tenour of life was disturbed by one of the most disastrous series of events in the whole history of Roman Catholic missions in India.

Two villages in the extreme south of the peninsula of Salsette – Cuncolim and Assolna in the spelling used by the Portuguese – had been specially obstinate in holding fast to the Hindu way and its ceremonies. Early in 1582, in reprisal for injuries done to a messenger who was carrying despatches from Cochin to the viceroy, a fleet of boats sailed down from Goa and destroyed the temple at Assolna. At the same time the captain of Rachol marched down with troops to Cuncolim; a Jesuit Fr Berno set fire to the large temple in the village; a number of smaller shrines was also destroyed. Then Fr Berno, with incredible folly, 'killed a sacred cow on the spot, with the double object of defiling the holy places and destroying the object of superstition, and he profaned a sacred tank by casting into it the intestines of the slaughtered animal'.⁷⁸

The authorities seem to have been unaware of the lasting fury occasioned by the outrage. In 1583 a visit was paid to Salsette by the new provincial Rudolf Aquaviva, formerly of the mission to the Great Mogul, accompanied by a number of priests, some Indian Christians and a group of Portuguese gentlemen. On 15/25 July, the anger of the people broke out in open violence. Aquaviva, who stood forth as the acknowledged leader, was the first to suffer. Then the mob fell on Fr Berno, the object of their special animosity; the other two priests followed soon after. A lay brother, Aranha,

though terribly wounded, survived in hiding till the next morning, when he was discovered, killed and horribly mutilated. Altogether fourteen others were killed, the bodies were stripped by outcaste menials, thrown together into a large pit which, this being monsoon time, was full of water, and covered over with branches to prevent discovery.

When, the same evening, news of the disaster reached Goa, there was no limit to the distress and dismay caused by events for which there was no precedent in the history of the missions. Many Christians had died at the hands of pirates or in sporadic outbursts of violence. But so ruthless a massacre, carried out by the generally kindly and gentle Hindu population, was unexpected and alarming. It was decided that the bodies of the martyrs must be recovered and given Christian burial.

It fell to Stephens as rector of the college at Rachol to set about the recovery of the bodies. At first the people denied all knowledge, but before long were tricked into agreeing to the surrender; the menials carried the bodies to the north bank of the river, where they were received by the group from Goa and reverently carried to the church. It was found that the bodies were so swollen by their immersion in water that it was not possible to array them in Jesuit robes; but with such order and ceremony as was possible they were laid to rest.⁷⁹

What follows is far from edifying. Though the Fathers pleaded that vengeance should not be taken on the guilty, fifteen of the leading men who came in to plead for pardon and to promise friendship were immediately cut down by the soldiery; others were pursued to the mainland and done to death. The five villages concerned were deprived of their liberty, two being handed over in fief to one Portuguese, and three to another.⁸⁰

Thomas Stephens was one of the first Europeans to master an Indian language so well as to be able to write in it idiomatically; he was the author of the first Christian work in Konkani ever to appear from the press.

The first work to call for attention is the *Doutrina Christão*, a manual of Christian instruction in the form of a dialogue, which was finally printed at Rachol in Roman character in 1622.

This was not the first manual of its kind to appear from the press. A simple manual had been prepared on the Fisher Coast by three Indians, sent to Portugal and printed in Tamil and Portuguese 'in the very noble and loyal city of Lisbon by the command of our Lord the king and checked by the Holy Inquisition . . . 11th of February in the year 1554. *Laus Deo*.' As no Tamil types were available, the Tamil words had to be printed in Roman letters. This is believed to be the first book ever to be printed in any Indian language.⁸¹

Stephens naturally wished that his work could be printed in the proper

Konkanī script,⁸² but no types were available and this for a good reason, as Stephens explained in a letter to the Jesuit general of the year 1608: 'I have for many years longed to see books printed in Indian types, as was done in the Malabar mission. The chief difficulty is that, for such production, one needs as many as 600 matrices [moulds], instead of twenty-four, though at a pinch we could manage with only 200.'⁸³

The language of the *Doutrina* is correct, though differing considerably from modern Konkanī. Like all translators Stephens was faced by the problem of the choice of words for Christian ideas. Three possibilities are open – to introduce foreign words for ideas for which there is no natural equivalent in the language; to accept difficult words in the language, which are unlikely to be known to many readers, and to explain their meaning; or to use words current in the language, in the hope that growing understanding will eliminate misunderstandings which may arise from the non-Christian use of the words. Stephens on the whole opted for the second of these courses. He did not use many foreign words, as did so many of his successors, thus producing what M. Saldanha indignantly calls language 'tão empobrecida no suo léxico, saturado de vocábulos estranhos' ('so impoverished in its vocabulary, saturated with foreign words') (p. 33). But at times he made use of popular terms, to the scandal of the more conservative Christians who did not approve of what seemed to be a conflation of Hindu with Christian ideas.

Stephens' grammar of the Konkanī language, *Arte da lingua Canarim*, revised by other members of the Society of Jesus, was printed at Rachol in 1640. Thus Konkanī has the glory of being the first Indian language to have a printed grammar. As Saldanha courteously remarks, Stephens showed himself a worthy precursor of his English compatriots who later on, as rulers of India, undertook the task of developing the culture and progress of all the Indian languages.

The work on which the fame of Stephens principally rests is his Christian *Purāṇa*, or more correctly *Purāṇa of biblical history*. This immense poem of 10,962 stanzas is written in elegant Marāṭhi,⁸⁴ and was intended to take for Christians the place of the Hindu *Purāṇas*, full as these are of not always edifying stories of Hindu gods. The first part tells the story of the Old Testament up to the prophecies foretelling the coming of the Lord; the second recounts the story of the Lord's life. The *Purāṇa* immediately became popular.⁸⁵ Many stories are told of its effects on the minds of the people. For instance we are told that, when Tippu Sultan carried away many Konkanī Christians and kept them in captivity in Seringapatam from 1784 to 1799, they were able to maintain their hope and confidence through the use of the *Purāṇa*, of which clearly they knew large sections by heart.

7 COROMANDEL

In 1552 Fr Henry Henriques, almost alone and often in poor health, was struggling on among a people, who, though they had been Christians for nearly twenty years, showed few signs of having understood or embraced the principles of the Gospel. Henriques was a humble man, always inclined to look on the dark side of things. Yet few men in the whole history of the Indian mission have served so long, so well and so creatively as he.

A quarter of a century later, in 1577, the situation is very different from that of 1552. There are now ten Fathers and a lay brother resident on the coast. Three brothers and a Father are in Punnaikāyal learning the language, to the great advantage of the work.⁸⁶ By 1580 the number of those stationed on the Fisher Coast had risen to fifteen.⁸⁷

The pattern which was to be followed for two centuries was beginning to take shape. A Jesuit was stationed in each of the main villages on the Coast, exercising great authority in all the affairs of the community.⁸⁸ From 1580 onwards churches began to be built in regular style. There was a hospital in Punnaikāyal, and there seem to have been elementary schools in a number of places. The Jesuits were not interested in higher education, except as a means of producing priests, and the education of girls seems hardly to have been considered even as a possibility. Already the rules for the observance of Sunday were strictly enforced – there was to be no fishing on Sunday, a rule which could hardly be broken unobserved on that flat and sandy shore. Part of the catch on Friday was to be given for the support of the church.⁸⁹

In the Jesuit letters there are many complaints about the low standard of Christian life, and about the long persistence, especially among the women, of old pagan superstitions and practices. Fr Henriques came to the conclusion that the only remedy for this state of affairs would be the formation of a confraternity, to be called the confraternity of our Lady of the Rosary. He worked long and ardently on the rules for such a confraternity. At last, early in 1578, he was able to send off a draft of the rules, which fills forty-two printed pages.⁹⁰ But he was continually revising them, and they did not reach their final form until January 1586.

An impression of the working of the confraternity is given by the Visitor Fr Gaspar Alvares SJ. There were separate sessions – for the men on Fridays and for the women on Tuesdays. ‘The members are regular in worship; they pacify disputes, care for the poor and the sick; their concern is to keep the law of God and to draw others to it, so that bad Christians, and the Portuguese, and even unbelievers who see them, are much edified.’⁹¹

Many and varied as were the ministries carried out by Henry Henriques, it is through his services to the Tamil language that he has won undying fame. From 1551 onwards he refers unceasingly to his studies of the

language, and to his hopes of producing a grammar and theological writings in it. He had no helps to the study of Tamil, which for a foreigner is always an exceedingly difficult language. To learn it by ear, mainly from simple people whose enunciation would leave much to be desired, must have presented appalling difficulties. Henriques records naively his surprise at discovering that the language really has cases and conjugations, like any European language.⁹²

The date at which he completed his Tamil grammar is uncertain, but it was probably earlier than 1567. In 1566 he writes that 'the *arte* had been perfected more this year than it was. I am convinced that, if I am sent some colleagues who for a whole year would do nothing other than study it, they would be able at the end of that year to hear confessions.'⁹³

That Henriques had prepared a Tamil grammar, and that he was the first European to do so, had long been known. But for nearly four centuries no one knew that the work was actually in existence. In 1954, Fr Xavier Thani Nāyagam found a copy in the National Library of Lisbon, and made his discovery known to the world in an article, 'Tamil manuscripts in European libraries'.⁹⁴ No one is likely to disagree with his conclusion that 'from internal and external evidence, it is clear that it is a manuscript copy of the first Tamil grammar known to be compiled by a European and the work of a Jesuit missionary, Henrique Henriques (1520–1600)'.

Henriques had, apparently, never been introduced to the existing Tamil grammars compiled by Indian writers, not even to the *Nannūl*, the simple metrical grammar through which generations of Tamil schoolchildren have been introduced to the structure of the language. In consequence he never grasped what the structure of a Dravidian language is. He treats it as though it was Latin, and in the process of adjustment to this Procrustes' bed what in Tamil is simple and elegant becomes clumsy and unwieldy. Yet that Henriques, who clearly lacked the linguistic gifts of the Italians Nobili and Beschi, achieved so much is evidence of unwearied diligence and devotion.

In 1576 Henriques was relieved of his heavy duties as superior of the mission, and set free to complete and see through the press in Tamil characters two catechisms, a longer and a shorter, in 1578 and 1579.⁹⁵ The types are remarkably well cut and clear. The large catechism is a translation of the catechism in dialogue form produced by Fr Marcos Jorge at Lisbon in 1566. The shorter seems to go back to that produced by Xavier in Portuguese in 1542–3, and translated into Tamil with the help of his rather incompetent assistants.⁹⁶ For a good many Christian terms Henriques gave up the attempt to find Tamil equivalents, and transliterated the Portuguese words.⁹⁷

Towards the end of 1585 or early in 1586 Henriques was able to complete a work on which he had been engaged for a number of years – the *Flos*

Sanctorum, a selection from the lives of the saints with other edifying material for the Christian year. From a number of references in letters and other works the book was known to have existed, but it had entirely disappeared from view, until by good fortune the same scholar who had discovered the grammar brought to light a copy of the *Flos* in the Vatican library.⁹⁸ In the reprint of 1967 the Tamil text fills 669 pages. The printing of so massive a volume in what was still a little known language was a remarkable achievement; the type is clear, and considerably more elegant than that supplied from Germany to the Protestant missionaries a century later. Even in photographic reproduction the text can be read without difficulty, though naturally the improvements in orthography later introduced by Fr Beschi are not to be found.

The Tamil style of the *Flos* is a strange and rather daunting amalgam. At times the choice of words is correct, and the rules of grammar are strictly followed. Then suddenly there is a descent into colloquialism or even vulgarism; no doubt this reflects Tamil as Henriques had heard it spoken by his Parava friends. For almost all technical Christian terms Henriques simply transliterated the Portuguese word. Proper names are given in the Portuguese forms, and with as close an approximation as is possible to the Portuguese pronunciation. Thus John appears as Cuvam (in one case Cuvani), and in Theodore, the first o is long and the second short, the reverse of what each is in Greek.

Much legendary material is included in the *Flos*, and many exhortations to penitence and devotion. But this is not all. In dealing with the Epiphany story Henriques follows rather closely the narrative in Matthew 2. In the long section on the sufferings of Christ (pp. 565–607), the account does not stray far from the story as given in the four Gospels. But Henriques follows Xavier and many others of his time in thinking that no part of the Scriptures should be directly translated into the language of the people. By 1585 the council of Trent had stretched its long shadow over the missions, and the more generous views of the pre-Tridentine bishops had been eclipsed.

Henriques lived on almost till the end of the century. He died on 6 February 1600 in his eightieth year, having completed more than fifty years of service on the Coast. The Jesuit letter for 1601 has this to say of him:

The devotion which the Christians have for him is so great that I cannot describe it . . . There is nothing to wonder at in the Christians doing this, who were brought up by him and nurtured in the faith for so many years, when the Moors and Hindus who were not such beneficiaries showed and go on showing him so great a devotion that one cannot but praise our Lord for it . . . Moreover on the day he died all the Muslims of the neighbouring village Kāyalpatnam fasted; the Hindus also of the neighbouring villages fasted two days, and closed all their shops and bazaars to express their grief over the death of the good and holy old man.

Henriques lacked the linguistic genius of Beschi, the adaptability of Nobili, and the adventurous zeal of Francis Xavier. But he had that gift, of all gifts the most necessary for a missionary in India – tenacity. Through loneliness, depression, and not infrequent illness, he held on, and at his death left behind a cohesive and well-ordered church. He must be reckoned among the great pillars of the Indian church.⁹⁹

8 OTHER EXTENSIONS OF THE WORK

By the end of the century the Jesuits were established in all the centres of Portuguese influence, both in those which were regarded as territories of the king of Portugal, and also in places where the Portuguese had constructed fortresses by permission of the local rulers and exercised little or no control outside the narrow limits thus assigned to them. Much space could be filled with detailed account of these various enterprises; but there would be little new or specially interesting to record, since most of the work was a repetition of what had been done already.

One venture, however, does demand record, since it involved a departure from the usual Jesuit method of clinging to the coast, and led to a penetration of an inland region, populated almost exclusively by Hindus with whom the Portuguese had had relations in trade but so far in no other way. In 1597 the Jesuit Visitor Nicolas Pimenta urged the rector of the college at Mylapore to send missionaries into the kingdom of Vijayanagar.¹⁰⁰

The splendour of the kingdom of Vijayanagar came to an end in the tremendous disaster of the battle of Talikota or Rakshasi-Tangadi (1565).¹⁰¹ Vijayanagar never recovered its erstwhile power, but, though gravely weakened, it did not cease to be a kingdom. After a period of confusion and uncertainty Venkata II (Venkatapati devar) restored order, was able to recover many of the lost territories, and restrained the aggressions of the local chieftains (*pālayakkārar*). Through his interest in Christianity he finds a place in our history.

The first Jesuit contact seems to have been made not with the king but with Krishṇappā Nāyaka, the ruler of Gingi, the immense fortifications of which still remain as evidence of former greatness. Fr Pimenta, when on a visit to all the Jesuit stations in the south, encountered the Nāyak at Gingi, 'the greatest citie we have seen in India, and larger than any in Portugal, Lisbon excepted'. He was most kindly received. Krishṇappā was at that time building a new city, Krishṇapatam, now the Hindu quarter of Porto Novo. He urged Fr Pimenta to build a church there, and promised both a site and revenues to maintain the church. Pimenta accordingly summoned Fr Alexander Levi, a man of renowned holiness and of great knowledge of

the vernacular, from Travancore to take charge of this pioneer venture.¹⁰²

It was at this point that Pimenta suggested that the Fathers at St Thomé should attempt to establish a mission at Chandragiri, at that time the capital of the realm of Venkata. Contact was made with Oba rāya, the father-in-law of Venkata, and with his help two of the Fathers were able to proceed to Chandragiri, which was reached towards the end of 1598. Their reception left nothing to be desired in cordiality. Oba rāya afforded them liberty to build a church in any city of their choosing, and a little later introduced them to the king. Venkata was equally cordial, and listened carefully to all that the Fathers had to tell him. His comment was that these men are like *sannyāsis*, but they are in addition *gurupi* ('learned priests'). As they left, Oba rāya told them that the king had decided to give them the revenue of two villages to maintain their work, and permission to build as many churches as they wished in his dominions. Later this was confirmed, with the permission to build a church in Chandragiri itself.¹⁰³

Overjoyed, the Fathers on their return to San Thomé urged the authorities in Goa to enter in through this open door. Pimenta accordingly chose six missionaries, of whom three arrived in Chandragiri on 16 August 1599. They were at once granted a place for the building of a church; as soon as this was completed, they were visited by crowds of Hindus, who showed great reverence for the images which they had set up, and to whom they were able to expound the tenets of the faith. To the king also they were able to show pictures and to explain the faith; but, though he manifested considerable understanding,

neither he, nor any other of the people, until now are prepared to be baptised; but we trust that God will illuminate their understanding, and give them strength of will to recognise their errors and to embrace the truth which we continue to declare to them . . . We have good hopes of their conversion, since the king is extremely friendly to the Portuguese.¹⁰⁴

A letter from the previous year (Fr Coutinho, letter of August 1600), quoted in the Annual letter for 1602, gives a vivid picture of the situation:

Our little house (*domuncula*) has a large compound, exposed to a health-giving breeze, very well suited for the building of a church and a residence, and well sheltered from noisy crowds. We have, for the moment, built a small church on the site, adequate for our present needs, to serve until we have the means for building a larger one.¹⁰⁵

The Jesuits had successfully followed up one of their usual plans, and had managed to settle in the neighbourhood of a powerful sovereign whose friendship they had succeeded in winning. It is strange that Venkata showed such unusual friendship and generosity to his European visitors; but, as in

the case of the great Akbar, there is no reason to doubt the genuineness of his attachment to them. These promising beginnings were not fated to lead to the expected success; in 1610, by direct order of Philip III king of Spain and Portugal, the Jesuits were withdrawn from Chandragiri, and no others were sent in their place.¹⁰⁶

Yet one more episode may be recorded to illustrate the immense adventurousness of the Jesuits, and their willingness to pursue any opportunity, however unpromising, for spreading the Gospel.

Word had reached the Serra of a mountain people called the Todas,¹⁰⁷ who had in some long distant past been Christians but in process of time had entirely lost the faith. It seemed right and suitable to recover these lost sheep. So, after an inconclusive visit by a *cattanār* and deacon of the Thomas Christians, in 1603 Fr James Fenicio was sent to visit the area and to investigate the possibilities of a mission.

Fenicio, who was born in Capua about AD 1558, had arrived in India in 1582, and was to spend the next forty-eight years in the Serra or in parts of Malabar not far away. All the records speak of him as a devout and diligent missionary, and as one of the few who had really mastered the Malayālam language. His reputation had slept for nearly three centuries, when in 1922 he was restored to well-deserved fame through being identified as the author of a notable study of Indian religion and customs, the *Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais*,¹⁰⁸ preserved in the Sloane collection of manuscripts in the British Museum.

Fr Fenicio's own account of his visit to the Nilgiri Hills is contained in a letter written to the vice-provincial in Calicut.¹⁰⁹ He was accompanied by an Indian Christian who could speak Canarese, and could therefore communicate with the Badagas, the neighbours of the Todas whose language is akin to Canarese, and perhaps also with the Todas themselves.¹¹⁰ Fenicio complains bitterly of the hardness of the way and of the cold. But his account of what he saw is life-like and full of touches which can at once be recognised by one who knows the Todas and their country as they are today. 'The water is excellent but icy cold; it flows down from the mountains; it cannot be drunk at a draught because of the cold; one is obliged to pause and after drinking one has to wait a while for the gums and teeth to become warm.'

Fenicio managed to meet a number of Todas, including their chief priest. He explained to them the reason for his coming, and gave them some outline of the Christian law:

I asked if they would follow all my instructions, and they said they would. Then I asked if they would leave off worshipping the buffalo and the 300 pagodas. They

replied that they feared that the buffaloes and pagodas would do them some harm . . . I asked if they would give up the custom of two brothers marrying one woman, and they said they would. I asked if they thought it right to give their wives to the *Pallem* (priest); one old man replied, ' If it is the command of God, what can we do? '

Fenicio promised that he would come again and spend a longer time with them. But his prudent judgement was: ' I do not think that the present is a suitable time for the Society to undertake such out-of-the-way enterprises, since we cannot attend to others of greater importance, which are close at hand, for want of workers. The Thodares (Todas) only number about a thousand, and they are scattered about four mountains.'¹¹¹ So nothing came of this adventure; about three centuries were to pass before the baptism of the first Toda convert to Christianity.

9 THE WORK OF OTHER ORDERS

The Jesuits were so numerous, so well extended, and so adventurous in their methods of work that it has been necessary to devote considerable space to the story of their enterprises. But the secular clergy and other religious orders were also at work, and to them we must now turn.

The seventeenth century saw a considerable increase in the number of orders at work in India. Later surveys will include mention of the work of Carmelites, Oratorians, Theatines and Capuchins. For the sixteenth century only the work of Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians remains to be recorded.

The Franciscans were first in the field, and for a time were the only missionaries working among non-Christians in India.

Their headquarters, like those of other orders, were in Goa, with Cochin as second in importance. But by 1585 they had convents in nine places – Cochin, Cannanore, two in Goa, Chaul, Thana, Bassein and Damaun, and, on the Coromandel Coast, S. Thomé and Negapatam. All these places were in Portuguese territory or under Portuguese influence. Increasingly the Franciscans came to concentrate their work on the instruction and care of those who were already Christians, or were coming forward for baptism.¹¹²

But this was not the whole story. In 1550 the viceroy Affonso de Noronha requested the Franciscans to take up the work on the island of Bardes in the neighbourhood of Goa. There is reason to think that the Jesuits already had some work on Bardes, but the majority of the inhabitants were still non-Christians. The Franciscans worked with great success bringing the whole population to the knowledge of the Christian faith and destroying temples to the number of 200. To these achievements they were wont to point when accused of neglecting the duty of preaching the Gospel to the unbelievers.

By 1585 there were already seven organised parishes, each with its own church and parish priest. By 1595 the number had risen to eleven. In January 1596 the king of Portugal expressed himself as very well pleased to learn that the brothers of the order of Francis are working with great diligence in the lands of Bardes and in other territories adjacent to it for the conversion of the Hindus, and are producing much fruit in the service of our Lord.¹¹³

Should members of religious orders hold office as parish priests? This was a subject of controversy in all the missions of the Western and Eastern worlds. The bishops naturally wished to bring all the parishes under their control and to assert their right of appointing the clergy serving in them. The religious tended to rely heavily on the rights accorded to the kings of Spain and Portugal under the terms of the royal patronate, and to maintain their independence of the bishop. They cited in support of their position the brief of Pope Pius V of the year 1567,¹¹⁴ in which permission is granted to all religious persons of the mendicant orders residing in the Indies to hold the office of parish priest, to perform marriages and celebrate the sacraments of the church as they have been accustomed to do, without obtaining any licence for these acts from the local bishop. This brief was issued to Philip II of Spain; but since the terms of the *patronatus* and the *padroado* are practically identical, this must be regarded as having been automatically valid also for the domains of the king of Portugal. The controversy was not finally settled until 1766, when the parishes were withdrawn from the religious in favour of the secular clergy.¹¹⁵

According to Gonzaga,¹¹⁶ in 1587 the number of Christians under the care of the Franciscans amounted to 40,000. Seven thousand of these were in the island of Bardes, 2,000 in Bassein and Agashi. The brothers in Cannanore had baptised 10,000, and Br Antony Porto had himself baptised 10,156 persons. Thirty religious resided in the convent at Cochin and fifteen in Cannanore. No other religious body was so well represented at Cannanore. In view of the inveterate tendency of missionaries to inflate their statistics these figures must be regarded with a good deal of suspicion. No indication is given in the sources as to the castes to which the converts belonged; but in view of the statement of Robert Nobili in 1610 that in these regions no one of distinction and no member of the higher castes had been baptised, it must be taken as probable that they were drawn from the less prosperous communities.

The Dominicans, after a somewhat abortive early start, only came into effective operation in 1548 with the foundation of their house in Goa. When the bishop divided up the island of Goa, the Dominicans were placed in charge of five parishes. They were strong in Diu, where from 1571 onwards

they had the right to board ships returning from Mecca and, if they found on board them Abyssinian slaves, to liberate and to baptise them.¹¹⁷

The most exciting piece of information about the Dominicans relates to Fr Francis de Faria, who in 1593 arrived in Goa with five companions, and proceeded to set up what is described as a kind of university, the first to be so called in India.¹¹⁸ The centre for this work was the convent of St Thomas at Pangim; courses were given in philosophy and theology, but the aim of all the studies was to prepare the students for the service of the church. It was natural that the Dominicans with their care for high standards of learning should have been the first pioneers in this field in India; but the days of universities, in the broader sense of institutions of humane learning, were still far in the future.

The third Order to be considered is that of the Augustinians. It must be understood that these were not the canons but the friars or hermits; the principal source drawn upon by da Silva Rêgo in vol XI of his *Documentação* is the work of Fr Manuel da Ave Maria, called the *Manual Eremitico*.¹¹⁹

The Augustinians began their work in Ormuz, from which the Jesuits had withdrawn. But in 1572 it was decided that a mission should be started in India. Twelve friars¹²⁰ set out from Lisbon on 18 March of that year, and arrived safe and sound in Goa on 3 September. They received many invitations to reside temporarily, until they had a house of their own; but that which pleased them most was the convent of the Observant Franciscans; here they stayed for three months, 'treated with such kindness that the gratitude of us Augustinians for this welcome will never die'. They then moved to a small convent, where they stayed until their own noble house was built, the foundation stone being laid by one of their own number, Alexis de Menezes, archbishop of Goa. Naturally the favour of Menezes gave the Augustinians a special place in the society of Goa; but even without this aid their own virtues had produced a favourable impression on all about them.

One of the most notable achievements of the Augustinian Archbishop de Menezes was the creation of the first religious sisterhood in India. There had been various proposals for such a community, but these had all been refused by the king of Portugal on the ground that Goa was 'a land of soldiers and of licentious people, in which it would be impossible to maintain the reverence due to these venerable ladies'. Later documents suggest a different reason. As the king saw things, the first and most important duty of ladies of pure Portuguese or of mixed origin was to contribute in the most practical way possible to the increase of the Christian population of the colony. The last thing that he wanted was such a measure of population control as would be achieved by the withdrawal of a number of

these ladies into the celibate life through joining such a sisterhood.

The masterful will of Menezes broke through all obstacles, and in 1606 the sisterhood of St Monica came into being, for sisters of the order of St Augustine, to be under the jurisdiction of the archbishop and to be cared for spiritually by one of the Augustinian brothers. There was no lack of applicants; twenty-five sisters were admitted in the first year, and the splendid building which grew up was planned to house no less than a hundred and fifty.¹²¹ The conduct of the first sisters was entirely satisfactory to both the civil and ecclesiastical authorities; a slightly later report bears witness to them as being of notable sincerity and great recollection. But the force of authority was still against them. The desire of the Franciscans to have a convent of Poor Clares never met with approval. More than two hundred years were to pass before the Roman Catholic church came to realise the great part that religious women could play in the evangelistic and pastoral work of the church in India.¹²²

Most of the work of the Augustinians was carried on in Goa. But they also found an outlet in a distant and much more dangerous setting. A number of Portuguese were living in lower Bengal, with their main centre at the river port of Hūgli. Many of these belonged to the riff-raff of European society in Asia – deserters from the Portuguese army, criminals who had escaped from the claws of justice, speculators anxious to make a fortune quickly, adventurers living in the hope and expectation that something would turn up, pirates or the allies of pirates. Mere distance made certain that the area would be beyond the reach of Portuguese justice and effective control. The Jesuits and the Dominicans had both tried their hands in this highly unpromising field, and had withdrawn with the feeling that nothing could be done. Just at the end of the century, in 1599, the Augustinians came in and held the fort with rather greater success.

They did complain bitterly of the hardness of their lot and of the unpromising situation in which they had to work. The character of the Europeans was not their only trial; Muslims were everywhere, with their hand against every man and ready at any time to disturb the public peace. Access to the higher Hindu castes was almost impossible, and conversions on that level of society were very few indeed. Most of the work was done among Europeans and slaves. And yet within a few years the missionaries were able to report 10,000 converts, with the expectation of greater progress in the new century that was just about to open.¹²³

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Benedictines made an abortive attempt to enter the Indian field. In 1604 Benedictine Fathers came to Goa to explore the possibilities of starting missionary work in India. But the archbishop (Menezes) and the viceroy were against the idea; the Benedictines were told that the missionary forces already engaged in India

were sufficient to meet the needs of the work, and that their order was not suited for work in India. So no more came of this initiative.¹²⁴

In the year 1605 by far the greater part of the population of India had never heard of Christianity and had no idea that such a religion existed. Yet the Christians were staking out their claims in a variety of directions, making it plain that in spite of many reverses they intended to stay, strong in the conviction that what they held to be the truth would in the end prevail and that the darkness of centuries would be brought to an end by the penetration of the light of Christ.

Conclusion · To What Did it All Amount?

When Vasco da Gama completed the long voyage from Lisbon and anchored in the roadstead not far from Calicut, he inaugurated a new epoch in the history of the world. India had been drawn out of the isolation of centuries, and brought willy-nilly within reach of the waves of power that were spreading out in all directions from the Western world.

Opinions vary greatly as to the effects of this change on the life of India. In the post-colonial era there has been a tendency for Indian writers to see nothing good in the colonial period, to pillory all the forces of destruction that were at work, to overlook everything on which a more favourable interpretation could be placed, and to hold that India endured for four and a half centuries a dark night of the soul and suffered wounds of the spirit which are only now beginning slowly to heal.

K.M. Panikkar may be taken as a fair representative of this school of thought and writing. In his book *Malabar and the Portuguese*, he has hardly a good word to say for the Portuguese. He is concerned to minimise their achievements, and to prick the bubble of arrogance which supposes that the Portuguese had a great empire in India: 'From the earliest times they showed themselves to be corrupt, inefficient and altogether unfit for the art of government. The Portuguese soldiers were certainly brave and cared little for life. Some of their leaders were chivalrous and honourable men; but few are the names in Portuguese history that could add to the military glory of Portugal.'¹

Even if it be admitted that in some areas, such as the introduction of new crops and plants and the creation of schools and colleges, the Portuguese connection was of some benefit to India, these benefits were limited in scope, and the price paid for them may be judged to have been too high: 'Even accepting that the connection with Europe has been beneficial to India, it is open to doubt whether a century and a half of barbarous outrage, of unscrupulous plunder and of barren aggression is not too great a price to pay for the doubtful benefit of having the way opened for other European traders.'²

An even harsher verdict has been passed by a more recent writer, C.O.A.

Vasudevan, in whose eyes the whole movement of European expansion was simply 'a tide of barbarism identical in every respect to (though greater in magnitude than) all the earlier ones recorded in human history'.³ No mitigation of sentence in any particular is permitted:

Difference between the European and earlier barbarians. The early modern European enjoyed a higher level of material culture than the earlier barbarians of history like the Huns and the Vandals (I must emphasise the word material; morally he stood demonstrably lower). He had fire-arms, the printing press, the mariner's compass and a rudimentary understanding of astronomy, all acquired through his contacts with Asia. In short he exhibited all those advantages that a sixteenth century barbarian may be expected to show over his fifth century ancestor. The difference between them was really *the difference between the 16th century and the fifth*; but historians tended to regard it as that between civilisation and barbarism.⁴

A passage such as the above is the product of a highly selective method of studying and writing history. The choice of the term 'barbarian' is singularly unfortunate, since all history shows that those who call others barbarians will themselves in turn be called barbarians by those whom they have thus stigmatised. The story of the contacts between West and East in India is complex, and nothing is gained by pretending that it is simpler than it is.

The recovery of Europe from the devastation wrought by invaders from central Asia, the forerunners of the Mughuls, and later by the Islamic invasions, was a slow and uncertain business. The first renaissance in the eleventh century was followed by the amazing blossoming of the European genius in the thirteenth century, in Giotto and Dante, in Francis of Assisi and Thomas of Aquino, in the angel choir at Lincoln, in countless other manifestations of supreme creativity. This intellectual and artistic explosion led to the spirit of eager inquiry, one manifestation of which was worldwide exploration, and this in its turn led on to the domination of the known world by the European powers. It happened that Portugal was the first Western power to make contact with Asia by the sea-route. But it is probable that, even if the Portuguese had never stirred from home, others would have entered in. The opening up of India to European influence, and the consequent extension of Asian influence to Europe, are among that class of events in relation to which the term 'inevitable' may not inappropriately be used.

When the Portuguese reached India, it was impossible that they should detach themselves from points of view which they had come to adopt in the European situation. For eight centuries before the sea-route to India was opened up, they had been profoundly influenced by the other missionary religion with which they were acquainted – Islam. In the Islamic world

there is no doubt as to the position and the duties of the ruler. He has been appointed by God to promote the interests of the one true religion, and this means bringing all men everywhere within the fold of Islam. The extent to which Islam has been propagated by the sword has been exaggerated by Christian writers. But the Christian in a Muslim country knows well that he can never hope to attain equality of citizen rights; he can never be more than a protected person, protected largely because of his usefulness as a taxpayer. Moreover, as the history of the Coptic church in Egypt over many centuries has shewn, there is constant pressure on the promising young men of the Christian community to recognise that no appropriate career is open to them if they remain Christians, whereas, if they become Muslims, at once every avenue is accessible to them. This process of attrition can be seen in full activity in mainly Muslim countries such as Sabah, in which Muslim religious propaganda is backed up by strenuous efforts on the part of the government to make it effective.

If a Christian does accept the Muslim faith, he will be expected at once to adopt a Muslim name, to be circumcised, to wear Muslim dress, and at every single point to adapt himself to the usages and demands of his new faith. He will say his prayers in Arabic and not in his own language. He will no longer bear any close resemblance to Hindu, Christian or pagan. It is not surprising that the Portuguese, with this long-standing example before them, supposed that Portugalisation was a necessary accompaniment of acceptance of the Christian faith in India.

Modern ideas of the separation of church and state were unknown in the medieval world. Portuguese missionaries assumed that the propagation of the Christian faith was one of the duties incumbent upon the Christian ruler. They expected the king to make provision for them financially, and to lend all the support of the secular arm to their religious work. This association was unquestionably harmful to the Christian cause in India. Even to this day it is difficult for Hindus to understand the Christian church as Christians understand it – as a purely spiritual body independent of every secular power, tolerant in the sense that everyone is free to join it, and everyone is free to leave if his conscience so directs; but intolerant in making the same claim as is made by Hindus and Muslims to the possession of a superior and final revelation of the truth.

It is against the background of such prejudices and ideas that we have to estimate the success of Portuguese missionary work, and the extent to which India had become aware of a new and dynamic religious force at work in Indian society.

It may be argued that that enterprise which was outwardly the least successful was in reality the most successful of all. By the time of the death of Akbar the Jesuits were well established at the court of the great Mogul.

They were accustomed to move on terms of courteous intimacy with the great ones of the land, and even with the emperor himself, and were treated by all with respect and even with deference. Communications in India in the days of Akbar were probably as good as at any time before the building of railways in the nineteenth century. To the emperor's court information flowed in from all parts of the empire and beyond; from that centre the grape-vine carried news and rumour to the furthest corner of his dominions. Thus it became known to a great many people that the Christian faith was not to be regarded as the superstition of a rabble of barbarians but was to be taken seriously, and that the Fathers, in their shabby dress and with their obvious lack of resources, were to be regarded as being at least on an equality with the holy men of the other great religions of India.

In Mogor the Jesuits were guests. In Goa and other territories actually annexed by the Portuguese the situation was very different. By 1605 a considerable proportion of the population was Christian. Many of the Christians were of the third generation; they had forgotten the traditions of their fathers and owed such culture as they possessed to the church and to its schools. Many were poor, but an increasing number held good positions, and were accustomed to move with ease in the mixed society of the Portuguese settlements. A beginning had been made with the creation of an indigenous clergy. Everything, of course, was Western. Latin was to be to the Christian what Arabic was to the Muslim; the Portuguese had no more intention than the Muslim of departing from the principle of a single sacred language as a symbol of the worldwide unity of the faith. To this extent Christianity must be judged to have been, like Islam, an exotic in India. Yet just as Indian Islam is different from the Islam of Mecca, so in countless subtle ways Christianity was becoming Indian. This the Portuguese were inclined to regard as among their greatest achievements in their Indian territories.

When the Portuguese made contact with the Thomas Christians, they found themselves in a very different world. Here they had to do not with new converts but with a Christianity that was perhaps older than their own. The Thomas Christians, even when poor, have always retained something of an aristocratic temper. They were prepared to welcome the Portuguese as friends but never as superiors.

The Portuguese were slow to recognise these realities. For more than fifty years they supposed that they could Latinise the Thomas Christians. Some of the changes that they introduced were certainly of value to that long-isolated church, and were accepted. It soon became clear, however, that there was a limit to that acceptance. For centuries these Christians had worshipped in Syriac, of which they knew little; why should they be expected to worship in Latin, of which they knew nothing? Their reaction

was the same as that of the Cornishmen, when confronted with the English Prayer Book of 1549. They won a notable victory over defeat when in 1599 they made their submission to the Roman Catholic church; this submission was made conditional on their being allowed to retain the Syriac liturgy, and a number of other usages which had grown up among them in the course of centuries.

The Portuguese had the good sense to accept these conditions, and the Thomas Christians were able to continue their existence as an unmistakably Eastern church. Later writers, however, have been inclined to wonder whether the advantages of association with Rome were not purchased at too high a price, and whether more of the ancient traditions might have been retained than the narrowness of the Portuguese at that time was prepared to permit.

The mass conversion of the fisher folk on the Coromandel Coast landed the Portuguese with yet a third type of Christianity, and an entirely new set of problems. The people lived scattered along a hundred miles of coastal territory; the efforts of thirty Jesuits would not have been sufficient to introduce them to all the intricacies of medieval Roman Catholicism. For years at a time Fr Henry Henriques was left alone to grapple with all the problems. All the Christians belonged to a single caste, and had therefore brought with them into the church all the complex structure of relationships, marriage customs and social organisation, as well as the superstitions characteristic of the lower levels of Hinduism. Yet by the end of the century the outlines of a church had begun to appear. The Paravas knew that they were Christians and had no intention of ever being anything else; they knew roughly what their Christian duties were, though they were not always very successful in carrying them out. The most important thing of all was that, in spite of the presence of some Western influences, they were unmistakably an Indian community. Their social structures remained much as they had always been; in appearance, dress and manners they were almost indistinguishable from those among their Hindu neighbours whose social status, though not their manner of gaining their living, was much the same as theirs.

Only when this variety of structures and of types of Christianisation is recognised is it possible to pass an objective judgement on the success or failure of Portuguese missionary effort.

The essentials of the debate can perhaps be conveniently summarised in two questions:

Was it clear by the end of the sixteenth century that the future of India and that of Europe were inescapably linked with one another? To this question the answer must be an unhesitating 'Yes'.

Was it by that time clear that not only in the Serra but outside it

Christianity had come to stay, and was gradually taking on the lineaments of an Indian religion? Once again there can be no doubt as to the answer; it is writ large in the subsequent history of India.

So much for the achievements of Portugal in that first century of discovery and contact. But the effect of what had happened in some narrow and mainly coastal areas must not be exaggerated. The vast majority of the population of India had never heard of Jesus Christ or of the Christian faith. They were unaware that any new force had been let loose upon their country, and continued to live their lives as they had always lived them. Over vast areas of India Hindu and Muslim continued to act and to worship according to their ancient patterns without so much as a ripple to disturb their calm, and without any awareness that anything had happened which might one day present itself as a threat to their established ways. Many things had to happen before the Christian faith could become a matter of wide-spread concern in India, and before its influence could spread beyond the limits of small communities still largely dependent on the West.

PART THREE

II · India in the Seventeenth Century

I JAHĀNGĪR

In the course of the seventeenth century only three Mughul emperors held dominion in India – Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurungzīb. Such continuity is unusual in the history of any country. None of the three was the equal of Akbar in character or statecraft, yet each was far above the average in ability. Stability at the top helped to maintain stability in the vast fabric of the empire. About the middle of the century the Mughul empire attained to its widest extent, to the height of its power, and probably to the highest level of its prosperity. By the time of the death of Aurungzīb decline had become observable and was to become irreversible. It may be thought that no power on earth could have stayed the decline once it had set in. In an age in which communications between different parts of the empire were still so slow, neither diligence nor genius on a higher level than was available could have held together in peace and unity peoples of so many different races, and adherents of such a variety of religions.

When Akbar died the question of the succession to the throne was settled with less than the usual difficulties. Prince Salīm had been in revolt against his father, and had mortally offended him by the assassination of his favourite Abu'l Fazl (19 August 1602); but before the end father and son had been at least outwardly reconciled. Akbar on his deathbed, when already beyond the power of speech, had indicated to his son that he should place the imperial turban on his head, and gird himself with the sword of Humāyūn. The word of Akbar still ruled from beyond the grave; opposition to the accession of Salīm almost immediately died away. At the time of his ascending the throne he was thirty-six years old.

Many in the empire looked anxiously to discern signs of the religious policy that the new ruler intended to follow. The activities of Akbar in this field had left many of his Muslim subjects in a state of considerable perturbation. Shī'ahs in large numbers had entered the country, and had been received with marked favour. Orthodox scholars and pious conservatives, loyal to every detail of the Sunnī faith, felt that their religious position

had been gravely undermined. They looked eagerly to the new emperor to put things right. If their hopes were not entirely fulfilled, their fears were to a large extent allayed. The first act of Salīm after his accession was to announce the names by which he was to be known – Jahāngīr, upholder of the world, and Nūr-ud-Dīn, light of the faith. This choice of names gave to the anxious Muslims confidence that Salīm would remain a Muslim, and that under his rule the rights of Muslims would be maintained without derogation.

Jahāngīr, however, was by no means a fanatic. If less convinced than Akbar of the virtues of universal toleration, he was concerned for the welfare of all his peoples, and seems genuinely to have desired that there should be freedom of faith for men of varied convictions. Though the majority of those holding high office came from among the ranks of the Muslims, Hindus continued to be appointed to posts of considerable importance. It was noted that, of forty-seven *mansabdārs* (imperial officials) of the highest rank, six were Hindus.¹

Jahāngīr has been accused of persecuting the Sikhs, a body always liable to cause trouble even to a tolerant government. It was unfortunate that the fifth Sikh *gurū* Arjun had been drawn into sympathy with the rebellious prince Khusrav and had given him Rs. 5,000. For this he was summoned to Lahore and ordered to pay a fine of two lakhs of rupees. When he refused to pay, Jahāngīr, in his own words, 'issued instructions that he should be put to death by torture'. This was no time to make enemies; Jahāngīr, in whom as in so many of the Tīmūrids there was a streak of cruelty, ought to have known that this action would never be forgiven. But it would be unfair to regard this as persecution of the Sikhs as a religious body. A temperate Indian historian has written that 'without minimizing the gravity of Jahāngīr's mistake, it is only fair to recognise that the whole affair amounts to a single execution due primarily to political reasons. No other Sikhs were molested. No interdict was laid on the Sikh faith. Gurū Arjun would have ended his days in peace if he had not espoused the cause of a rebel.'²

There are on record a few, but only a few, cases of the destruction of Hindu temples. Christians seem to have enjoyed the same toleration as had been granted to them by Akbar. Jahāngīr wished to maintain the friendly contacts which he had had with the Jesuit Fathers in the days before his accession.

The twelve principles of government which he had laid down for himself, and which he records in his diary, breathe a humane and kindly spirit. No doubt government was not always carried out in accordance with these principles, but the emperor should be given credit for the excellence of his intentions.³

The situation of the empire, though less precarious than it had been at the

accession of Akbar, was by no means unthreatened by danger. The Shah of Persia was an uncomfortable neighbour, always casting covetous glances at Kandahar. The South Indian kingdoms, though less vigorous than they had been, were restless and still untamed. The distant province of Bengal was hard to control, and often all too ready to house and protect rebels and usurpers. As a result, much of the reign of Jahāngīr, like that of his father Akbar, was taken up with wars and campaigns, which in themselves are neither very interesting nor very important. The story is too full of traitors and turn-coats for comfort. But, taken in the large, the reign of Jahāngīr manifests two qualities notable in Mughul rule – continuity and persistence – with the result that at the end of the reign the empire was considerably larger in extent and more stable than it had been at the beginning, in spite of Jahāngīr's indolence and disinclination for the military life which made it impossible for him to exercise more than a vague and distant control over the course of events.

Jahāngīr enjoyed to the full all the more sensual aspects of life. But these were very far from exhausting his interests. The spirit of Bābur revived in him, and manifested itself in a keen appreciation of natural beauty in many forms. He delighted especially in the spring flowers of Kashmir, and recorded carefully in his journal the flowers, birds and animals which he had seen, noting particularly those which were not to be found in India. He was both a connoisseur and a patron of the art of painting; the rapid development of Persian art, in its specifically Indian forms, owes not a little to his patronage. He never pretended unawareness of his own expertise in this field:

As regards myself, my liking for painting and my practice in judging it have arrived at such a point that, when any work is brought before me, either of deceased artists or of the present day, without the names being told me, I say on the spur of the moment that it is the work of such and such a man. And if there be a picture containing many portraits, and each face the work of a different master, I can discover which face is the work of each.⁴

The physical strength of Jahāngīr was early undermined by excess, especially in the use of alcohol, a habit of which he had tried hard but with only partial success to break himself. For a number of years he was saved from disaster by a singularly fortunate choice – in 1611 he married one of the most outstanding women of whom there is record in any period of Indian history – Mihr-un-Nisa (Sun of womankind), to whom the emperor gave the titles Nūr Mahall (light of the Palace) and Nūr Jahān (light of the world); this thirty-four year old widow, of the highest Persian extraction and of immense personal ability, retained the admiration and affection of the emperor for the remaining years of his life. Together with her father, her

brother and her nephew, she formed a Persian quadrilateral of abilities, into the hands of which Jahāngīr was increasingly content to relinquish the direction of affairs.⁵ This Persian clique saved the empire; the emperor they could not save. As age advanced (though he was only fifty-eight when he died) he sank ever deeper into lethargy, until even the pleasures to which he had so long been addicted failed to rouse him. After a last visit to Kashmir in 1627 he set out, a sick and weary man, to return to Lahore, but never reached it, dying on the way on 7 November of that year.

2 SHĀH JAHĀN

When Jahāngīr died, there was no doubt that he would be succeeded by his eldest surviving son, Khurram, on whom he had earlier conferred the title Shāh Jahān, lord of the world. The candidate had been quick to seize power, and to safeguard his position by the execution of all those male relations who might have caused him inconvenience as pretenders to the throne. All the principal officers of the army were on his side. His father-in-law, Āsaf Khān, the brother of Nūr Mahall, was the ablest statesman of the time.

Thirty-six years old at the time of his accession, Shāh Jahān was a man of wide experience, who had learned to control his own appetites and to keep his own counsel. Up to the age of twenty-four he had never tasted wine. That admirable observer Sir Thomas Roe has left a vivid picture of him:

I never saw so settled a countenance, nor any man keepe so constant a gravety, never smiling, nor in face showeing any respect or difference of men; but mingled with extreame pride and contempt of all. Yet I found some inward trouble now and then assaile him, and a kind of brokennes and distraction in his thoughts, unprovidedly and amasedly answering sutors, or not hearing.⁶

Shāh Jahān was a sincere Muslim, though not perhaps a very religious one. He was not to be led astray by the experiments of his grandfather or by the indifference of his father. It was his intention that the Sunnī way of life and worship should be maintained in its integrity, and on this he would admit of no compromise; but this does not mean that he was a persecutor, bent on the destruction of other forms of faith.

The emperor did at times decree the destruction of Hindu temples. Thus in 1633 orders were given for the destruction of temples in and near Benares, especially of those the construction of which had been begun during the previous reign. It is stated that in accordance with this decree seventy-six shrines were destroyed. Moreover orders were issued that no new shrines were to be constructed. But mosques were not erected on the sites of the Hindu shrines which had been eliminated. In 1634 intermarriage between Hindus and Muslims was prohibited. There are reports of mass conversions

to Islam in a number of places. But Shāh Jahān was not a fanatic as was Aurungzīb. The judgement of a modern historian is that he did not go beyond 'the desire to maintain the strict tenets of Islam'.⁷

Sir Thomas Roe repeatedly reported of Shāh Jahān, before his accession, that he was a hater of Christians. Thus, on 10 October 1616, he writes that, 'if Sultan Corsoronne [Khusrav] prevayle in his right, this kingdome wilbe a sanctuary for Christians, whome he loves and honors . . . Yf the other wyne, we shalbe the losers, for hee is most earnest in his superstition, a hater of all Christians, proud, subtill, false and barberously tyrannous.'⁸ Roe was over-optimistic in his estimate of Khusrav, and less than fair to the future emperor. The latter had, indeed, an inveterate distrust of foreigners, but this was not so much on religious grounds as because he saw in them and their rivalries a threat to the tranquillity of his dominions.

If Shāh Jahān retained, after his accession, a good deal of this prejudice, he was not without reason for doing so. His contacts with Christians were overshadowed by one of the darkest episodes in the whole story of East-West relations during the Mughul period.

The Portuguese had spread themselves far beyond the power of Goa to control them. The further from Goa, the less reputable the conduct of the Christians tended to be. One of the main centres of disorder was the port town of Hūglī in the lower valley of the Ganges. Here Portuguese merchants, adventurers and criminals had settled and flourished, had multiplied through the purchase of slaves and miscegenation, and had established something like an empire of their own. They engaged in piracy far and near. It was their habit to kidnap or purchase Bengali children and to sell them as slaves. The emperor nursed a strong feeling of distaste for them because of their refusal to help him in the days of his rebellion against his father, the empress because two slave-girls of her own had been taken in possession by Portuguese who had refused to surrender them. It was clear that sooner or later this wasps' nest would have to be burned out.

The occasion came in 1632.⁹ Priests in Dacca and Agra had warned the Portuguese of the danger of an attack. No credit was given to these warnings and few preparations were made for defence. Retribution was not long in coming. The governor Qāsim Khān assembled an army, and also boats on the river to make possible a combined assault by land and water. For a considerable time the defenders held out, partly by military action including many feats of notable gallantry, partly by negotiations with a view to obtaining reasonable terms from the assailants. In the end, seeing that the situation was hopeless, they decided to abandon the town and the defences and to make their way by boat down river. But, with the strange incompetence that marks every stage in this bizarre story, the Portuguese had miscalculated time and tide, and did not set off until the boats were

exposed to attack by the Mughul forces. Losses both of boats and of human lives were extremely heavy; but about 3,000 persons, the vast majority of whom were Indians, free or slave, managed to make their way through all the barriers and to reach the Saugor (Sāgar) island at the mouth of the Ganges, where they were safe from further depredations. But a considerable number were captured and condemned to a miserable journey to Agra, which lasted no less than eleven months, and in the course of which a large number of them died. It seems that about 400 survived all the hardships and reached Agra still alive.¹⁰

Considerable efforts were made to turn Christians among the captives into Muslims. Women and children, of course, had no choice. Some among the male adults no doubt yielded to pressure. But it seems that a considerable number remained firm in their faith; these were eventually released from captivity and allowed to settle in the neighbourhood of Agra.

The assaults directed against the virtue of the four priests who survived the horrors of the journey were grievous. They were whipped, paraded in ignominy through the streets, and then subjected to most rigorous imprisonment. The two seculars, Manuel Danhaya, and Manuel Garcia who was old and afflicted with gout, died in prison of the hard usage they had undergone. Of the Augustinians, Fr Francis of the Incarnation was sent to Goa to treat with the viceroy on terms for the release of the prisoners. Fr Antony of Christ endured nine years of incarceration, until at last he was released through influence exercised by Fr Manrique upon Āsaf Khān the father-in-law of the emperor.¹¹

In these melancholy events relations between East and West, and between Christianity and the non-Christian faiths, reached perhaps their lowest point. It is difficult to feel much sympathy with the Portuguese who had behaved abominably, and whose conduct cast a stigma on the faith that they professed. But cruelty and oppression have a way of proving counter-productive, and of sowing the dragon's teeth of retaliation and vengeance.

Shāh Jahān did not inherit the speculative mind of Akbar, nor the advanced connoisseurship of Jahāngīr. The sense of beauty, which seems to have been characteristic of the Mughul imperial family, in him took the form of an acute appreciation of architecture and its possibilities; it was his aim to adorn his empire with great and notable buildings. The greatest personal tragedy of his life gave him the supreme opportunity to carry out this design in its noblest form. In 1612, as a man of twenty-one years, he had been married to a niece of the empress, Arjumand Bānū, to whom the name Mumtāz Mahall was given. Shāh Jahān as a good Muslim felt no vocation to monogamy, but no other woman played a comparable part in his life; for twenty years these two gave an example of conjugal felicity such as is rather rare in the annals of the Mughuls. Her death in 1632 was a sorrow from

which her husband never fully recovered. The result of his passionate desire to make her memory immortal was the Tāj Mahal at Agra.

The Tāj has been so often described that no more is needed here than a reference to it. But it is to be noted that the great complex of buildings which we have is only half of what the emperor had planned. It was his intention to balance the Tāj by a corresponding building in black marble on the other side of the river, and so to provide a worthy mausoleum for himself. This second building was never completed; imagination alone can communicate to us the grandeur of the emperor's concept of what was a fitting memorial to love and majesty.¹²

The Mughuls were still foreigners, and the influence of Persia continued to be strong in all their affairs. But by now they had been in India so long that the foreignness was much less felt than it had been in the sixteenth century, and there was much to show that the Indian spirit was still alive. Persian continued to be the language of the court and of polite literature. But one of the interesting features of the reign of Shāh Jahān is the reappearance of writing in the Indian languages, and, as so often in the history of India, in connection with a revival of indigenous religious interest. Prān Nāth wrote in Hindī with an admixture of Arabic and Persian words, and like Gurū Nānak and many another before and after him tried to reconcile Islam with Hinduism. Dādū Dayal of Ahmadābād (1544–1603) writer of many hymns, still has his followers the Dādūpanthis.¹³ Far more important than either was Tukārām (1608–49), who composed poetry in Marāthī, and whose songs became widely known and sung.

What we find in his poems, as so often in the history of Hinduism, is not so much the desire to make proselytes, as to give expression to his own religious experiences, his personal zeal, the feeling of unworthiness and inadequacy, his own humility and piety, his fear of arrogance as it becomes clear to him that his work is being attended with success.¹⁴

Tukārām, like many other Indian reformers, lacked the gifts necessary for the working out of a consistent philosophy; he stands in the true succession of Indian *bhakti*, monotheistic in as much as only one God is worshipped, though without the dogmatic monotheism of Islam. 'I seek no knowledge of Brahman, no identity with him. Assure me that you are my god, and that I am your worshipper; I will embrace you, and continually behold your holy and blessed face.'¹⁵

It is possible but unlikely that Christian influence is to be found in the work of Tukārām and others of his type. They are to some extent influenced by Islam, but more in the way of reaction than of adaptation. Hinduism can take into itself something of Islam, in order to remain more than ever before its own true self, and to present a more strongly resistant front to Islam.

Tukārām and other reformers give evidence of the survival power of Hinduism, and of the range and variety of religious experience in that Mughul empire in which the Jesuit missionaries felt themselves constrained to bear witness to the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

The last years of Shāh Jahān were embittered by the family quarrels which were endemic in the family of Bābur. Many years before the end, his third son Aurungzīb had decided in his own mind who was to be the next Mughul emperor, and moved towards his goal with an implacable energy which might better have served a worthier cause. In 1657 the ambitious prince was in the Deccan. Moving north in that year, by superior military skill and mobility he had defeated all the armies which could be mobilised against him; his three brothers had been eliminated and his father was a prisoner in his hands. Shāh Jahān was harshly, but not cruelly, treated. He was permitted to enjoy the tender care lavished on him by his eldest daughter Jahānāra, 'the Indian Antigone'. An historian tells us that 'all the ex-emperor's time was divided between (professing) obedience to God, prayer, performance of the obligatory religious services, reading the Qur'ān . . . or listening to the histories of the great men of the past'.¹⁶ But seven and a half years of captivity passed tediously away, and it is unlikely that the captive ever became reconciled to the loss of power and liberty.

3 AURUNGZĪB

With the accession of Aurungzīb we enter on a new period in the religious history of India. For six centuries Muslim conquerors had been carrying out various acts of aggression against Hinduism; but these, though sometimes cruel, had been sporadic rather than systematic. Aurungzīb was not a man for half-measures. He took seriously the injunction of the Koran that it is the duty of every Muslim to 'exercise himself in the path of God'; this meant that to him the exercise of power meant the opportunity of destroying everything that was contrary to the will of God as he understood it, and to the teaching of Islam.¹⁷

On 16 April 1669 the emperor issued a general order for the destruction of Hindu temples and schools, and for the overthrow of Hindu practice and worship. No one knows how many temples were destroyed, but there is no doubt that the orders were extensively carried out. The famous temples of Somnāth, of Viśvanāth at Benares, and of Keśav Dev at Mathurā were destroyed.

A further enactment of 1679 affected, or threatened, the livelihood of every single non-Muslim in the country. Just a century earlier, in 1579, Akbar had abolished the *jizya*, the tax imposed on non-Muslims who would not embrace the faith.¹⁸ The tax was no doubt economically productive, but

it was intended also as a sign of subjection and inferiority, and as such was bitterly resented by the Hindus. There were, in point of fact, many exceptions, as for slaves, beggars and paupers, blind men and cripples. But the burden fell heavily on the poor, especially as the police had orders to chastise those who did not promptly pay what was due. Manucci tells us that 'many Hindus who were unable to pay turned Muhammadans to obtain relief from the insults of the collectors'.¹⁹

In 1671 the emperor followed up earlier decrees with the order that Hindu revenue collectors, head clerks and accountants were to be dismissed and replaced by Muslims. Like the Portuguese before him, Aurungzīb found that this order simply could not be put into effect – there were not enough competent Muslims to fill the places that had been rendered vacant. But many Hindus lost their jobs for no other reason than that they were Hindus.

So vast a religious revolution could not be imposed even upon a docile population without arousing a measure of violent opposition. Of the many revolts that occurred, one can be classed as almost wholly religious; in another the beginnings of what may be called Hindu nationalism make themselves manifest.

The Mughuls did not look with favour on the Sikh movement, having perhaps detected that what had begun as a religious community was in process of being transformed into a military brotherhood. The execution of the fifth Sikh *Gurū* by Jahāngīr may be written off as a single act of tyranny. Under Aurungzīb hostility between the Sikhs and the Muslims became endemic and inveterate. In 1664, after a period of grave dissensions which threatened to destroy the unity of the movement, Tegh Bahādur, the youngest son of the sixth *Gurū*, managed to establish himself as the ninth *Gurū*, and before long found himself in opposition to the policy of the emperor. The order to destroy temples had been extended from Hindu to Sikh places of worship. Tegh Bahādur encouraged the Hindus of Kashmir to resist, and also organised the defiant opposition of the Sikhs. Apprehended and ordered to embrace Islam, he endured torture for five days, and was then beheaded (December 1675) by direct order of the emperor.

Retribution was swift and effective. Govind Singh, the son and successor of Tegh Bahādur, and also the last in the series of Sikh *Gurūs*, was not the man to lie down under such high-handed persecution. By the time of his death in 1708 the transformation of the Sikh community was complete. The religious element was maintained, as it has been to this day; but the Sikhs had been welded together into a highly trained and close-knit military democracy, a nation with imperial ambitions and animated by intense hostility to Mughul rule and to the Islamic faith. 'It was as if Cromwell's Ironsides were inspired by the Jesuits' unquestioning submission to their

Superior's decisions on moral problems.'²⁰ This centralised and dynamic organisation has yielded some converts to the Christian faith, but, as compared even with Islam, a very small number.²¹

The Sikhs were wasps; the Hindus were hornets. In modern Hindu tradition Śivājī has undergone apotheosis as the incarnation of all Hindu virtues and as the enduring symbol of Hindu national and religious pride. It is possible that his character was less perfect than has been supposed by his admirers, and that his achievements were not quite as great as they have been represented in mythological interpretations of history. But few would deny that to him, more than to any other man, was due the revival of the Hindu spirit and the growing awareness that the Mughul power was not unconquerable. The day of the Marāthās had dawned.

Śivājī (1627–80) had risen from not very eminent origins; but by courage, persistence and inventiveness, not unmixed with diplomatic skill and guile, he had made himself the unquestioned leader of the Marāthās. The Marāthā soldiery were capable, when necessary, of giving a good account of themselves in set battles of the traditional type; but throughout these years of conflict their strength lay in mobility, and their most characteristic form of warfare was the bold and adventurous raid even into territories distant from their base. The heavy armies of the Mughuls often showed themselves helpless in face of these unfamiliar tactics.

On the death of his father in 1664 Śivājī assumed the title of *rājā*, to which he was entitled rather by conquest than by heredity. On 16 June at Raigarh he crowned himself *chhatrapati*, 'king of kings', a direct challenge to Mughul authority, but not wholly unjustified in view of the immense territory which by that date was subject to Marāthā rule. At the full extent of his power his dominion stretched from sea to sea, covered a large part of the Deccan, and extended as far as the kingdom of Thaṇjāvur in the Carnatic. Even his principal adversary Aurungzīb was fain to admit that the one whom in earlier days he had contemptuously described as 'the mountain rat' had shewn himself a military genius of a high order. It was a Muslim historian Khafī Khān who added the tribute that, when Muslim women and children fell into his hands, he guarded them against ill-treatment and dishonour. In marked contrast to Aurungzīb he showed respect and tolerance for religions of every kind.²²

When Śivājī died (24 March 1680), he left no successor who could be compared with him in military or diplomatic skill. So his great dream of a Hindu empire to replace that of the Muslims was never realised. Fate decreed that the vacuum left by the failure of Mughul power should be filled not by the Marāthās, the champions of the Hindu tradition, but by a western and at least nominally Christian power. But the veneration in which the memory of Śivājī has been held was not undeserved. A European historian

has well summarised the nature of the legacy which he left to his people: 'The territories and treasures which Shivājī acquired were not so formidable to the Muhammadans as the example he had set, the system and habits he had introduced, and the spirit he had infused into a large part of the Mahratta people.'²³

Aurangzīb had many virtues as a ruler. He was a devotee in the rather narrow form of Islam which he had embraced, and was therefore regarded by his Muslim subjects as a saint. His private life was almost ascetic, and unstained by the vices which had weakened the hold on life of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. He valued culture and was himself widely read in Persian and Arabic literature. Until the very end of his life he manifested unwearied diligence in administration. But his very virtues by excess transformed themselves into vices. The narrowness of his religious devotion turned him into a persecutor, and this undermined the loyalty to the Mughul throne which he had tried in other ways to foster. His administrative zeal led to undue centralisation. Aurangzīb had something of the temperament of an admirable head clerk. No detail was too small to engage his attention, no enterprise so remote from the centre as to be free from his detailed supervision. This meant that a sense of responsibility, even in his highest functionaries, was at a discount, and initiative was stilled. Out of apparent strength weakness was born. 'He never realised that there cannot be a great empire without a great people.'²⁴

4 THE ARRIVAL OF THE EUROPEANS: THE DUTCH

To the outward eye, the greatest events of the seventeenth century in India were those connected with the rise of Hindu feeling and Hindu power. The reality, however, was very different. The major factor leading to revolutionary change, though no one could have realised this at the time, was the steady encroachment of the European powers on the Indian scene, and the establishment of enclaves which made it plain that these foreigners intended to stay. Their small settlements were significant not because of what they were but because of what they portended.

First in the field were the Dutch. W.H. Moreland is correct in writing that 'the English were merely following a road already trodden by their predecessors' feet', and that 'It was the Dutch and not the English who succeeded to the Portuguese mastery of the Asiatic seas, and for the greater part of a century it was the Dutch who took the largest share of the external commerce of India.'²⁵ The Portuguese had come to India with the express intention of driving the Arabs from the seas. The Dutch came with the similar intention of serving the Portuguese as the Portuguese had served the Arabs. It is not hard to account for this hostility. For a number of years

the crowns of Spain and Portugal had been united. The Dutch in their homeland had suffered unspeakable things at the hands of Spain. It is not surprising that, religious antipathies being combined with commercial rivalry, they should carry into Asian waters many of the resentments hatched in the West, and that they should regard it as a work highly pleasing to almighty God to eliminate Portuguese power and popery from the Asian scene. They had no particular interest in conquering Indians; they had clear ideas about overcoming and expelling the Portuguese.

The story of the Dutch advance in the East is one of steady pressure and almost unbroken success. For this there were several reasons. The Portuguese had for a time held the pre-eminence in seamanship but those days were now past. The Dutch, with a new skill and nimbleness in the management of their craft, looked with a good deal of contempt on the heavy manoeuvrings of the Portuguese ships which at almost every point they could outmanoeuvre and outsail. The Portuguese were beginning to experience the lassitude of long possession, and, perhaps from the infiltration of Indian blood into their veins, had lost something of the vigour with which they first came to India. The Dutch, also representatives of a small nation, came in with all the exuberance and enthusiasm of a sturdy race, entering upon new and unpredictable adventures, and with that dogged persistence which had ensured their survival against the massed forces of the Roman Catholic powers.

From the start the Dutch had had their eyes fixed not so much on India as on the Moluccas, and on the immensely profitable trade in cloves and nutmeg and the other spices which grew to perfection in what is now called Indonesia. India was to them a port of call on the way to the richer lands of the east. The first foundation of the Dutch empire in those parts was laid when in 1619 Jan Pietersoon Coen started the building of the great city of Batavia on the ruins of Djakarta. Dutch supremacy in those regions was assured by the reduction in 1641 of Malacca, the possession of which gave them control of the main sea-route to the Far East.

The English had also begun to penetrate this region. The Dutch early resolved to make plain to them that their presence was unwelcome. This hostility found expression in the disastrous massacre of Amboina in 1623, when ten members of the English settlement with a number of their subordinates were arrested on a fantastic and baseless charge of conspiracy to take possession of the fortress, tortured, and after a mockery of a trial, executed.²⁶ In 1654 reparations were made to the relatives of those who had been unjustly executed in 1623. But the resentments kindled by this disgraceful affair died hard, and relations between Dutch and English in the east never fully recovered from the injury dealt them at that time. For the moment, however, the Dutch had reason to be satisfied with their

achievement; the English never again challenged Dutch supremacy in the further regions, though the time was to come when they would take over all the Dutch possessions in continental India.²⁷

The attention of the Dutch had early been attracted to Ceylon, not only because of the value of the trade in cinnamon of which the island was the centre, but also because from the ports of Trincomalee and Colombo it would be possible to control the sea-routes from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal, and so to isolate Goa from the Portuguese fortresses further east. The Dutch were not in a hurry. Though operations against Ceylon began in 1636, Colombo was not finally reduced till May 1656.

The west coast of India presented less attraction than the coast of Coromandel, where Fort Geldria at Pulicat had been built as early as 1613. There was no point in capturing Goa; all that was needed was to blockade and paralyse it, and this was effected by the building of a fort at Vengurla, as a base for the ships which would invest Goa during the months in which it was accessible to ships from the West. The trade in pepper was, however, also an attraction, though quantities of good pepper were available from Sumatra. So, once Colombo had been secured, plans were set on foot to round off the Dutch possessions by expelling the Portuguese from the coast of Malabar. In October 1661 Quilon was captured, and early in 1662 Cranganore, which offered unexpectedly fierce resistance. The fate of Cochin could not be long delayed. The first assault of the Dutch was ineffectual, and here too the resistance was well and skilfully maintained; but by January 1663 the Dutch soldiers were in the city, and surrender inevitably followed. A century and a half of Portuguese dominion was at an end; from now on the fortunes of Christians in the whole region were intimately involved in the policies and successes of the new masters.

The primary purpose of the Dutch was to develop commerce. Of all the Western traders in the East they were perhaps the most skilful and the most successful. Like all their rivals they were faced by the problem that few of the products of the West were desired in the East. Like all others in that mercantile age they were averse from the transfer of gold and silver in large quantities from the metropolis to the partners in trade. The solution was found in the development of extremely active commerce between the eastern parts of India and the still powerful indigenous kingdoms further east. The production of textiles in which India excelled was fostered and improved by the Dutch; careful study was made of the patterns and designs which would most attract the indigenous beauties from Achin in northern Sumatra to the confines of Australia. From their main centre at Nāgapāṭṭinam (Negapatam) the Dutch sent out shipload after shipload to the eastern islands. Indian textiles would admirably pay for Indonesian spices.

The record of the Dutch in India was on the whole much better than that

of the Portuguese. Always few in numbers, they had no aspirations in the direction of territorial acquisitions outside the Portuguese forts which they captured and occupied. They generally managed to remain on good terms with the Indian rulers on whose goodwill they depended for the safety and prosperity of their inland trade. Their hostility to the Portuguese was not extended to Roman Catholics of other nations, and Indians adhering to that church found the Dutch on the whole friendly protectors, though with a tendency to interfere too much in what were properly the affairs of the church.²⁸ In their dealings with Hindus and Muslims, they tended to follow the policy, adhered to also by the British, of non-interference. Their interest in the conversion of those of other faiths was languid rather than intense; they nowhere aroused such hostility as was occasioned by the aggressive methods of the Portuguese.

5 THE ARRIVAL OF THE EUROPEANS: THE ENGLISH

The arrival of the English in India was almost contemporaneous with that of the Dutch. But there were extensive differences between the policies followed by the two powers. England in Europe had long been allied with Portugal, 'our oldest ally'. English and Portuguese were united in a common dislike of the Spaniards. This being so, the English felt no mission to eject the Portuguese from their possessions and were prepared to co-exist with them on friendly terms. Their only desire in India was to be allowed to exist, and to have reasonably secure and favourable conditions for trade. Till the end of the seventeenth century they were occupied with little else.

This is not to say that all was easy in the relations between the two nations. The Portuguese were jealous guardians of the monopoly of trade which they claimed, and were not at all anxious to see competitors installed in the favour of the Indian authorities. At all times the English had to face Portuguese opposition to their plans for entry.²⁹

At first all seemed to go well for the British. In 1609 William Hawkins succeeded in making his way to Agra and was received with exceptional favour by the emperor Jahāngīr. But the timidity of the Indian merchants in Surat, overawed by the presence of the Portuguese, worked against his purposes, and he had to withdraw without securing confirmation of the desired permission to reside and to trade.

The first formally accredited ambassador of England in India, Sir Thomas Roe, arrived in Ajmer, where the court was at that time residing, in 1616. Roe was an admirable man, dignified, temperate, deeply religious, concerned at all times to maintain the honour of the nation, but courteous and considerate in all his dealing with Indians. There was, however, a basic weakness in his position. The king of England and the Great Mogul had very different ideas as to the nature of commercial treaties. Jahāngīr was

familiar with military alliances. He saw no particular reason why he should enter into an alliance on equal terms with a distant sovereign of the extent of whose power he had little idea, and who had nothing to offer worthy of his consideration. Permission to reside and trade might be granted, but only as a concession to suppliants, and in view of some advantage offered to the emperor.³⁰ Roe, in consequence, had to endure many frustrations, and in the end was not successful in obtaining all that he had come to gain. He was, however, able to reach an agreement with Prince Khurram (later the emperor Shāh Jahān) who was at that time governor of Gujarāt; under this agreement most of the desired privileges were secured to the English, and it was recognised that they had come to stay. Before Roe left India, factories had been established in Surat, Agra, Ahmadābād and Bharuch (Broach).³¹

The British were in; but their progress, far from being a steady rise to prosperity, was marked by a series of almost ridiculous set-backs. So far were the British from being at that time a conquering power that, as late as 1688, the factors at Surat were seized and imprisoned by the local Mughul authority.³² On another occasion, in reprisal for the depredations of the English pirates in Indian waters, all the factors at Surat and Bharuch were arrested and kept in prison for a considerable period.³³

An unexpected piece of good fortune saved the English from many of their perplexities. When in 1661 King Charles II of England sought in marriage the hand of a Portuguese princess Catharine of Braganza, the Portuguese included in the dowry the island of Bombay, in the hope that the English would guarantee the security of the Portuguese possessions in the East against the Dutch. The royal power was in no position to give any such guarantee; the wise decision was made to hand Bombay over to the East India Company at a quit rent of £10 a year. It is probable that the royal authorities did not realise what they were surrendering, and that the Company did not recognise the value of what it was acquiring; the greatness of Bombay was to develop only in the nineteenth century. But to possess a territory of its own within the limits of Mughul rule gave to the Company a status and a security which had previously been lacking. In 1687 the headquarters of the Company in western India were moved from Surat to Bombay.

We have noted the tendency of weavers and others to leave Goa and to move to Bombay, where they hoped that they would be able to carry on their avocations in greater peace and freedom than under the Portuguese. Before many years had passed the Company found itself responsible for the care and government of a population of 60,000.³⁴ English rule in the East, as in the England of that day, was harsh, discipline being maintained by frequent application of the lash to both men and women.³⁵ This hardly justifies the kind words of a modern historian about the 'mild and impartial rule of the English';³⁶ but certainly British rule was less capricious than that of the

neighbouring Indian rulers and less severe than that of the Portuguese. It may be that the merchants and others who flocked to Bombay were well advised to jump out of the fire into the frying-pan.

English power established itself earlier and more rapidly in South India than in the west. The main centre of the Company had been at Machilipatnam (Masulipatam), 1611. But both political and commercial considerations led to the search for a centre further south. A lucky chance enabled the Company, by a deal with one of the local rulers, to secure in 1639 possession of the small town of Madraspatnam (otherwise known as Chennapatnam) together with permission, unusual in those days, to build a castle and a fortress, subject only to the payment of a quit rent to the Indian ruler.³⁷ This technically limited the authority of the Company and ensured the supremacy of the ruler. But a further agreement of 1672 affirmed that the town 'shall wholly remain for ever under the English, where they may accordingly act all *the command, government, and justice of the said Town*, as they shall think necessary and most convenient to be done'.³⁸

Fort St George was in due course erected, and in 1641 became the headquarters of the Company's operations in that part of the world. As at Bombay, and with even better reason, the prospect of a peaceful existence under British rule and relief from the storms and perils of the India of those days drew many to settle in the neighbourhood of Madras; by 1670 an extensive Black Town (no offence was intended by the choice of this term) had come into existence; in that year the Indian population was reckoned at 40,000. Here, as in Bombay, without any planning the British found themselves faced with responsibilities far beyond those of a trading company. This situation was met in 1688 by the formation, on a strictly English model, of a municipality of Madras with a mayor and twelve aldermen; notable was the inclusion among the sacred twelve of a number of Portuguese and Indians.³⁹

Madras was by far the pleasantest of the great English settlements in India. It enjoyed a better climate than the others. The ample space available made possible the construction of elegant bungalows, each in its own spacious compound. The leisurely existence of the Europeans, between periodical assaults by the French and the arrival of fleets from Europe, encouraged the development of a cultured and civilised manner of living with many of the amenities of life in England. Madras had its Roman Catholic churches, ministered to by priests who enjoyed the favour (within limits) of the English; and was later to be adorned by the first church ever erected by the English in India.

The trade in Bengal had long been specially lucrative; but foreigners in that region were nearer than others to some of the great centres of Mughul rule, and were specially vulnerable to attack by ambitious or unreasonable

governors. The first centre of English operations was Hūgli, formerly a great centre of Portuguese settlement. But this was not easily defensible; after an attack by the local governor, the redoubtable Job Charnock held it prudent to drop down river to the miserable village of Subamati where a few huts were erected. It did not seem likely that the three small villages of Kalikatta, Subamati and Govindpur, on their unhealthy mudbank and surrounded on two sides by pestilential swamps, would grow into a great capital. But so it was. British enterprise and industry, combined with the helpful co-operation of the Bengalis, caused to arise from these unpromising surroundings a great city, which a century later was reckoned without contradiction to be one of the most splendid cities in the world. But the area rented by the Company for Rs. 120 a year was restricted; all outside these limits was within the dominions controlled by the officers of the Great Mogul.

The English, like the Dutch, had no intention of conquering kingdoms and setting up an empire on the ruins. Only by a series of chances did they become rulers, and in the period under review on so minute a scale as hardly to show on the map of India. The fortuitous character of the British acquisition of power is clearly shown by the differences between their main possessions. Bombay was royal territory by right of conquest and cession; any Indians who came to settle there automatically became British subjects. In Madras the British did exercise in practice unrestricted sovereignty; but the technical suzerainty of the Indian ruler was kept in being until 1730 by the payment of the annual quit rent. In Calcutta the English claimed authority only over European residents. If they did find themselves ruling over Indians, their authority was limited at least in theory by the claims of the Muslim rulers, and the position of the British was no more than that of 'a minor zamindar under the local faujdar'.⁴⁰

Like the Dutch, the English adopted a policy of complete neutrality in regard to the religions of India. It was no business of the ruler to interfere with the manners and customs of subjects, however different from those of the rulers. At that time Indian Christians, if any, were Roman Catholics, and not always a good advertisement for their faith. British policy was actuated at best by tolerance, at worst by indifference to the things of the spirit. *Quieta non movere* has been found a reliable principle in many fields of human activity, and not least in the colonial world.

6 THE ARRIVAL OF THE EUROPEANS: THE FRENCH

With Portugal, England and the Netherlands already in the field, it was almost inevitable that France should sooner or later enter the fray. The French had, in fact, been among the earliest Europeans to sail the Indian waters, a number of voyages having been noted in the records of the

sixteenth century. Some intrepid travellers, best known among them Francis Tavernier whose account of his travels was widely read, had made the arduous journey by land and had successfully reached India and returned.⁴¹ Interest was thus aroused; but the earlier French enterprises were municipal or provincial rather than national in scale and not much came of them. The genius and vigour of Colbert (1625–96) were needed before a great French Company to rival those of England and the Netherlands could come into existence.

In 1664 the *Compagnie des Indes Orientales* was formed. The interest of King Louis XIV had been secured, and generous support from the royal finances had been promised. Every effort was made to drum up interest and support in every part of the country. Everything seemed to promise success from the start. But somehow success never came. General interest was no more than languid; the able men sent out to care for the interests of France in the east never received the support of which their merits should have assured them. The French were not, like the English and the Dutch, a nation of traders.⁴² What was perhaps lacking was the persistent determination which drove the Dutch and the English forward in face of all the innumerable obstacles which the India of those days could place in the way of Western success.

The first aim of the French Company was the establishment of a colony on the east coast of Madagascar, to provide a place for rest, for repair and for revictualling of ships on the long and exhausting journey to India. This was a reasonable plan. The Cape of Good Hope served the Dutch and later the English in precisely this manner. But from the start the French suffered from a confusion of purpose; commerce and colonisation are different and not always compatible aims; and the finances of France, exhausted by the perpetual wars carried on by the *roi soleil*, were not adequate to provide for the needs of both. And constant interference from the centre periodically tied the hands of the men in India, just at the times at which the wheel of fortune might have begun to turn in their favour.

The first enterprise of the French Company in India was at Surat, not a propitious place to choose, as the Dutch and the English were already there. A second station, built and fortified in the neighbourhood of Mylapore, defended itself against the Dutch with great gallantry for three years; but inevitably the defenders were worn down by stronger forces, and a capitulation was signed on 6 September 1674. But once again luck, which had already played so notable a part in European history in India, was with them. A young aristocrat, Bellanger de L'Espinay, a volunteer in the French service, was negotiating at Porto Novo with the governor under the king of Bijāpur, Sher Khān Lodī, for help against the Dutch and their investment of the fort at St Thomé. Negotiations were proceeding favourably, when in the

first days of 1673 a Dutch representative arrived bent on cutting out the French in the estimation of the governor. His intervention was less than successful. The governor, having heard both sides, declared roundly that, as the Dutch and the French were neighbours in Europe, they should be the same in India; and so, in the jubilant phrase of L'Espinay, 'he gave us Pondichéri as a place where our nation might settle'.⁴³ Pondichéri was not much of a place, and in the ceaseless wars of the time changed hands a number of times. But it remained essentially French for nearly three centuries and played a notable part in the history of France in India.

France was equally fortunate in the man who was to make Pondichéri his home for thirty-two years (except when driven out by enemy action), and was to build it up from a fishing village into a fortified centre of government. Francis Martin (1634–1706) was not a man of genius. But he was shrewd in his assessment of the Indian situation (in this a true predecessor of Dupleix), brave, honest and persistent, undiscouraged by ill success. A modern historian has written of the year 1701, 'The city had been launched. It had been in existence for thirty years, and Martin had been at its head for twenty-seven. From that time on Pondichéri was a capital.'⁴⁴ The parks are described as having been magnificent – 'great square lawns with star-shaped flower-beds and long well-swept walks . . . in whose shade gentlemen . . . exchanged compliments in as leisurely and elaborate a manner as if they were at Versailles or Marly'.⁴⁵

In one respect the commission given to the French Company differed from that obtained by the English and the Dutch; the grant of Madagascar and the neighbouring islands was made dependent on their using their privileges and powers to promote Christianity there. During the time of Francis Martin piety was of the order of the day in French India. Daily mass was well attended, and naturally still more on the occasion of the great festivals. 'The General' and his wife honoured with their presence the baptisms of the children of French residents, and even the conversion of slaves, thus adding the weight of their authority to missionary work. Not many Frenchmen attended Hindu ceremonies, being held back by religious scruples from being present at worship of which they could not approve.⁴⁶ All this had very little effect on the life of the Indian population in the colony and beyond. The great days of French missions in India were to come in the eighteenth and not in the seventeenth century. For the earlier period there is little to record on the subject of missionary enterprise.⁴⁷

7 THE ARRIVAL OF THE EUROPEANS: OTHER NATIONS

For the sake of completeness, reference must be made to one other small European venture. The hardy Danes had been venturing to the west; in

1617 their explorers were the first in modern times to see the eastern coast of Greenland. In 1616, with the foundation of the Danish East India Company, they entered the field of European competition in the East. In 1620 they were fortunate in acquiring possession of the pleasant little port of Tarangambādi (Tranquebar) south of Madras, and of a small adjoining region. Attempts at starting enterprises in Bengal were unsuccessful, until at a considerably later date the Danes were able to establish themselves at Srirāmpur (Serampore) about sixteen miles above Calcutta on the Hūglī river. Danish trade was never more than minuscule in comparison with that of the European giants. Yet these two small cities were destined to play a much more important part in the Christian history of India than many centres much greater in size and of greater repute in the general history of the world.⁴⁸

At the end of the seventeenth century European possessions showed as no more than a dot on the map of India. There were no more than nineteen principal stations, all on the coast, supported by perhaps forty minor settlements or factories, of which some, though not many, were far inland.⁴⁹ The only extensive territory in European hands was Goa, to which the Portuguese clung with fanatical tenacity. Elsewhere the Europeans were dependent on the uncertain goodwill of Indian rulers, towards whom they displayed an almost servile respect and to whom they punctiliously paid their dues. There was no reason at that time to suppose that the Europeans would ever constitute an important element in the affairs of India. But they possessed one quality which was so often lacking in the Indian rulers, pertinacity. Dynasty might yield to dynasty, invasion follow invasion; life and property were never wholly secure. But, like the unwearied peasant, having heard the legions thunder by the merchants returned to their counters and observed the sacred rule of 'business as usual'. The Europeans were always there, and always quietly at work on the unobserved and mysterious process of the erosion of Indian power. After Aurungzīb the Mughuls produced no ruler of even comparable capacity. The Europeans from their restricted numbers brought forth visionaries, warriors, administrators and statesmen, who in a century transformed the empire of Hindustan into the brightest jewel in the British crown.

In 1707 nothing of this could be discerned. The Mughuls were as yet hardly aware of the power of the Hindu renaissance and of their own inexorable decadence. The brains of the Europeans, in their soft and comfortable beds, were as yet hardly visited by dreams of conquest and imperial power.⁵⁰

12 · The Mission of Mathurai

I ROBERT NOBILI – THE FIRST EXPERIMENTS

With the opening of the seventeenth century the centre of interest in Christian missions in India moves southwards to the Tamil country, the Pāṇḍyan realm, and within it to the greatest city of that realm, Kūdal of the four towers to give it its ancient Dravidian name, Mathurai as it is more commonly known today. Now as then, the four great *gopurams*, gateway towers of the Mīnākṣi temple standing high above the flat South Indian plain, beckon the traveller from afar. Then as now, the great temple, served by countless Brāhmans, was the scene of an almost endless round of ceremonies and festivities. Then as now, Mathurai was a great centre of Tamil culture, almost the purest form of the Tamil language being spoken in the city and its environs. It was a great centre of education, being the home of something like a university in which students from many areas streamed together to be instructed in logic and in the various forms of Hindu philosophy.¹

The first beginnings of Christian penetration had taken place before the end of the sixteenth century. A number of Portuguese were resident in the outskirts of the city; and some families of Parava Christians engaged in trade had moved inland from the coast. To care for them a Jesuit priest Fr Gonçalo Fernandes had been sent to the great city. Born in 1540, Fernandes had arrived in India in 1560 and had served under the viceroy in one inauspicious campaign in Ceylon. While still a young man he had fallen under the spell of Fr Henry Henriques, had joined the Jesuit order in 1562, and had eventually been ordained. It was admitted by his closest friends that his theological qualifications were moderate. But he had a good knowledge of Tamil in the rather rough form in which it was spoken by his parishioners; and, when his provincial asked for information about the ways and doings of the Brāhmans, he was able to compile a report which, though failing to deal with the questions of profound philosophy or theology, is accurate in its delineation of Brāhman life. This shows that Fernandes was sufficiently in touch with high-caste Hindus to have reliable sources of information.²

Fernandes, however, suffered under one grave limitation. He was convinced that all Europeans were superior to all Indians, and that the Portuguese were superior to all other Europeans. He accepted the identity of Portuguese with *parangi*, the name by which foreigners were known in the India of that day, and of *parangi* with Christian. It is reported that, when asking a candidate for baptism whether he wished to become a Christian, he would put the question in the form, 'Do you wish to enter the *parangi kulam* (family, or community)?' ³ In his view, for the highest Brāhman to enter the *parangi* community was exaltation from a lost and base condition to the highest pinnacle to which a human being can aspire. To the Brāhman, convinced of his own superiority to every other kind of human being, to associate with the *parangis* was to sink to the lowest possible level of pollution and degradation. No real meeting of minds was possible.

All this was to be changed by a young Jesuit, a 'young man wanting yet the years of Christ', who arrived in India on 20 May 1605.

Robert Nobili was an Italian aristocrat, nephew of a cardinal, and connected by kinship or friendship with many noble Italian families.⁴ He maintained a close relationship with Cardinal Bellarmine until the death of the cardinal in 1621. His decision to join the Jesuit order was unwelcome to members of his family, who believed him capable of rising to the highest level of ecclesiastical eminence. Still more unwelcome was his decision to give himself to missionary work in India. Not for the first or last time in his life Robert gave evidence of an inflexible will. His determination carried the day, and for the next fifty years India was to be his home.

At the start it seemed unlikely that Nobili was destined for any missionary career at all. In January 1606, he moved from Goa to Cochin. There he fell so gravely ill that his life was despaired of; he was told by his companions that he had not more than five or six hours to live.⁵ He recovered and lived long; but for the rest of his life his health was never robust. He complained frequently of aches and pains. By the time that he was fifty his sight had become seriously impaired.

Nobili's first appointment was to the Fisher Coast, where, with his inborn facility for learning languages, he acquired in seven months reasonable fluency in the form of the Tamil language which was spoken in those parts. Then came the appointment to Mathurai, which was reached on 15 November 1606. Thus began a career marked by originality unsurpassed by any missionary in India before or after his time.

Not many days had passed before Nobili observed that in eleven years Fr Fernandes had not been able to win to the faith a single high-caste Hindu. He set himself to find out why this was so, and what were the obstacles, if any, that needed to be removed. He was fortunate in encountering a friend

who could give him just the information that he needed. Among the good works carried out by Fernandes was the opening of a clinic which was justly esteemed by both Hindus and Christians, and of an elementary school in which an intelligent young Hindu had been persuaded to serve as teacher. This man agreed to serve as Nobili's instructor in his further study of the Tamil language; at the end of a year Nobili was able to express himself as fluently and correctly in high Tamil as though it had been his native language.⁶ During this time a close friendship sprang up between the two young men, and the teacher was prepared to discuss with his pupil Indian ways and usages and those things in the Portuguese way of life which from the Indian point of view were insupportable. The list was almost endless – almost everything which the Portuguese did was objectionable to the high-caste Hindu. They wore leather shoes – no high-caste Indian may touch anything that comes from a dead animal. They ate with knife and fork, which to the Hindu is disgusting. They drank wine and ate meat; worst of all they ate beef – a habit practised by one of the very lowest of the separated communities. The attempts of the missionaries to persuade their converts to adopt Portuguese ways had imposed a fatal barrier on the progress of the Gospel.⁷ It became clear to Nobili that all these things would have to go. If he wished to win the Brāhmins for Christ, he must, as far as was possible, become a Brāhman for their sakes.

It was by no means easy to carry out this design. He must wear only Indian dress – the long ochre robe of the *sannyāsi*, with a second cloth cast over the shoulder. He must use only wooden sandals. He must eat only rice and vegetables, and be content with one meal a day; for the preparation of these meals he must secure the services of Brāhman attendants. He must avoid all contact with the lower castes, and these included the Christians of Fernandes' congregation, identified as these were with the despised and hated *parangis*. For a time Nobili and Fernandes continued to occupy the same house; but it soon became clear that the situation was intolerable. The last thing that Fernandes was prepared to do was to make any modification in his European manner of living. Nobili was equally obstinate and would not abandon his experiment. The tension was eased when Fernandes was ordered for a time to go to the Coast; but when he returned it became evident that separation could not be avoided. With the permission of the provincial Albert Laerzio, Nobili prepared to acquire for himself a separate habitation.⁸

There was much to commend Mathurai as the centre for the new kind of mission that Nobili was determined to launch. It was a great centre of population and of Tamil culture, the influence of which radiated far and wide in the Tamil country. But frustrations were many, and Nobili was well aware that the frustrations would not decrease as the work was extended.

His mind seems to have dwelt on the possibility of leaving Mathurai and starting again elsewhere. This is clear from a letter written to the general in Rome in September 1609: 'Hence I have repeatedly entreated Fr Laerzio the provincial to be allowed to go away to some other place, where I shall be unknown and there dress and live like an Indian.' It can hardly be doubted that Nobili was right. In Mathurai there was already in existence a Christian congregation with which he was determined to have as little as possible to do, and from which he planned to keep his converts, if he made any, in a state of almost complete separation. It would not have been difficult to move elsewhere. Tirunelveli a hundred miles to the south was a centre of Tamil culture second only to Mathurai. In Thaṇjāvur Tamil was spoken as correctly as in Mathurai. Tiruchirāpalli and Salem were not far away, and, as later events were to show, were accessible to the Gospel. But Nobili was a man under obedience and could not decide for himself. His requests for permission to go elsewhere, beyond the reach of Portuguese influence, fell on deaf ears. He was in Mathurai, and in Mathurai it was ordained by his superiors that he must stay. From this mistaken decision flowed the evasions and subterfuges by which, through many years, the friends of Nobili were perplexed and his enemies enraged. In Mathurai he must stay, and as far as possible maintain the integrity of his work and of his spirit.

Through the help of a friend, whose name is given as Errama Chetṭi, brother of one of the lords of Mathurai (the correct Indian form of his name is uncertain), Nobili was able to take up residence in a small and rather dilapidated building, in the part of the city called in the Portuguese spelling Chinnaxauta, which cannot now be identified.⁹ In a letter to Cardinal Bellarmine, Nobili describes his manner of life as follows:

I am now living in a cabin with earthen walls and a thatched roof, which is more use to me and makes me happier than if it were a rich palace . . . As I never stir from my house and the nourishment I take is not very substantial, I am always ill, and rare are the days on which I do not feel some pain in the stomach or in the head. My food consists of a little rice – abundant in this country – with some herbs and fruit; neither meat nor eggs ever cross my threshold . . . your eminence must know that we use neither bread nor wine, except at the Holy Sacrifice.¹⁰

There has been a tendency to romanticise the existence of Nobili in Mathurai and to exaggerate its hardships. The climate of Mathurai, though hot, is generally healthy. The cool season, after the monsoon rains, is delightful. The proximity of the ocean keeps the temperature moderate, and even in the hottest months the dryness of the atmosphere makes it clear and exhilarating. If Nobili's cook was a Brāhman, he could count on being served with simple but delicious meals; his diet did not exclude the use of milk, butter and ghee, and Salem mangoes are the best in the world.

Nevertheless the regime which he had adopted, and which he maintained year after year, was one which few Europeans find it possible to follow, and its rigour was increased by the solitary manner of life to which he felt himself constrained.

2 DISPUTES AND CONVERSIONS

In his new surroundings Nobili continued to study with his beloved teacher the Tamil language, that shoreless sea, and also all the complicated details of poise, manner and conduct, in which the European, if he does not fully understand them, is certain to give offence. Nobili never pretended to be anything but a European, but it was his firm resolve to avoid anything, apart from compromise in matters of the faith, by which any Indian of whatever rank could be offended. Moreover, as friendship deepened, the teacher gradually proved willing to discuss matters of religion with his friend and pupil. A special opportunity to study such matters came with the eclipse of the sun which took place on 25 February 1607, and was observed by the Hindus with special ritual washings. Questioned about this by Nobili, the teacher agreed to a period of intensive study of religious questions, about four or five hours a day for twenty days. The subjects of dispute were those which recur endlessly in the accounts of Nobili's work – the unity and uniqueness of God, the creation and maintenance of the world, the existence of the soul, its survival of bodily death, and the doctrine of transmigration, to which ancient doctrine of Pythagoras, says one of our best authorities for this period, they cling and will not let go, '*tenent mordicus*'.¹¹ The doctrine of *karma* was the great obstacle, and that with which Nobili always found it most difficult to deal. But in the end the teacher declared himself convinced and asked for baptism.

So Nobili was able to baptise his first high-caste convert; he was given the name Albert, no doubt in honour of the provincial Albert Laerzio. The teacher was not the only young man of inquiring mind with whom Nobili had had contact. Before long several of these followed the example of Albert, and agreed to receive baptism – Alexius Nāyakkan, Ignatius Nāyakkan, Eustace Nāyakkan, and finally Albert's brother, who received the name Francis.¹²

To what did these young men imagine that they had been admitted by accepting the rite of baptism? In those days there were many Hindu reformers. There were many sects, each with its own appropriate rite of initiation. The converts had found a *guru* whom they could love and respect, and whose manner of argumentation seemed to them convincing. But they were allowed to keep their caste rules and to continue to live in their own families. Naturally they were forbidden to take part in idolatrous

ceremonies. They were in some way aware that Nobili and Fernandes belonged to the same sect; but they were not required to associate with Parava Christians, any more than as Hindus they had associated with Hindus of low caste. They did not take part in the Lord's Supper with these other Christians; and, even had they done so, they would not have been faced, as is every Protestant convert, with the difficulty involved in the use of the common chalice. They were faithful to their *guru*. Had they realised the exclusive claims imposed by Jesus Christ on those who accept allegiance to him? Did they experience any problems, as Christians, in remaining within the Hindu fold?

By now it was clear to Nobili that, though he had shewn himself a skilled debater with intelligent young Hindus, his knowledge of Hinduism still needed to be greatly extended, if he wished to prove himself in discussion with genuinely learned Hindus on their own ground. Further progress could be made only if he was able to learn Sanskrit, the classical language in which the Hindu *gurus* lived and moved and had their being. Once again fortune favoured him. In 1608 a learned Telugu Brāhman, Śivadharmā, having heard of the *sannyāsi* teacher who had come from Rome, desired to make his acquaintance and to convince him of the truth of the Śaivite form of Hindu philosophy. With this in view he offered to teach Nobili Sanskrit. This was no easy task. There was no written grammar of a kind that a European could understand; everything had to be learned by heart. But Nobili had an excellent memory. Śivadharmā was a good teacher, and relations between teacher and pupil developed in such a way that before long Nobili was able to write of his *carissimo maestro*. By August 1609 it was reckoned that he was able to speak Sanskrit fluently.¹³ Nobili was still not satisfied. Behind the kind of Sanskrit that he was learning he sensed the presence of another world – that hidden world of the *Veda*, the repository of the secret lore of the Brāhmins, of which he had heard but of the contents of which he had hardly any idea. Trusting in the power of friendship, he asked Śivadharmā to write down for him these sacred books. This was a request calculated to fill the mind of the teacher with alarm. Knowledge of the *Veda* was restricted to the twice-born castes alone; access to it was strictly forbidden to *śūdras* and to women. Revelation of the mysteries to unqualified persons was a crime which could be visited with alarming penalties. After long hesitation Śivadharmā consented, trusting to his friend's discretion to keep his collusion secret. Nobili now had access, such as no European had ever had before, to the ancient wisdom of the Hindus.

Some doubt must exist as to what it was that Śivadharmā actually revealed. The term *Veda* is in itself less than explicit. Did Nobili acquire a knowledge of the four great original *Vedas* which are the source and foundation of all that followed? Or was his acquaintance rather with

compendia of information, such as used to be compiled for the benefit of students, in which extracts from many writings would be included and some no doubt from the original *Vedas* themselves? No definite answer can be given to the question, since the one source on which such an answer could be based no longer exists – of the Sanskrit writings of Nobili not a single one has survived.¹⁴

3 OPPOSITION AND CONTROVERSIES

Nobili was well aware that, though he had powerful supporters, he also had powerful critics among the missionaries, and that these might sooner or later be in a position to bring his whole enterprise to an end. It seemed to him wise to let his work be tested by its results as seen in the character of some of his converts, and also to let Christians of the Mathurai mission see that there were in India other Christians who could not possibly be called *parangis*. He decided to send some of his converts to the Malabar Coast. Thereby he would achieve simultaneously three objects. The Tamil Christians would there see Christians who were neither Paravas like the congregation of Fernandes nor Brāhmans like themselves, but maintained their own specific Christian position within the wide fellowship of the church. He would give to the Jesuits and others in Cochin, trained up as they were to suspect all novelties, the opportunity to see Christians of the Mathurai mission and to assure themselves by personal contact of the genuineness of their conversion. And it would be possible for these young Christians to lay before the Visitor himself the state of the mission to which they belonged and to convince him of the urgent need of further help to stabilise the work of the mission and to ensure its future. Nobili chose for this venture two young Christians in whose reliability he could place complete confidence – a brother of his first convert Alexis to whom he had given the name Visuvāsam ('faith' or 'the faithful one') and Peter Malaiyappan, 'the rock'.

The experiment was a complete success. The two young men commended themselves to all whom they met by their modesty and fervour. They took every opportunity of mingling with the Thomas Christians, and noted with approval that these too were careful not to associate closely with recent converts of lower caste. Before leaving the Serra they were sent to meet Archbishop Roz, who administered to them the rite of confirmation, the first Christians of the Mathurai mission to receive this blessing.

The most important outcome of the mission, however, was that Nobili's urgent need for help in the work at Mathurai was met by the appointment of a colleague, Manuel Leitão, a Portuguese, who was the novice-master in Cochin. Already thirty-seven years old, Leitão was described as enthusiastic,

of quick understanding, friendly and genial in his relationships with others. Inspired by an eager desire to go to Mathurai, he had asked the young visitors whether they thought that he could be useful in that mission. It may have been as a result of their intercession on his behalf that on 10 August, already clothed in the ochre robe which was the uniform of the Mathurai mission, he set out to cross the mountains *en route* for his new work.

Leitão had been warned of the hardships that would await him on the far side of the mountains; but he seems to have been quite unprepared for what life in the mission was really like. Often it is the small adaptations that are most trying to the newcomer to India. When supper-time arrived and he found that he was expected to sit on the floor with a plantain leaf in front of him and to eat rice and vegetables with his fingers, his fastidious mind was so revolted by this unfamiliar way of behaving that he could do no more than force himself to swallow a few morsels. Only after three days could he begin to accustom himself to the new ways.¹⁵

This was only the beginning of troubles. Leitão was deeply impressed by Nobili's total devotion to his mission to the disregard of all else. He was pleased with the converts and their ways. But it soon became evident that eagerness is no substitute for the staying power which was so remarkably evident in Nobili himself. Leitão could not adapt himself to the rule of only one meal a day; so it came about that the missionaries hardly ever ate together. He became discouraged at the difficulty of learning the Tamil language. It is possible that Nobili was impatient with a colleague who was so far from coming up to his expectations – one of the charges against which he had to defend himself was that of having been harsh and arrogant in his treatment of Leitão.¹⁶ Whatever the causes may have been, by the end of the year Leitão had thrown in his hand, and Nobili, deeply disappointed by the failure of one in whom he had reposed such high hopes, had sadly to report to Vico, in a letter dated 12 June, 1610,¹⁷ that he was once more alone.

Nobili was not the man to seek out controversy for its own sake. But almost inevitably he found himself for many years of his life at the centre of controversy.

In Mathurai, that central point of Hindu orthodoxy, many were disturbed by the fact that a foreigner had managed to acquire a residence in a high-caste quarter of the city. When it became known that the same foreigner had obtained access to some at least among the secrets of Brāhman lore, anxiety deepened. With the baptism of his first converts, many must have felt that their whole position as leaders in society and in the intellectual and religious life of Mathurai was threatened. Fierce reactions were sooner or later to be expected.

Opposition seems to have reached a climax in the early months of the year

1609.¹⁸ Two Brāhmans publicly brought a series of charges against Nobili, the head and sum of which was that he had spoken against the teaching of the *Vedas*, that he had declared bathing at Rāmesvaram or in the Kāvēri to be of no value as a way to salvation, and that he had declared the caste of the *rājās* to be higher than that of the Brāhmans. A special attack was made on Śivadharmā for his treachery in associating with a low-born foreigner. No less than 800 Brahmins assembled to hear the discussion of the charges. It fell to the lot of Śivadharmā, not yet baptised, to speak on behalf of his friend and mentor.

Śivadharmā, according to the reports, spoke so well that he not merely covered himself with distinction but also shewed that Nobili was innocent of the charges that had been brought against him. In many disputes with the Brāhmans, he had shewn himself a learned, effective and courteous controversialist. From that time on the position of Nobili as far as the Hindus was concerned was assured; he had earned the respect if not the agreement of the learned of the city. This is shewn in the title *Tattuva-bōdhakar*, the teacher of reality, by which he came to be generally known.¹⁹

So for the moment the Brāhmans were quieted. From other quarters even greater dangers were now to be apprehended.

Study and public debate had meant no remission in Nobili's ceaseless work of evangelism. The number of converts continued to grow. At Easter 1609 he was able to report the baptism of eight high-caste candidates. The number of the baptised had now reached fifty.²⁰ A little later he wrote to his provincial that he hoped soon to be able to baptise another twelve, chief among whom would be his *carissimo maestro* Śivadharmā.

4 ENEMIES FROM WITHOUT AND FROM WITHIN

Since numbers were growing so rapidly Nobili decided that a church must be built, near to his residence and of course entirely separate from the church in which the Paravas worshipped. Hardly had this been achieved when the work had to endure the gravest blow ever directed against it. A Parava Christian who had come up from the coast informed the high-caste Christians that any of them who had been baptised by Nobili, and touched with saliva as the Roman rite required, had thereby lost caste and were no better than *parangis*.²¹ The disturbance among the Christians was more than considerable. This was just what they had always feared. They knew that in some sense the *parangis* were fellow-Christians, separate as the two groups had always been. They knew also that, when Nobili wished to make his confession, he would go at dead of night to the house of Fernandes. The two Fathers worked under the same superiors, and the separation between them was much less than complete. How, then, were the high-caste

Christians to behave? Fourteen of the Brāhman converts ceased coming to church. Nobili did his utmost to calm the panic, but with only partial success. The fourteen were prepared to come as far as the outer gate of the church compound but no further. They assured Nobili that they regarded themselves as Christians; but that, if this involved them in becoming *parangis*, they would rather die.

Something had to be done. Nobili decided to set forth a 'manifesto', in which he would make plain his own understanding of his position, and of the vocation which he was fulfilling as a teacher of the truth in Mathurai. A long statement was drawn up in Tamil, written on palm-leaf *olais*, and by Nobili's orders nailed to a tree in front of his house where all could see it. The most important sentences in this document are as follows:

I am not a *parangi*. I was not born in the land of the *parangis*, nor was I ever connected with their race . . . I came from Rome, where my family hold the same rank as respectable *rājās* hold in this country . . . With those who come to speak with me I discuss no other questions than those which concern the salvation of their souls. In this matter I treat of the existence of God and his attributes, how he is one and three, how he created the world and men, and all other things . . . The law which I preach is the law of the true God . . . Whoever says that it is the law of the *parangis*, fit only for low castes, commits a very great sin, for the true God is not the God of one race, but the God of all. We must confess that he deserves to be adored by all.²²

The 'manifesto' gives clear evidence of the confusion of thought and language in which Nobili, his friends and his enemies were all involved. Local people, including most of the Christians, identified *parangi* and Christian. Nobili, asserting that *parangi* meant Portuguese, made a distinction between *parangi* and Christian. But in point of fact, long before Nobili came to Mathurai, the term *Feringhi*, Franks, had been used all over the East for all Europeans, and the Muslims took it for granted that all Europeans were Christians. So the argument in Mathurai would run more or less on the following lines: 'If you are a Christian, you must be a *parangi*.' 'I am a Christian, but I am not a *parangi*.' 'If you are not a *parangi*, you are not a Christian.' And so it would go on endlessly without producing conviction on either side. It is doubtful whether Nobili's mission ever fully recovered from the blow dealt it by the Parava Christian.²³

The next wave of troubles which Nobili had to face was growing up in the ranks of those who ought to have been his friends. 'A man's foes shall be they of his own household.' The course followed by Nobili was adventurous and without precedent in India, though he could point to parallels in the work of his fellow-Jesuit Matthew Ricci and his colleagues in China. All kinds of rumours began to circulate, the most absurd being that Nobili himself had

turned Hindu. Many factors played a part in the development of this animosity. The Portuguese did not like the assertion of independence by the Italian Nobili. His constant emphasis on his aristocratic origins could not be agreeable to those who could make no such claims.²⁴ Age against youth; the defenders of the old ways could not but be offended by the new. Fernandes could not but be distressed by the division among Christians which, as he saw it, Nobili had precipitated in Mathurai.

Criticisms were many and varied; they tended to converge on six changes which Nobili was affirmed to have made in Christian practice:

Nobili allowed to his converts the use of the *pūñūl*, the sacred thread worn over the left shoulder, which is the identifying mark of the twice-born castes.

He allowed the use of sandal paste on the forehead, to take the place of the sacred ashes of Śiva or the trident of Viṣṇu.

He did not forbid the practice of ceremonial bathing, commonly regarded as a part of Hindu ritual.

He permitted the *kuḍumi*, the sacred tuft of hair grown by Brāhmans on an otherwise shaven skull.

He had introduced changes into the existing versions of the Creed and other religious formulae.

In marriage he had substituted for the ring of Christian tradition the *tāli*, the neck-ornament worn by Hindu women as the sign of marriage.²⁵

Nobili had acted cautiously, without giving any sign of the insubordinate spirit with which he was later charged. He had consulted with his provincial at every point. He had secured from his ordinary, Archbishop Roz, permission for most of the changes that he had made, and this was not done without the knowledge of Menezes, the primate of the East. When in the year 1608 Laerzio forbade him to baptise any more Brāhmans until certain doubtful points had been cleared up, Nobili obeyed, though this meant bringing to a halt the most promising part of his work.²⁶

Matters came to a head when on 7 May 1610 Gonçalo Fernandes despatched to the Jesuit general a long letter,²⁷ in which he recapitulated all the regular charges against Nobili, adding for good measure the statement that he had learned from a Brāhman that, in the course of a long discussion with Nobili, the name of Jesus Christ had not once been mentioned.²⁸ When Nobili learned of the letter of Fernandes, he was deeply wounded that this had been sent without his knowledge, and that charges had been laid against him without his having been informed of what they were.

Up to this point Nobili had had the advantage of powerful protectors. Now the stars in their courses began to fight against him.

In 1610 the Jesuit general Aquaviva sent to India as Visitor the sixty-three year old Nicolas Pimenta, who had already had experience of India on two previous visits. The general seems to have had a high opinion of his gifts for organisation; but these gifts, such as they were, were offset by grave personal defects. Pimenta was a man of inordinate self-confidence and arrogance. What he had determined to do that he would do, and opposition was useless. From Malabar came the rather pathetic report that such conduct as his might be suitable in a secular or military commander, but that in a spiritual leader it was less than seemly.²⁹ From the start it was clear that he had arrived strongly prejudiced against the mission of Mathurai and all its works. Worse was to follow. On 21 December 1611 Fr Pero Francisco, after a spell in Europe as procurator of the society, returned to India. He was immediately appointed by Pimenta to the post of provincial of Malabar with a clear commission to alter everything that Laerzio had done. Fr L. Besse SJ goes so far as to assert that 'he was prejudiced against the method adopted by Fr de Nobili and wished at all costs to forbid it; in other words, it was his intention to ruin the mission of Mathurai in its beginnings'.³⁰

With three such enemies as Fernandes, Pimenta and Francisco in the field, it is not surprising that for the next twelve years the life of Nobili was taken up almost wholly with long, repetitive and infinitely wearisome controversies.

5 NOBILI ON THE DEFENSIVE

Nobili's first and necessary action was to set out in writing his own understanding of his mission, and to defend himself against the criticisms launched by Fernandes and others. In a few weeks his *Responsio* was ready and sent off to Goa in time to be carried to Rome by the autumn fleet of 1610.

The *Responsio* shows signs of having been written in haste.³¹ A good deal of it is scholastic in method, showing an acquaintance with theological texts surprising in one who cannot have had access at this time to many books. This part of the work makes tedious reading. The essential sections are those in which Nobili really comes to grips with his subject and deals with the criticisms listed above.

To most of the criticisms Nobili has little difficulty in replying. Sandal paste has no religious significance. Various translations of a text can be given without altering the essential meaning. It seemed only commonsense to substitute for the unfamiliar ring in marriage the *tāli*, universally recognised in Indian society as the marriage symbol. All that had been done was simply with a view to making no unnecessary changes in the appearance and customs of high-caste converts.

The situation was very different when he came to the question of the sacred thread worn by members of the twice-born castes. Nobili was at pains

to show, with a good deal of special pleading, that the thread had social but not religious significance. Here he may have been misled by a false parallel with the European society from which he came. In the quasi-Christian West the equality of all men in the sight of God was fully accepted in theory, though often denied in practice. There could be differences in social status, but these were man-made – socially conditioned but in no sense ultimate. In Europe, in other words, it was possible to distinguish between the social and the religious. Nobili was mistaken in thinking that such a distinction can be maintained in India. To be born a Brāhman is a sign of immense merit acquired in some previous existence; such status is linked inseparably to the doctrine of *karma* with all the religious implications that follow on that doctrine. Any Hindu, seeing a man wearing a sacred thread, would conclude at once that such a man was making a claim to be a member of a twice-born Hindu caste. This would apply as much to Nobili's converts as to any other high-caste Hindu – a place could be found for them in the Hindu social system as long as they continued to observe Hindu usages. The same ambiguity attaches to Nobili's attempt to show that to be a Brāhman did not necessarily imply priestly status. It is true that not all Brāhmans officiated as priests; but Brāhmans alone were qualified to act as priests to the higher Hindu castes.

Nobili's position was much strengthened by the results of a solemn hearing of the evidence of a number of his converts, on which Pimenta insisted in spite of the generally favourable judgement on Nobili and his work set forth by a solemn assembly of consultants in Cochin. The investigation took place in Mathurai between 12 September and 22 November 1610. Ten Christians were summoned – three Brāhmans, three Nāyaks, two Vellālas, an 'Irakole', and a learned man whose caste is not specified. To every one of the questions put to them the witnesses gave a clear and unhesitating answer. A few sentences will make clear the tenour of their replies:

5. Our Aiyar has never forbidden us to attend the mass or sermons of Fr Gonçalo or to make our confession to him; nor did he ever threaten to exclude us from his 'church of Jesus', as he calls it, if we did so.
6. We know perfectly well that our Aiyar goes to Fr Gonçalo to make his confession. In his absence we would do the same.
8. We do not invariably bathe before going to mass. If we do so, it is purely as a matter of physical cleanliness without any superstitious ceremonies.
15. We know who the pope is, and recognise him as the chief shepherd of the universal church. The archbishop of the Serra (Cranganore) is our spiritual head. Some of our members have been confirmed by him . . . When we were baptized we were given neither money nor clothing, and we were promised no advantages in this earthly life. We became Christians in order to obtain salvation, and for no other reason.³²

This declaration was a resounding victory for Nobili. The allegations of Fernandes were shown to be without foundation, and the testimony of the witnesses was unmistakably Christian. This ought to have ended the matter. Unfortunately the enemies of Nobili were not to be so easily silenced.

Among these enemies must be reckoned Christopher de Sá, the successor of Menezes as archbishop of Goa. Sá had hoped to obtain from the pope a direct condemnation of Nobili and his methods. Instead, the pope instructed him to meet with Nobili, Archbishop Roz and the best theologians in India, to consider all the questions under dispute, and to send a full report to the holy see. Very unwillingly the archbishop of Goa had to obey the mandate of the pope.

The conference opened in Goa on 4 February 1619.³³ It soon became clear that the weight of theological opinion was on the side of Nobili. The second inquisitor Ferdinand de Almeyda made a notable speech, in which he admitted that in the past he had been strongly opposed to Nobili, but now having studied the whole problem afresh he had found himself compelled to change his opinion.³⁴ It might have been thought that Francis Roz, with his twenty-five years of experience in India and his minute acquaintance with all the circumstances of the case, would have been able to sway the decision. But the archbishop of Goa had made up his mind and was not to be influenced by any arguments. In view of the strength of the support which Nobili had been able to rally to himself, the archbishop could not proceed to pass sentence against him as he had desired to do, and had to content himself with collecting the various expressions of opinion and the votes and sending them to Rome via Lisbon.³⁵ At the same time he despatched a secret message calculated to stir up feeling against Nobili. In Goa he gave expression to his venom by preaching a vigorous sermon against the new methods, in which he went to the extreme of mentioning the culprit by name. Nobili, in a letter to his brother, sadly complains that the archbishop has done his utmost 'to sully my name and reputation'.³⁶

So after all the case came back to the pope. Paul V had died, and had been succeeded by Gregory XV.³⁷ One of the first acts of the new pope was to appoint a commission to examine all the documents from Goa and to submit a considered opinion on the basis of which a final decision could be reached. The main theological work was entrusted to Peter Lombard, archbishop of Armagh. As this venerable man could not go to Ireland, he lived in Rome, and had acquired a considerable reputation as one of the acutest theological minds of the age.³⁸ He gave himself with assiduity to the study of the complex problems that had come to him from South India, and took more than a year to reach a judgement. This, when published, was found to be almost wholly favourable to Nobili. The archbishop insists only that everything idolatrous must be abandoned, and that in the use of the

traditional Indian symbols no occasion must be given for supposing that the old superstitions are perpetuated with them.³⁹

It remained only for the pope to express his agreement. This was done in the apostolic constitution *Romanae sedis antistes* of 31 January 1623. Once again the decision was almost wholly in favour of Nobili and of the methods of the Mathurai mission:

Taking pity on human weakness, till further deliberation by us and the apostolic see, we grant by these letters present, in virtue of the apostolic authority, to the Brāhmans and the Gentiles who have been and will be converted to the Faith, permission to take and wear the thread and [to grow] the *kuḍumi* as distinctive signs of their social status, nobility, and other offices; we allow them to use sandal paste as an ornament, and ablutions for the cleansing of the body, provided, however, that to remove all superstitions and all alleged causes for scandal, they observe the following regulations: [detailed regulations for the avoidance of scandal follow].⁴⁰

Once again Nobili had triumphed. The highest authority in the church had vindicated him and exonerated him from all blame. His seventeen years of labour and witness had not been in vain; henceforth he was to be left in peace.

6 THE LATER YEARS OF NOBILI

The missionary work of Nobili in India can be divided into four periods of unequal length:

There was first the period of glad and adventurous pioneering, crowned with rapid and unexpected success (1606–10).

Then followed the sad years of controversy, in which the work of the mission was carried on, but with endless interruptions through journeys and the writing of documents related to accusations and defamation (1610–23).

The third period was that of the extension of the mission, accompanied by grave difficulties through persecution, the dearth of workers, and the declining health of Nobili, whose sight was causing grave anxiety as early as 1626 (1623–45).

The final period lasted eleven years, and was spent in relegation and increasing blindness, Nobili having been sent away from his beloved Mathurai by the higher authorities of his order. During these years Nobili was occupied in the extension of the mission through almost ceaseless literary work.

In the third period, the political situation, with which the fortunes of the mission were intimately involved, had become much less favourable to the work. Muthuvīrappa Nāyakkar, who had ruled Mathurai under the overlordship of the king of Vijayanagar from 1609 to 1623, died and was

succeeded by Tirumalai Nāyakkar, by far the most powerful member of the ruling dynasty. This potentate intended to make of himself a great conqueror. To this end he assembled a considerable army, and much of the history of the times is little more than a chronicle of his endless battles and campaigns. Some of the Christian converts were drawn into the service of the ruler. The people of the area suffered severely from the recurrent famines which were due at least in part to his military ambitions. The general atmosphere of suspicion and uncertainty was unfavourable to amicable discussion with Hindus and to the extension of the Christian congregation.

The combination of all these factors gradually produced a great change in Nobili's understanding of his missionary task. Gone now was the extreme seclusion and withdrawal from the world by which his early years had been marked. Gone was the exclusive concentration on Mathurai and on the highest castes alone. Nobili became for the first time a missionary traveller. Four centres are mentioned frequently in such sources as we have – Tiruchirāpallī (wrongly written by the Europeans as Trichinopoly) with its great rock; Salem (properly Sēlam) a pleasant country town at the foot of the Shevaroy hills; and two smaller centres – Sendamangalam and Moramangalam. In each of these the preaching of the Gospel encountered fierce opposition, even persecution; but the number of Christians continued quietly to grow, Brāhmans forming only a small proportion of the converts and the work spreading more rapidly among other castes.

What turned the work of the mission in an entirely new direction was an apparently chance meeting with a member of one of the castes reckoned lowest in the social scale. This man belonged to the special sect of the Paraiya community known as Valluvar, who serve as priests to that community.⁴¹ The most distinguished among them was Tiruvalluvar, the reputed author of the *Tirukkural*, the most famous of all Tamil classics. Though technically of the excluded community, some members of the group are held in high esteem by members of the higher castes. This seems to have been the case with this man, who had a considerable reputation for his knowledge of Tamil religious writings, and was affirmed to have 2,000 followers in his own community. Having heard of the 'teacher of reality' and his writings, he desired to make contact with him. The first meeting seems to have taken place on 31 July 1626.

Nobili had great hesitation about accepting this unexpected candidate for baptism. So far his work had been entirely among members of the higher castes, access to whom had been preserved for him only by his careful abstinence from every kind of contact with those whose touch meant defilement. If he were to change his policy, he might jeopardise the whole future of the Mathurai mission in its existing form. But the pressure of

sincerity could not be resisted; sometime towards the end of 1626 – the exact date seems not to have been recorded – the inquirer was baptised and received the name Muttiuḍaiyān, he who has attained blessedness, a name translated by the fathers not altogether accurately as Hilarius. Once baptised, Muttiuḍaiyān set himself to bring into the fold as many as possible of his former adherents, with such success that the number of believers in the lower castes very soon outstripped by far the numbers of Brāhmans and of members of the other socially acceptable castes.

Nobili was now not without colleagues. At this time (1631) Fr Emmanuel Martins was in charge of the work at Mathurai, and found the division of his time and his responsibilities between the higher and the lower orders a considerable embarrassment. By day he was a teacher of the higher castes; the others could come to him only after dark, when their presence would not be so noticeable. But this was less than convenient to the poorer believers; and in any case it was clear that the subterfuge could not be for ever maintained. Martins felt that the whole of his time should be given to the poorer Christians, who by now greatly surpassed the others in numbers. He accordingly withdrew to Tiruchirāpalli, leaving the work in Mathurai to Nobili and to Antony Vico, now well installed in the mission and one of the best colleagues Nobili ever had.⁴²

The action of Martins in turning to the lower castes had at the start been a purely personal decision. But, with the steady increase in numbers, the time came when some regular solution for the increasingly complicated situation had to be found. Nobili himself had adopted the rigid code of the *sannyāsis*, believing that only by so doing he could penetrate the world of the Brāhmans and render himself acceptable to the gods among men. But he had noted that other castes had priests of their own, who did not necessarily belong to the Brahmanical order. The Vellālas, the great land-holding caste, had their *paṇḍārams*, priests who were not required to keep themselves so completely separate from the lower orders as the Brāhmans were. It should be possible to provide, alongside the order of *sannyāsis*, to which Nobili, Vico and Martins belonged, a second order of *paṇḍāraswāmis*, ascetics who would observe a rule rather less rigid than that of the Brāhman *sannyāsis*, and would be able to move more readily than they with all classes of people. Thus the ministrations of the church would be extended from above downwards.

Nobili took advantage of a visit to Cochin to consult the provincial and the archbishop as to the new step he was planning to take. Consent was readily given. Balthasar da Costa was named as the first *paṇḍāraswāmi*. He reached Karūr on 18 July 1640, the first regular head of the newly developing work of the mission. Da Costa (1610–73) was comparatively young, and threw himself with the utmost enthusiasm into the work to

which he had been assigned. There could be no doubt of the success of the new method. One door after another opened before him. But there is a certain unpleasant boastfulness about his reports as these are included in the Annual Letters.⁴³ In three years since he took up the work he has baptised no less than 2,000 persons.⁴⁴ A year later, he has baptised at Tanjore 150 catechumens, 70 of whom belonged to the higher castes, 80 were Paraiyas or Pallas.⁴⁵ Next, 700 are recorded 'and the joy caused by these conversions is doubled by the piety and innocence by which these new converts are distinguished'.⁴⁶

Da Costa was not above throwing in the suggestion that his method of working was more acceptable to the Lord than that of Nobili. Christ himself had not chosen for the conversion of the world chieftains and learned men but a group of fishermen from the lower rungs of the social scale. By granting such success to the methods of da Costa, the Lord had shewn his approval of these methods. He had, however, the grace to write in the Annual Letter for 1644 in a rather different tone:

What a man is this Fr Nobili! What a model for all missionaries! The older he grows, the more he adds to the authority of his life and to the splendour of his apostolic virtues. Almost blind and loaded with physical weakness, he works as though he were the most eager and stalwart of young missionaries, his zeal supplying the strength which is lacking to his body.⁴⁷

There was something to be said on the side of da Costa. When a careful enumeration of all conversions is made, it seems that the number of Brāhmans baptised in forty-five years did not exceed two hundred, and not all of these had remained faithful; whereas at the time of Nobili's death in 1656, the total number of baptisms in the mission cannot have been less than 40,000.⁴⁸

Moreover, it had been found very difficult to recruit workers who would be able to endure the full rigour of the ascetic life as Nobili had planned it. The last *sannyāsi* priest was Fr Joseph Arcolino, a man of great virtue, who died in 1676.⁴⁹ From that time on, the work was carried forward by the *paṇḍāraswāmis* of whom Balthasar da Costa had been the first.⁵⁰ On the other hand it may well be asked whether the mission to the lower castes would have obtained the success granted to it, if the way had not been prepared by the adventurous policy of Nobili, and by the self-sacrificing work carried on by him and his *sannyāsi* colleagues for so many years.

The last years of the life of Nobili were marked by much sadness and suffering. During the 1640s, like other members of the Society of Jesus and their Indian companions, he had to endure much hostility, and even cruel imprisonment, provoked in part by the imprudence of younger members of the mission.⁵¹

Worse was to follow. In 1646, when Nobili was about seventy years old, the authorities of the society in India decided to remove him from his beloved Mathurai and to send him elsewhere. He was ordered to betake himself to Jaffna, charged with the oversight of the Jesuit missions in the north of Ceylon. No certainty exists as to the motives which led the authorities to such a decision.

Three years later Nobili was ordered to move again, this time to Mylapore, the traditional site of the tomb of the apostle Thomas. The habit of obedience ingrained in the Jesuit from the day of his joining the order prevailed, and Nobili undertook the move without a word of protest. He knew that Mylapore would be his last home upon earth and that he would never breathe the air of Mathurai again.

On arrival, he moved away from the little town to a small residence of mud-bricks and thatch which he had had constructed not far from the sea. Here, helped by four Brāhman Christians who remained faithful to him in all his afflictions, he settled down to make good use of the time that remained to him. Though his bodily ailments were so many, his mind seems to have been perfectly clear, and his astonishing memory retained and could supply the quotations which he needed for his literary work. Almost to the end he was dictating to his companions the works which were to be his final contribution to the building up of a Christian literature in India.

Early in January 1656, feeling that his work was now completed, he brought his dictation to an end. A few days later, on 16 January of that year, he fell asleep.⁵² No record of the place of his burial has been preserved. Nobili is like Moses in that the location of the tomb in which he rests is known only to God.

7 NOBILI AS WRITER

At an early date Nobili had realised that, if his work was not to be lost, it must be perpetuated by being reduced to writing. There were two aspects to this task. He must record the methods and arguments that he had used in his controversies with the non-Christians. Secondly, he must communicate in writing the kind of instruction which he was wont to give to converts, both in preparation for baptism, and later as a means of deepening and strengthening their Christian faith. It is known that Nobili wrote works both in Sanskrit and in Telugu, but none of these has been found, and it must be regarded as likely that none of them has survived. But his Tamil works were copied and widely distributed. A considerable number of these works has survived, and several have been printed.⁵³ Through these the way has been opened to making closer acquaintance with Nobili the teacher than had been possible at any time since his death.

The Italian Jesuit had no real predecessors in the art of writing Tamil

prose. All classical Tamil literature is in verse. So Nobili had to plan and construct his instrument before he could use it. His Tamil works make plain the strength and weakness of his knowledge of the Tamil language.⁵⁴

That knowledge was extensive. Presumably he had Indian helpers in his work; he never makes a grammatical or syntactical error, though some of the constructions he uses, such as the Sanskrit superlative which has no place in Tamil, are peculiar.⁵⁵ But what he writes is Brāhman Tamil, heavy and polysyllabic. He shews little acquaintance, if any, with the earlier or *sangam* literature, in which Tamil is seen in its monosyllabic glory.⁵⁶ For every religious term he will find and introduce a Sanskrit equivalent; but many of the Sanskrit terms he uses are already lengthy compound words. He is anxious not to be misunderstood, and this means that the structure of his sentences is often complex and involved. Nobili's Tamil lacks eloquence; though it can be understood, only occasionally will it be read with pleasure.

A brief outline of three of his main works will make plain the scope of his intentions and his manner of carrying them out.

The work to which Nobili probably attached the greatest importance was the *Gnānōpathēsam* (spiritual instruction, or catechism), in which he brought together all that he regarded as essential for the instruction of his converts. The work falls into five parts – truths which the human mind can grasp aided only by the light of human reason; truths which reason is able to grasp, but which cannot be proved by reason alone; truths which the unaided human reason is not able to grasp; explanation of the prayers (Lord's Prayer etc.); the marks of the Christian religion (the virtues).

The work reflects the scholastic tradition in which Nobili had been brought up, and which he saw no reason to modify in its essentials. He spends much space expounding in great detail such difficult doctrines as that of the Trinity. To have communicated all this in Tamil was a notable *tour de force*; but it is possible to wonder how much of all this Nobili's simpler hearers were able to take in.⁵⁷

The *Tuṣaṇattikkāram*, refutation of blasphemies, or cavils, is another considerable work, more than 500 pages in the edition produced in 1964. Here Nobili gathers together the principal objections to or calumnies against the Christian faith, and proposes to find convincing arguments for the refutation of each.

In order to win the attention of his readers Nobili uses many illustrations from daily life and from literature. But the book on the whole makes tedious reading. Nobili seems unable to go directly to any point; he beats about the bush, and often his phrasing is long and cumbrous. The work ends with four chapters directed to the preachers of the Word, pointing out the various hindrances to the acceptance of the Gospel for which they themselves may be responsible. The last paragraph of all is an almost passionate rebuke to

preachers who will not take the trouble to learn the language of those to whom they will speak:

By their failure they admit that they are dumb. They are like a man who sets out to write without having a pen, or one who attempts to speak without having a tongue, or like a man who sets out to build a tower without having ascertained whether the resources that he has assembled are adequate or no. That the spiritual teachers who have come to various lands to teach the divine Word to men of various tongues must necessarily learn the language of the various countries can be apprehended from the example of the Divine Teacher himself: [the gift of tongues at Pentecost as the prelude to the worldwide mission].

So from this we see that the teachers who now are called to spread the divine Word among all nations must necessarily learn the language of the nations where they are.⁵⁸

The *Āttumanirṇayam*, the exposition of the doctrine of the soul, became known to the western world earlier than most of the writings of Nobili.⁵⁹ Unlike some of the other works, which are discursive and treat of many subjects, this considerable book concentrates on one subject only – the nature of the soul in the light of Hindu doctrines and Christian answers. The treatise falls into six sections, of which one may be called psychological (intellect and will); two are controversial (the refutation of the doctrines of transmigration and of pantheism); the other three are more properly theological (the nature of true blessedness, the beatific vision, the joys of heaven and the torments of hell).

In his early discussions with Brāhmans Nobili had found the doctrine of rebirth the hardest nut to crack. To the Hindu mind, now as then, it presents itself as the perfectly logical and coherent explanation of all that concerns human destiny; one who ceases to believe in it ceases thereby to be a Hindu. This view is incompatible with the Christian understanding of redemption and salvation. No reconciliation between the divergent views is possible.

The work opens with the quotation, in Sanskrit, of the Gospel verse (Mark 8: 36), ‘What shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?’ This is then translated into Tamil and expounded word by word. The second paragraph makes clear the spirit in which the work is written:

The meaning is as follows: Man may enjoy every sensual pleasure that the world can offer; he may possess all wealth and wordly goods; he may be famed in all royal splendour and luxury. But what is the advantage of this earthly profit and wealth and good fortune, which is like a bubble of air which rises out of the water and explodes – I say, if after death the soul laden with sin comes to hell, there to burn like a log of wood which burns but is never consumed in inextinguishable fire, and to suffer everlasting loss?

This quotation leads us to the heart of Nobili and to the spirit in which all his works are written. He is throughout a controversialist and an evangelist. All the doctrines of the non-Christians are delusions. Their gods are devils. The offers of salvation which they make are false, since in them there is no salvation to be found. Whether he is arguing with Brāhmans or trying to fortify Christians in their faith, Nobili is upheld all the time by the unshakable conviction that there is only one system of truth, and that no other system can even enter into consideration except as the object of refutation.

The recovery and the publication of so many of the works of Nobili make possible a reconsideration of the 'accommodation' which he practised and recommended, and which was to be a subject of controversy for more than a century after his death. In matters of practice, and in all those areas which he regarded as belonging to the world of social order and convention, he was prepared to go to all lengths in making things easy for converts, provided that there was no infringement of what he regarded as Christian principle. But in the area of faith and doctrine he is not prepared to yield a single inch. He is from head to foot a post-Tridentine scholastic thinker, with the lucidity which is characteristic of the Italians, but at the same time with a rigidity which no Spaniard could exceed.

Nobili was a man of his own age. He had grown up in an Italy in which dissent had been ruthlessly suppressed. His aristocratic connections were such as to lead to strenuous orthodoxy rather than to independence of thought. The deep devotion by which all his adult life was marked fell well within the strictest limits of counter-reformation piety. The courage with which he faced adversity of many kinds cannot but call out our admiration. The adventurous spirit in which he pioneered new ways of living and studying and proclaiming the Gospel in Indian terms marks him out as one of the great missionaries of all times. Yet his memory is not served by pretending that he was other than he was – great at many points, but at others falling short of the stature of the Master whom he so intensely desired to serve.

8 LATER YEARS OF THE MISSION

Our evidences for the history of the Mathurai mission in the second half of the seventeenth century are less adequate than those for the first half, and have been less critically studied. Our main authority is the Annual Letters, which served as the basis for the work of Fr Bertrand. Without these we should be much worse off than we are. But much of the material in these letters consists of stories of remarkable conversions, or marvels wrought on behalf of converts, of response to intercessions directed to particular saints;

and over all hangs an atmosphere of cloying piety little likely to be agreeable to the taste of a generation trained to view all such records with a certain measure of scepticism.

One narrative of a rather extreme character may be cited as an example of what the reader of these letters may expect:

A catechumen from Pālaiyamkōṭṭai named Rājan was given shelter in the house of Christians at Tenkāsi. He found the family in a state of great distress, since, having already lost one child by death, the parents were standing by the deathbed of a second child. Towards midnight he was awakened by a dazzling light; he got up with a start, intending to call for help since he was convinced that the house was on fire; but he soon realised that the light was of a nature superior to that of fire. He stood still in a state of astonishment, and saw at the foot of a tree planted in the middle of the courtyard two young persons of ravishing beauty, one of whom was waving a kind of small oriflamme, the other holding in his hand a kind of harp . . . They approached the door of the room where the sick child was lying, and leaning against the door called him by his name. The child came out of the room, placed himself between the two unknown visitors, (who took him by the hand and advanced to the middle of the courtyard) holding in his hand two lighted candles and shining with joy and splendour. Then all three rose majestically into the air.⁶⁰

The first and recurrent problem faced by the mission was that of the small number of missionaries employed at any one time. The report for 1666 speaks of five Fathers only. In 1678 there are thirteen residences, but five of these are without resident priests. In the following year the number has gone down to seven, but in 1683 it is up again to nine Fathers in charge of twelve residences.⁶¹ With so serious a shortage of priests, the work came more and more to depend on the services of Indian catechists. Balthasar da Costa, in his first letter from his new field, writes enthusiastically about these colleagues:

To make up for the lack of missionaries we put to service the zeal of our converts, full of eagerness as they are for the propagation of the holy Gospel. We have just set apart a number of them to give themselves wholly to the service of the churches; and, in order that they may devote themselves entirely to this holy work, we give them a small monthly salary for their food and for the maintenance of their families. These are the colleagues whom we call catechists and *paṇḍārams*; this is not something we ourselves have invented; our Fathers have already made excellent use of this method in Japan and elsewhere.⁶²

Da Costa gives the names of six of these fellow-workers. The catechists (the name given to those of the higher castes) are Savarirāyan, otherwise known as Peter Xavier; Dairiam, who is distinguished by having a delightful voice; the third Jesu-pattan, whom the Fathers called in Latin Amator; the fourth Xavier, a Vellāḷa; the fifth Yesuadiyān, one of the first Christians from Tiruchirāpaḷli. The one *paṇḍāram* (that is, worker from the lower

orders of society) is the faithful Muttiudaiyān, already known to us as the first Paraiyan baptised by Nobili.⁶³

Unfortunately we know less about the work of these friends and servants than we could wish. Clearly they had undergone no formal process of training. They seem to have been selected on the basis of tried devotion and of the respect in which they were held by their fellow-Christians. There were no printed books in Tamil. No doubt these Indian workers had handwritten copies of some Tamil works of Nobili and other Jesuits, especially those manuals which had been specially composed for the edification of Christians. Some are credited with the gift of composing songs in Tamil, and these must have been popular among a music-loving people. One section of Nobili's *Gnānōpathēsam* is taken up with an extended summary of the life of Christ. But, so far as we know, no single chapter of the New Testament had as yet been translated into Tamil. No description of a Christian service conducted by one of these men seems to have survived. Nor do we possess any account written by any of them such as would bring us at first hand into contact with his work.

It must seem strange that, during the entire course of the mission up to the dissolution of the Jesuit order in 1773, not a single candidate for the priesthood was put forward by the Fathers.⁶⁴ In the sixteenth century one Brāhman convert, Peter Luis, was, as we have seen, admitted to the Society of Jesus, but after him no other till the nineteenth century. It is true that the great majority of the Christians were extremely poor, and that the resources of the Jesuits were often strained almost beyond bearing. Yet, if from the beginning regular and systematic giving by the believers had been inculcated, the income should have been sufficient to support a network, albeit a fragile one, of Indian priests. A number of the Jesuits were good scholars. There should have been no difficulty in providing training – there were precedents enough in other countries. Celibacy was undoubtedly a great obstacle, since Indians generally marry young, and there is no tradition in India of celibate life.⁶⁵ But at least a few might have been found prepared to take on them what at the time would have seemed a heavy yoke.

Time was to show that the policy followed by the Jesuits contained within itself the seeds of disaster. In Paraguay, where the Jesuits ruled without competition for a century and a half, they failed to bring forward a single Amerindian candidate for the priesthood; when they were turned out, the work collapsed and hardly a trace of it remained into modern times. In the same way, when the Jesuits were forced to leave South India, there was no body of well-trained Indian priests to take their place; the French missionaries were far too few to shoulder the burden laid upon them; widespread loss and disintegration were the inevitable result.

With the adoption of the new methods, geographical extension of the

mission was continuous. From about 1649 a congregation had existed at Kāyattār, the small city in which at one time the Pāṇḍiyan king had resided, and which lies sixty miles south of Mathurai. From an early date there had been Christians in Vaḍakkankulam,⁶⁶ almost on the borders of Travancore and not far from Cape Comorin. Such congregations seem to have come into existence not through extension of work inwards from the coast – there were such extensions but they were limited in their range – but through family connections and the migration of Christians southwards from one area to another.

Growth was most rapid in what the missionaries called the kingdom of Marava, the large area which extends south-eastwards from Mathurai, through the present district of Rāmanāthapuram (Rāmnād) in the direction of Danushkōḍi, the furthest point in India in the direction of Ceylon. This is an area of small towns and villages with no large centre; but the record of baptisms is impressive. By far the larger number of the Christians were from the poorest sections of society; but there were some from higher castes, including Kallars (the very name means robbers) and Maravas, the often lawless descendants of the soldiers of the *pālaiyakkārar*, the marauding chieftains of earlier days.

In Mathurai itself the church seems to have been almost stagnant. Few baptisms in the higher castes were recorded after the death of Nobili. The division between the old church of Fernandes and the new church of Nobili ceased to be as sharp as it had been; relations between the *sannyāsi* priests and those in the service of the older mission improved and there was a mutual exchange of services. But the focal point of the mission had moved irrevocably northwards; the strong points were now Tiruchirāpallī and Sattiamangalam, with one or two other smaller centres.

With not more than ten priests at work at any one time, real pastoral care for so large a flock scattered over so wide an area became almost impossible. The Fathers, with little regard for their health, wore themselves out in constant journeyings. Even so, for most congregations a visit from the Father was as rare an event as a visit from the bishop in more episcopally organised areas. When a Father did arrive, what followed can be described only as an orgy of baptisms, confessions and communions.

For example, John de Britto in a letter of 1683 notes that between St Thomas' day (21 December) and the feast of the Holy Name of Jesus (14 January), he had heard the confession of 1,800 Christians and given them communion.⁶⁷ The same missionary, in a letter of the year 1681 mentions that at Gingi, where the hills are crowned to this day with the immense fortifications of an earlier age, 'I heard the confessions of more than 4,000 Christians, and gave them communion, and carried out more than 300 baptisms.' All this had been going on throughout Lent; still, in the time

available it cannot have been possible to give detailed attention to any one penitent, or to give more than the most summary advice.⁶⁸ This is confirmed by a report on the work of the greatly loved and respected Fr Francis Laynez, later bishop of Mylapore.⁶⁹ Although he sat in the confessional for thirteen hours a day, he cannot have allocated on an average more than four minutes to any one penitent. It is, nevertheless, clear that the Christians greatly valued the opportunity of making confession and receiving absolution at the hands of the priest.

The story of the Mathurai mission through these years is punctuated by the endless series of local wars between the petty chieftains and rulers of the area, evidence of the inability of the Great Mogul far away in Delhi to exercise control over these distant regions which were still technically part of his dominions. At such times the sufferings of the underdog are bound to be very great. It is not clear whether the Christians were actually worse off than their Hindu neighbours; but the Jesuit letters, not unnaturally, are full of tales of persecution often valiantly endured.

There were, indeed, a number of reasons which might draw down upon the Christians and those who supported them the hostility of these local rulers. In some cases the very success of the Jesuits was the cause of their unpopularity. The Brāhmans could not but view with distaste those who were withdrawing part of the Hindu flock from its allegiance; and, though their disdain for the outcastes was such that the loss of them all might have seemed a matter of small moment to them, there were enough conversions from among the higher castes to make it appear at times that the whole fabric of the Hindu world was being shaken. As for the ordinary people, the simple fact that the Christians were different and did not follow the old-established ways was enough to bring upon them suspicion and dislike, and these could easily at times take the form of violence.

It would not be correct to speak of organised persecution. The outbreaks were sporadic and unpredictable. One area might be in the grip of violence, while another not far away was enjoying a period of quiet rest. Violence, having suddenly broken out, might as suddenly die away, to break out again unpredictably in some other area. Yet with it all the work of the mission went forward without long interruption, with occasional apostasies, but nowhere with anything like collapse.

One feature in this story is notable – that, though the missionaries lacked protection and were as much at the mercy of their foes as any member of their flock, in very few cases did their enemies proceed to extremities against them. Some were arrested, imprisoned, even at times subjected to violence. But deliverance seemed invariably to come, sometimes in most unexpected

ways, attributable in the minds of the faithful only to the direct interposition of God on their behalf. The case of John de Britto, who was beheaded on 4 February 1693, is exceptional.

We have more information about de Britto than about any other missionary of the seventeenth century, with the single exception of Nobili. This is due partly to his membership in a noble Portuguese family, and to the care with which members of the family preserved the records concerning him;⁷⁰ partly to the charm and ability with which he carried out the work of a missionary; partly to the romance of his martyrdom and to the halo which this cast on his memory. There are many legendary elements in the records; but, when all these have been allowed for, we find ourselves in contact with a real historical person.

John de Britto was born in Portugal in 1647, the third son of his parents. When little more than a child he was introduced to the court as one of the royal pages, and entered on a particularly close friendship with Prince Peter, later to succeed to the throne as King Peter II. Twenty-five years later the king had no hesitation in renewing the friendship of boyhood days, showed great respect for the now experienced missionary, and did his utmost to retain his services for Portugal.

John early showed a deep concern for religion. It was no surprise to his family when he applied for membership in the Society of Jesus and was accepted. He seemed to have a natural affinity for the Jesuit manner of life, and passed without difficulty through the rigorous tests and disciplines of the novitiate. He had had thoughts of offering for the mission in China. But the letters of Balthasar da Costa and his burning appeals for recruits to serve in the terribly understaffed mission of Mathurai deflected his attention to India. Da Costa was in Lisbon in 1673. Britto, having been ordained priest, joined the party which da Costa was personally to conduct to India.

The voyage was terrible. A violent epidemic fever broke out and da Costa himself was one of the victims. Britto, whose own health had been so frail as to make it uncertain whether he could be accepted as a missionary, somehow survived, and arrived in Goa in September 1673, considerably worn by the labours which he had endured on the voyage as medical attendant and spiritual healer.

From Goa Britto was sent to the seminary at Ambalakkādu in Kerala, and after a short stay there was able to make his way through the mountains to the territory of the Mathurai mission, accompanied by the experienced Fr Antony Freyre.⁷¹

Britto settled in happily to the work of the mission. He seemed to have a natural aptitude for its ways, and adapted himself to the hardships of the life

of a *paṇḍaraswāmi* without such struggles as are recorded of many of his brethren. But he was the kind of man to attract adventures to himself and his missionary life was far from being tranquil or monotonous.

Soon after his arrival he had settled in a small village named Tattuvanchēri, not far from the northern bank of the river Coleroon. This was a quiet place, 'which offers to the missionary two precious advantages – a little safety from the troubles of the war, and full freedom to deal with the Paraiyas, the care of whom is so difficult under the eyes of the Brāhmins in the big cities'.⁷² In ordinary years the village, distant about two miles from the river, was not held to be in any danger from floods. But in 1676 the rains were exceptionally heavy. On the night of 17 December Britto was awakened by the loud cries of his flock, and within a short time found himself up to his armpits in water:

I made my way to the little wood; I fought against the current; I took hold of the hedges, the thorns of which tore my hands and my whole body, and eventually arrived at the top of the little hill . . . Eight of the Christians came to join me . . . Before long the sun rose, and showed us the full horror of the sights which surrounded us – a shoreless ocean, above which rose at various distances the summits of hills and the tops of trees.⁷³

One of the Christians, more venturesome than the rest, swam across to the presbytery and recovered a quantity of rice; the refugees were able to light a fire and prepare themselves a meal. After that their main anxiety concerned the multitude of snakes, which, driven from their usual dwellings, had like the humans sought refuge on the hill and hung menacingly suspended from the trees. After three days the waters subsided and the Christians were able to come down from their hill without loss of life, to face nothing worse than the extreme humidity of the atmosphere and a piercing wind against which they had no adequate protection. It is not surprising that they celebrated the rites of Christmas with more than ordinary thankfulness.

Britto showed himself a completely devoted missionary. The records of the next ten years, in so far as we have them,⁷⁴ are full of stories of his heroic wanderings, his disregard of danger, the multitude of conversions brought about by his ministry, and the many marvels attributed to his holiness and his prayers. Much of the work was carried out in the Marava area, newly opened to the work of the mission, where the dangers were great as were also the opportunities for successful evangelisation. In 1682 Britto was appointed superior of the mission.

The year 1686 brought a crisis in the affairs of the mission. The Brāhmins believed that no missionary was at large in the Marava country. They were furious to learn that Britto was in the province, making converts and strengthening the faith of the Christians. They succeeded in July of that

year in securing his arrest, together with two catechists and three other Christians. The next fifteen days were a time of great trial in which all were subjected to grievous bodily hurt. All endured patiently, with the exception of one whose faith was not strong enough. Britto fully expected that the sentence of death would be carried out upon them; but suddenly the wind changed. It seems that the king of Marava had been much impressed by the fortitude of the Christians; he now gave them their liberty on condition that they did not attempt again to preach their strange doctrines in his dominions.⁷⁵

Britto was not the man to lie down under intimidation. After being absent in Portugal for nearly three years on the business of the society, shortly after his return he set out again for the Marava country. He managed to secure a house just on the edge of the territories of the king but on the land of a friendly prince. It seems that Raghunātha Thēvar, the ruler of Marava commonly known as *Kilavan*, 'the old man', was prepared to overlook his presence, until a crisis arose through the conversion of a near relative of the king whose name is given in the sources as Tadiya Thēvar. Like most of the rulers of that time this man was a polygamist; unlike most of them he was prepared to show the sincerity of his conversion by putting away all the secondary wives and retaining only the first. Unfortunately the youngest of the wives, Kaḍalai, was a niece of Raghunātha Thēvar, who, furious at the insult to his family, decided on the death of the missionary whom he naturally and rightly regarded as responsible for the actions of Tadiya Thēvar.

Attempts to kill the offender by magic and sorcery having failed, the king, who still hesitated to put the missionary to death in his own city, sent him away to his brother Uriya Thēvar, the governor of Uraiyr, on the pretence that he was only sentencing Britto to exile. But Uriya Thēvar knew well what was expected of him and prepared to carry out what he knew to be the wishes of his brother. On 3 February 1693, Britto, whose captivity was less rigid than might have been expected, managed to smuggle out letters to the Jesuit John da Costa, and to Fr Laynez the future bishop of Mylapore; he knew well that he was writing under the very shadow of death. On the next day he was led out to die. At the third blow of a scimitar the head was completely severed from the body. The hands and feet were cut off and bound to the body, which was then attached to a tall post.⁷⁶

This is one of the very few cases in the history of the Indian church of the execution of a missionary after judicial or quasi-judicial process. Many have lost their lives in casual violence and at the hands of robbers and pirates. But the story of Britto stands almost without parallel. It is unlikely that Raghunātha Thēvar would have proceeded to such extremes, had it not been for the element of personal pique over the insult to his family. In the

disturbed state of the country he must have been confident that no European authority would have either the power or the concern to take vengeance for the death of one who by all European standards was innocent of any crime.⁷⁷

9 SOME CONCLUSIONS

To estimate the number of converts and Christians in the Mathurai mission in the various stages of its evolution is an exceedingly difficult task. For a number of years the Annual Letters are missing. Statistics of baptisms are usually given in round numbers. Only rarely are the figures for adults and for infants given separately, and the infants baptised *in articulo mortis* may have been included in the general figure. In some cases it is not clear whether the figure is intended to cover all baptisms since the creation of the mission, or only those still alive at the time of writing. All this being so, it is not possible to give more than a tentative estimate of the success of the mission at any one time, or of the total achievement during the first century of its existence.

The number of baptisms from the highest castes always remained very small. Even from other castes, large figures of conversions begin to be given only after the inauguration of the new methods under the lead of Fr Balthasar da Costa.

The Annual Letter for 1643 states that from the beginning of the mission in 1606 not more than 600 converts of higher caste had been baptised. Considering the total lack of success before the time of Robert Nobili, this must be regarded as in itself a very considerable achievement.

In 1644, however, a more hopeful picture is drawn. The total number of Christians connected with the mission is now nearly 4,000. In Mathurai and its surroundings there are 320 Christians of higher caste; but to these must be added another thousand in Tiruchirāpalli, Thaṇjāvur and Sattiamangalam, and a further 2,500 under the care of the *paṇḍāraswāmis*.

Rather more than twenty years later, in 1676, the number had risen to 50,000, though the total number of baptisms since the mission was founded exceeds 60,000. Only two years later, in 1678, it is stated that the number of Christians now exceeds 70,000 in the kingdoms of Mathurai, Thaṇjāvur, Gingi and Vellore – a clear indication that the figure is approximate rather than accurate.

The letters from 1688 to 1707 are missing; but there are hints from time to time of very large numbers of baptisms, especially during the period of the ministry of John de Britto. In a letter of 1699 Fr Peter Martins refers to the adherents of the mission as now numbering 150,000. This is possible if we allow for 5,000 baptisms every year in the last quarter of the century; in the

Some Conclusions

scattered reports that have come down to us this number is exceeded in a number of years. But prudence suggests that there may be a considerable measure of exaggeration in these figures, and that a number of factors may have contributed to inflation of them. A safer estimate might be 100,000.⁷⁸

Even if we take as acceptable the lowest possible estimate, it is certain that a memorable movement had taken place. Some observers, such as the Abbé J.A. Dubois writing a century later, when conditions of Christian work in India had become much more difficult, held the view that the seventeenth century had been the great time for conversions, a time that in all probability would never recur.

To make an estimate of the number of Christians is temerarious. To attempt to calculate the percentage of the population which had been reached by the Christian message must be even more hazardous, since we have hardly any data on which the population of India at that time can be reckoned with any degree of accuracy. The population of the area touched by the work of the mission of Mathurai can hardly have been less, three centuries ago, than six million. If that were so, we may guess that between one and two per cent of the population had become Christian, and that the lower figure is more probable than the higher. Certainly a great many more knew, for good or ill, that something called the Christian faith existed, though their ideas as to its nature were in some cases rudimentary and distorted. But of the many who heard the great majority remained unconvinced. The enthusiastic reception by the few was balanced by the firm and uncompromising resolve of the great majority of the population of South India to have nothing to do with the Gospel. The Christian road in India has always been an uphill road.

13 · The Thomas Christians Again

I FRANCIS ROZ AND A CROWN OF THORNS

Francis Roz SJ had been installed in glory as the first Latin bishop of the Serra and of the Thomas Christians. It was not long before he discovered that he had inherited a crown of thorns.

Roz had lived long among the Thomas Christians and understood their ways. He had taken the trouble to learn both Syriac and Malayālam. He was upright, diligent and considerate. Yet with all this he was a Latin of the Latins; and like all the Latins he made the mistake of gravely underestimating the attachment of the people to their old ways, and their profound consciousness of being an Eastern and not a Western church.

The conservatism of the Christians was incarnate in the person of the archdeacon, Parambil George, sometimes called George da Cruz. In the days of the Mesopotamian bishops the diocese had really been ruled by the archdeacon. The bishop was a somewhat remote and patriarchal figure, regarded by the people with almost exaggerated reverence; but in practice his functions were more or less limited to baptisms, ordinations and other specifically episcopal ministrations. The administration of the diocese, including the selection of candidates suitable for ordination, was in the hands of the archdeacon.¹

George had a special reason for being resolved to maintain all the rights and the privileges of his office undiminished. He had been put forward for consecration as coadjutor to the aged Mar Abraham, and on the death of that prelate had been entrusted with the administration of the diocese. It is probable, though not certain, that he regarded himself as the natural successor to the office of bishop. He knew that he could count on a considerable measure of support among the priests and the lay people, who regarded him as the guardian of their national honour and independence.

Roz came to his office with the post-Tridentine concept of the episcopal office. All authority was to be concentrated in his hands, all others were to work as his deputies, and to exercise authority only in so far as they were commissioned to do by the bishop.

With such diametrically opposed ideas as to the nature of authority in the church, it was inevitable that clashes and controversies should break out between the two men. The archdeacon's understanding of the situation was quite clear; he would not yield an inch in anything related to the prerogatives of his church, and of himself as its representative. This was the one constant amid all the shifts and manoeuvres of policy which led his opponents to accuse him of tergiversation and dishonesty.

The first crisis arose over the title conferred on Roz. He was to be bishop of Ankamāli and suffragan of the archbishop of Goa. This was wholly unacceptable to the Thomas Christians.² Their bishop had always had the title of metropolitan. He stood in the same relation to the patriarch of Babylon as Menezes to the bishop of Rome, but he had never been subject to any other prelate in the East. When they had accepted a Latin bishop, they had not foreseen this consequence of their submission. To accept the universal headship of the pope did not, in their eyes, involve the acceptance of any papal representative as standing between him and them.

Roz was wise enough to see that they had grounds for their complaint. The diocese of Ankamāli was raised to the dignity of an archbishopric. This had a mollifying effect. But had it been made clear that the partial subjection of the Serra to the see of Goa had been completely done away?³

In 1605 Roz made the grave mistake of securing from the pope permission to move the seat of the archbishopric from Ankamāli to Cranganore (Koṭuṇaḷḷūr). The ground on which the decision was taken was that Ankamāli was in the territory of a Hindu ruler, and that the archbishop would be gravely hindered in the exercise of his duties by the caprices and aggressions of such rulers. Cranganore, being a Portuguese fortress, would be a far safer centre of operation.⁴ The decision was not agreeable to the Thomas Christians. Ankamāli had been for centuries the residence of the metropolitan, and they saw no compelling reason for the change. And by making the change Roz landed himself in dissensions with his neighbour the bishop of Cochin, dissensions which are among the most painful and ridiculous in the whole history of the church.

The system of dual jurisdiction was bound to cause difficulties. The bishop of Cochin was a bishop of the Latin rite. The diocese had been founded to care for the Portuguese and for those under their protection, and for such converts as might be won to the faith by missionaries from the West. This bishop claimed no jurisdiction over the Thomas Christians, and Roz could not claim any jurisdiction over Latin Christians. But the demarcation of boundaries was not easy. The bishop of Cochin was the chief shepherd of the mission on the Fişher Coast. But, as the mission of Mathurai came into separate existence, it was entrusted to the care of the archbishop of Cranganore. Roz thus found himself, in addition to all his

other cares, involved in all the controversies of which Robert Nobili was the centre. In many places Latin and Eastern lived in close propinquity, and both tended to look for help to whichever bishop was nearest.⁵

Roz's move to Cranganore was beyond all doubt tactless, and could easily be regarded by the bishop of Cochin, Andrew of Saint Mary, who ruled that diocese from 1588 to 1615, as an act of aggression on his rights and his territories. At first the two bishops were on excellent terms, but it was almost impossible that tensions should not arise. Most of the alleged causes were trivial, but the wounds went deep, and it was long before the enmity was healed. The bishop of Cochin was a man of choleric temper and of extremely resolute will. He managed to quarrel with many people, and with the Jesuits at every point. Roz writes about this again and again, and perhaps with pardonable indignation. For instance in a letter 15 December 1611 to the general of the society, he writes, 'with bishops as ignorant as they are, and above all contrary to the privileges of the Religious to whom they are very ill disposed, what can we do?'. And again, 'the bishops of Mylapore, Malacca and Cochin are of one mind against the society. They are not animated by the spirit of God but by that of the devil.'⁶

It is not necessary to go into all the details of this highly unedifying story.⁷ In September 1608 the pope wrote to the bishop of Cochin in terms of dignified reproof. If he has any fault to find with the priests of the Society of Jesus, let him notify the prelates of that order, and at the same time send information to Rome.⁸

Francis Roz was no more successful in his handling of the affairs of the archdeacon. George had succeeded in getting a measure of support from the bishop of Cochin; and the regard in which he was held by the Thomas Christians was undiminished. But Roz, who had come to believe that George was not merely opposed to him personally but was planning a revolt in the church and a return to the allegiance of the patriarch of Babylon, in 1610 decided to excommunicate him. Secure in the protection afforded by his friends and relations George took no notice of the excommunication. Then, in a sudden *volte face*, in 1615 he decided to make his submission, and was relieved of the sentence of excommunication. In the same year he wrote to Fr Vitteleschi, the Jesuit general, a letter of enthusiastic commendation of the work of the Jesuits, and of gratitude for all that they had achieved.⁹

It seemed that peace had at last been secured. But this was too good to last. The next collision was caused by grossly provocative action on the part of Roz. In 1618 he had occasion to go to Goa in company with Robert Nobili. He decided to appoint as vicar general, to take charge of the diocese in his absence, the rector of the Jesuit college at Vaippikkotta.¹⁰ This was an open and unmistakable insult to the archdeacon, whose claims were thus set on one side; the insult was never forgiven. George withdrew all pretence of

obedience to the archbishop and was followed by a considerable section of the church. Jesuits, especially Fr Campari and Fr Fenicio, and even Stephen de Britto, who in 1620 had been appointed coadjutor and successor to Roz, pleaded with him to adopt a milder tone in his dealings with the archdeacon, but without success. In a letter of 1622 Roz writes that he has known the archdeacon for thirty-nine years, ever since his first arrival in India, and that through all these years he has remained unaltered; kindness has had no effect on him, he is incorrigible.

At the very last moment Roz relented. The bulls which would have made possible the succession of Stephen de Britto to the see having been lost by shipwreck, it was essential to appoint a diocesan administrator, to make sure that, in the event of the death of Roz, a pretender from the church of Babylon did not insinuate himself into the diocese and win away the Thomas Christians from their allegiance to Rome. With the death of Roz on 18 February 1624, the archdeacon found himself for the first time in independent control of the church of the Serra. He at once set himself with commendable zeal to bring to an end the schism which he himself had brought into being, and to remove causes of disunion and dispute. So, when Britto was able at last to take possession of his see, the archdeacon was in a position to present to him a church free from all dissension and schism, and to offer to him an enthusiastic welcome.¹¹

2 ARCHBISHOP AND ARCHDEACON

At first all seemed to go well. The Jesuit Annual Letter for 1626 reports that 'the most reverend archbishop of Cranganore, who is staying with us . . . gives numerous proofs of humility and of all virtues. He lives in peace and harmony with the archdeacon.'

Some judged this friendship of the archbishop with the archdeacon to be of excellent augury; others felt that it could not but lead to disaster. The new policy was that of clemency and kindness by which Britto believed that he could gain far more than by severity; others thought that clemency would merely encourage the archdeacon in his perversity. What was not realised at this time was that, under all his kindness, Britto was still maintaining all the claims that Roz had made for the episcopate.

The outward show of friendship did not last very long. In 1630 Britto writes to the archbishop of Goa:

Now during the six years that I have governed this church, in spite of the fact that I have always done all in my power to conciliate him in everything that was not against my conscience, I find him as rebellious and as little submissive as he has ever been in the past. Several times already I have been on the point of breaking with him, unable to suffer any longer his innumerable lies, and the wickedness with which he pursues me without rime or reason.¹²

In 1628, without the knowledge of the archbishop, the archdeacon had written a strong letter to the papal legate in Lisbon, the *collector apostolicus*, strongly criticising the Jesuits for their high-handed actions in the Serra, and urging that the next archbishop should not be a Jesuit. He put forward the name of Fr Francis Donati, a Dominican, for appointment as coadjutor to the archbishop. The collector forwarded the letter to the Propaganda in Rome, and there was a good deal of feeling in favour of the appointment of Donati. But it was recognised that the *padroado* would stand in the way; as Donati was not a Portuguese, there was no likelihood that the king of Portugal would approve the nomination.¹³

In 1634 Donati was on his way back to Rome, when he was captured by pirates and put to death. This was a grave loss to the church. Paulinus expresses the opinion that, if he had been appointed as coadjutor to Britto, schism in the church might never have taken place.

Undeterred by his failure in 1628, in 1632 the archdeacon wrote a long letter to the king of Spain and Portugal, in which among other things he accused the Jesuits of withholding the amounts due to the *cattanárs* from the resources of the Portuguese crown.¹⁴

One great success the archdeacon had scored in the later years of Britto as archbishop. At some point of time, and in some manner (when and how is not clear), he had persuaded the archbishop to sign a document, in which he gave back to the archdeacon practically all the powers which he had claimed, and which made him virtually ruler of the church of the Serra. For the future the archbishop was not to confer holy orders, appoint priests to parishes, excommunicate or suspend delinquent priests or laymen, in fact not to do anything of importance, without the consent of the archdeacon. Britto soon realised that he had made a grave mistake. In 1636 an attempt was made to recover the compromising documents from the archdeacon. But, though George surrendered copies, he was careful to keep the originals in his own hands.¹⁵

Both the protagonists were now old and tired, the archdeacon eighty or more, Britto over seventy. There seems to have been an unspoken agreement between them that they would not quarrel any more. The last few years of their respective lives were passed in peace. When George died on 25 July 1640,¹⁶ Britto appointed as his successor his nephew Parambil Tumi, known to the Portuguese as Thomas de Campo. On 3 December 1641 Britto followed the old archdeacon to the grave.

Thomas, who seems to have been less than thirty years old at the time of his appointment, was the object of a great deal of vituperation during his lifetime and after his death. It was affirmed that he was addicted to drinking, and that when he was in seminary his chastity was not above suspicion. He was, added his enemies, an ignorant priest; all that he knew was a certain

amount of Syriac.¹⁷ But his critics soon came to realise that he had the same determined character as his uncle, and at least equal skill in diplomacy and in the managing of situations. The chronicler was well inspired to write 'de tal ovo nacque simil corvo' ('from such an egg was born a similar crow').

Before the appointment of Thomas, the authorities had made another of their grievous mistakes. They had chosen as Britto's coadjutor and successor Fr Francis Garcia SJ. Garcia's portrait, as reproduced in Fr Thekedatu's book, shows the face of an inquisitor; the thin lips pursed almost in a scowl suggest a character entirely devoid of flexibility or humour, obstinate rather than resolute, narrow, persistent and unforgiving.

Garcia was fifty-seven years old at the time of his consecration.¹⁸ He had been in India for twenty-five years, and had spent much of his time as a teacher of theology. But his experience of the south was limited to two years on the Fisher Coast and two in Cochin. From the start doubts began to be felt as to his suitability for the work to which he had been called. Stephen de Britto, not an uncharitable man, wrote on hearing of his appointment (1 January 1633):

I am glad, for he has great qualities, and henceforth I can be at peace with regard to the future of this church. But I would have been happier, had he been younger, so as to be able to learn the language, and to acquire some experience of this people, so different from the rest . . . I am at peace with my archdeacon, and I wish to keep it so at all costs, for the spiritual good of this church, whatever annoyance he may give me. For I have a long experience of the evils that will befall otherwise.¹⁹

Fr Thekedatu sums up the situation succinctly and accurately: 'Between the harsh and intransigent Garcia and the unscrupulous and resolute Thomas there was hardly any possibility for a reasonable and lasting compromise.'²⁰

Each of the contestants could count on certain factors favourable to his cause. The archdeacon knew that there was a strong conviction, or at least prejudice, in his favour in the minds of almost all the Thomas Christians. The local rulers were likely to be friendly to claims for ecclesiastical independence, as against the Portuguese whom they still regarded as intruders. The bishop of Cochin, always at loggerheads with his brother of Cranganore, could be relied on to take the side of anyone who was in opposition to Garcia. The steady advance of the Dutch was weakening the power of the Portuguese; if the Protestants arrived in strength, it might be possible to manoeuvre them into supporting the enemies of their enemies. On the side of Garcia, there was the great advantage that the Portuguese authorities, whether civil or ecclesiastical, were in the nature of the case almost bound to support one of their own. Garcia had managed to secure for

himself almost complete financial control in the Serra. And the inveterate respect of the Thomas Christians for bishops was a strong card in the hand of the only man who could claim in any sense to be the bishop of the Serra.

In 1645 the Portuguese viceroy, who was on his way from Ceylon to Goa, succeeded in bringing together the various parties to the dispute and in effecting some kind of a reconciliation between them. On 12 December of that year Garcia drew up a document which was alleged to safeguard the rights of the archdeacon, and Thomas was induced to sign it. But in point of fact the document gave very little away. The third article read that 'before the archbishop hands over to the vicars the papers of their appointment, these papers will be passed to the archdeacon, who will without demur affix his signature. But even if he refuses to sign these papers, the vicars will all the same take possession of their parishes and govern them.'²¹ In the statement made a little later Garcia affirmed that none of the concessions made to the archdeacon referred to matters of jurisdiction.²²

Thomas was fully equal to the situation. No sooner was the agreement signed than he sent to all the churches copies of a carefully doctored version of what had been agreed. On the main point at issue the Malayalam version read: 'When it is a question of conferring orders or appointing vicars or doing any other business, it has been agreed that nothing can be done unless the archbishop and I get together to treat of them.' This was certainly not the way in which Garcia understood the document.

In 1647 Garcia made the same mistake as had been made before him by Roz. He appointed one Fr Jerome Furtado as his vicar general. This was, and was felt to be, the gravest possible insult to the archdeacon, who had throughout history been regarded as *legatus natus*, and this was never forgiven.²³

By this time Thomas had come to the conclusion that no remedy for the ills from which the Thomas Christians were suffering would be effective, other than the arrival of an Eastern bishop of the tradition to which they had been accustomed through the centuries. He took the unusual step of writing to the Coptic patriarch in Alexandria, the Jacobite (Monophysite) patriarch of Antioch, and the Nestorian patriarch of Babylon, asking them to provide the necessary help. Not unnaturally no answer was received to any of the letters.²⁴

3 REBELLION AND SCHISM

In 1652 the entire situation was changed by the arrival in India of an oriental bishop named Ahatallah.²⁵ This man had made his way to Surat, where he introduced himself to the Capuchin missionaries. Then, fearing that he might be handed over to the Inquisition, he managed to steal away from

Surat in a Dutch ship, avoided Goa and Cochin, and made his way to Mylapore, which he reached probably in August 1652.²⁶ Suspicions as to his orthodoxy having already arisen, he was apprehended and committed to the custody of the Jesuits, who, however, treated him kindly and placed few restrictions on his freedom. This made it possible for him to make the acquaintance of three clerics from Malabar, one of whom, Zachariah Cherian Unni, was reported as having spent much time in conversation with him. When the three returned to Kerala, they carried with them a letter from Ahatallah to the heads of the Thomas Christians.

Ahatallah remains a somewhat mysterious figure. But the main outlines of his story have been built up from materials in the archives in Rome and Goa, and can be regarded as somewhat reliably established.²⁷ Ahatallah was born in Aleppo in 1590. Sometime before 1632 he was elected monophysite bishop of Damascus. While there, he made his submission to Rome, and arrived in Rome itself about the middle of the year 1632. During the year and more that he spent in Rome he learned to speak Italian fluently. He asked to be sent back to his own country, promising that he would bring the patriarch Hidayat Allah over to the Roman obedience. What follows is obscure. Ahatallah apparently claimed that, after the death of Hidayat Allah, he himself had been elected patriarch and given the title Ignatius, which has been borne by all the Jacobite patriarchs of the East. Since Turkish opposition made it impossible for him to take up this post, he had been despatched to Persia to care for the churches there. At that time there was no bishop of the Latin rite in that area. It appears that in 1646 Ahatallah was in Egypt, and from there wrote to Propaganda. While he was waiting in Cairo for an answer to his letter, the letter from Thomas to the Coptic patriarch arrived. The patriarch, having no one else to send, seems to have suggested to Ahatallah that he might undertake the important work of looking after the Christians of the Serra. Having nothing else to do, Ahatallah gladly accepted this commission.

While in Mylapore, Ahatallah put it about that his full title was 'Ignatius, patriarch of the whole of India and of China', and that he had come with full powers from the pope. There is no reason to doubt that he really was a bishop, a Jacobite whose submission had been accepted by the Roman authorities. It is unlikely that he had received any regular commission from the patriarch of Alexandria, who in any case would have had no right to issue a commission for lands under the jurisdiction of another patriarch. It can be taken as certain that Ahatallah had received no authorisation from the pope for any kind of work in the Serra. It would be unfair to describe him simply as an impostor, but his claims to authority were at least exaggerated; his status in the Serra could not be other than irregular.

What Archdeacon Thomas had longed for, and had thought could never happen, had happened. He at once sent word to all the churches that a prelate had been sent to them from an Eastern church, but that the Jesuits were preventing him from coming to the Serra. He was so far right that, apparently, the Jesuits had planned that Ahatallah should be sent to Goa, where his claims could be thoroughly sifted by the Inquisition and a decision given.

Word reached the Serra that the Portuguese fleet had left Mylapore with Ahatallah on board. The expectation was that it would touch at Cochin; then the people would be able to see their long-awaited bishop, and there was at least a possibility that a solution would be found for all their problems. It might well seem reasonable that the bishop should be allowed to land, and that his claims should be put to the test. In point of fact, it seems that both the archbishop and the archdeacon were unwilling to face a public investigation of the bishop's claims, but for precisely opposite reasons – Thomas because he feared that the bishop might prove to be a fraud, and the archbishop because he feared that Ahatallah might be genuine. Thomas was no fool; he must have spotted the improbabilities in Ahatallah's story. Tales were still circulating in the Serra about wandering bishops and all the troubles that they had caused. Garcia must have been even more deeply suspicious. But he knew that complaints had gone into Rome about his high-handed administration of the affairs of the Serra, and in particular of his refusal to obey the papal ruling that other orders besides the Jesuits should be admitted to the area. It was unlikely that Rome would send any bishop otherwise than through the regular channels, namely the king of Portugal and the authorities in Goa. But Rome, as he well knew, was capable of meeting high-handedness with high-handedness; it was just possible that the unexpected had happened, and that Ahatallah would be able to produce genuine credentials from Rome. If so, what was to become of the monarchical rule of Garcia in the Serra?

In the midst of these confused alarms the captain of the fleet cut the Gordian knot by deciding that the ships should not enter the harbour of Cochin, and that there could be no question of a passenger destined for Goa being allowed to land even for a time.

This may have eased the situation for the moment. Actually, it was the worst thing that the Portuguese could have done. The Thomas Christians were well aware of the passionate determination of the Portuguese that there should be no contact between the church in India and the ancient church of the East, and of the vigilance with which they watched the ports to make sure that no cleric from Babylon or those parts should ever enter India. When their promised bishop had been so near and was now so far away, they were prepared to believe the worst. They did believe the worst. For many

long years the Thomas Christians were convinced that the Portuguese had murdered Ahatallah.

One rumour which circulated among them was that to get rid of him the Portuguese had drowned him in the harbour of Cochin, before the fleet ever sailed for Goa.²⁸ Even the usually reliable Müllbauer gave currency to the story that he had been put on trial by the Inquisition in Goa, and after being convicted of heresy had been condemned to be burned at the stake. He writes that, 'after he had stood trial, somewhere about the year 1654, he was condemned to the flames and burned'.²⁹ Müllbauer has been followed uncritically by one writer after another, and this death by fire has become part of the Ahatallah legend.³⁰

The facts about Ahatallah are less hair-raising than tradition has made them out to be. Like other bishops suspected of irregularity of heresy, he seems to have been packed off from Goa to Lisbon, *en route* for Rome where his case could be heard and decided. But in all probability he never reached Rome, having died in Paris (1654) on the way.³¹

The dismay of the people on hearing that their bishop had been snatched away from them knew no bounds. This is pathetically expressed in a letter from the *cattanārs* and people to the captain of Cochin:

in case the patriarch cannot be produced, he having been killed by the Paulists [Jesuits], let any other person of the four religious orders come here by order of the supreme pontiff, a man who knows Syriac, and can teach us in our offices, except the Paulists, whom we do not at all desire, because they are enemies of us and of the church of Rome; with that exception let anybody come, and we are ready to obey without hesitation.³²

The Thomas Christians made one more attempt to reach some kind of compromise before proceeding to extreme measures. They wrote to Garcia, requesting him to come and meet them; but they did add the sinister warning that, if he did not accede to their petition, they would no longer regard him as their shepherd but would choose another archbishop to care for their spiritual welfare. Garcia summarily refused to accept the invitation.

This was the last straw. On 3 January 1653 priests and people assembled in the church of Our Lady at Maṭṭāncēri, and standing in front of a crucifix and lighted candles swore upon the holy Gospel that they would no longer obey Garcia, and that they would have nothing further to do with the Jesuits; they would recognise the archdeacon as the governor of their church. This is the famous oath of the 'Koonen Cross' (the open-air Cross which stands outside the church at Maṭṭāncēri), which to this day all members of the independent Malankara church of Kerala regard as the moment at which their church recovered its independence and returned to its own true nature.³³

The Thomas Christians did not at any point suggest that they wished to separate themselves from the pope. They could no longer tolerate the arrogance of Garcia. And their detestation of the Jesuits, to whose overbearing attitude and lack of sympathy they attributed all their troubles, breathes through all the documents of the time. But let the pope send them a true bishop not a Jesuit, and they will be pleased to receive and obey him.

At this point there comes on the scene the sinister figure of the *cattanār* Anjilimoothil Ittithommen, one of the senior priests, at that time about sixty-seven years old, who could remember the days of Mar Abraham – the good old days before the synod of Diamper had taken away all the liberties of the Thomas Christians. Our sources, all from the Roman Catholic side, have no good word to say of this man; but, even when allowance has been made for the contemporary habit of vilification, it is not easy to believe that the *cattanār* was a man of integrity. It was he, if report is to be believed, who put it into the minds of the people that, now that they had a governor of their own race, there was no need for them to look further afield. Why should not the archdeacon be invested with the episcopal dignity, and with the power to do all that had been done by their Eastern bishops in the past? The archdeacon would need documents in support of his claims. But documents could be produced. It was one of the merits of Ittithommen, if it was a merit, that he was exceptionally skilled in the Syriac language. There can be little doubt that he forged two important documents, and passed them off on the Thomas Christians as having come from Ahatallah.

The first of these documents granted to the archdeacon all the powers of the archbishop in regard to dispensations for marriage – a most important matter in that part of the world; also the power to absolve from ecclesiastical censures. Nothing was said of the right to ordain. The letter was read at Iṭapallī on 5 February 1653. On hearing it, a vast crowd enthusiastically welcomed Thomas as the governor of the church of the Serra. Four of the *cattanārs* were appointed to form the council of the diocese.³⁴

At a further meeting held at Ālangāt, on 22 May 1653, a much more explicit letter was read, and this completed the work. The pseudo-Ahatallah now affirmed that, in the absence of a bishop, twelve of the *cattanārs* might lay their hands on Thomas, and that this would be adequate as episcopal consecration. The basis for this affirmation was what we are told by Jerome was the ancient custom of the church of Alexandria. There, when the patriarch died, the twelve priests of the city churches would elect one of their number as patriarch; the eleven would then lay hands on the elected person and thus consecrate him as their patriarch, and would also immediately elect another presbyter, so that the college should never consist of less than twelve persons. How Ittithommen knew of this custom it is vain to speculate.³⁵ Some raised doubts as to the validity of this unusual

consecration, but in the general enthusiasm their doubts were stilled, and the consecration took place in the manner prescribed by the pseudo-Ahatallah. At the moment of consecration the letter, supposedly from Ahatallah, was laid on the head of Thomas as a sign of authorisation and approval.³⁶

The next step was to inform all the churches of what had taken place, and to rally them in support of the new bishop. Some withheld their consent – the numbers given by our various authorities differ, but it is clear that the vast majority approved of what had been done. For the first time in history the Thomas Christians had a bishop from among their own people, and chosen by themselves. The joy in the event for the most part silenced doubts as to the propriety of what had been done. The new bishop was there and was accepted. Just what the viceroy had feared had come about. For the time being the whole Serra was lost to the papacy.

4 ATTEMPTS AT RECONCILIATION

The re-establishment of peace in the Serra was all-important, but no one had any clear idea as to what ought to be done; or, rather, too many people had too many ideas, all perfectly clear, as to what ought to be done to bring about this much-desired result. The situation was, indeed, one of quite abnormal complexity.

On the far right were the Portuguese civil and military authorities. These on the whole desired not to become involved in the local ecclesiastical squabbles. Yet at the same time they were officially charged with the duty of seeing to it that there was no derogation from the privileges of the king of Portugal under the *padroado* agreement.

The diocese of Cochin was left vacant by the Portuguese for more than fifty years. For part of the period under review the archdiocese of Goa was also without a bishop. But in each case the chapter was able to carry on all the work of the diocese, except for such acts as could be performed only by a consecrated bishop. They tended naturally to support the establishment, though at times their support was not more than half-hearted.

There were, however, other religious in Malabar, principally Franciscans and Dominicans; these were bitterly resentful over their exclusion from the Serra; this resentment, combined with an ingrained dislike of the Jesuits, almost drove them into the arms of the Thomas Christians and of Thomas, their new bishop.

In the centre were the two protagonists, Garcia and Thomas, each determined not to move one inch from the position which he had taken up or to admit any diminution of his rights.

Further to the left were the mass of the Thomas Christians. In the

moment of crisis almost all had rallied to the archdeacon. Yet their support was less unconditional than he might have hoped. Among the Thomas Christians themselves there had existed from very early times the division between the Northists and the Southists.³⁷ The Southists as a whole were loyal to Garcia, and soon separated themselves from Thomas. Some among the *cattānārs*, including a number of the most intelligent among them, soon came to realise that Thomas had duped them, and that he whom they now called bishop was in no canonical sense of the term a bishop. Most serious was the defection of Parambil Chāndy, one of the four councillors, a cousin of Thomas and almost as influential as he. There was a rather large middle group, which had been shaken in its loyalty by doubts about the consecration, but the members of which not being strongly committed in either direction were likely to be influenced by considerations financial rather than ecclesiastical. A minority were so linked to Thomas by ties of kinship or by their intense dislike of the Jesuits that they were prepared to stick by him through thick and thin.

Out on the wings were the numerous petty princes, venal, likely to befriend the party which could put forward the larger bribes, capricious and liable to change sides at any moment, but on the whole likely to support their fellow-countryman against the intrusive foreigners, except when the foreigners could exercise strong financial pressure.

To produce peace and order out of such a witch's cauldron of pride, self-seeking, duplicity and interested motives could not be an easy task. No one comes very well out of the story. The one course which might have led to stable peace was the one which no one seems seriously to have thought of following. If the pope could have been induced to arrange for the regular consecration of Parambil Thomas as archbishop and metropolitan of the Serra, he might well have secured for himself and his successors the unconditional loyalty of the Thomas Christians for ever and a day. Garcia, of course, stood in the way; but Garcia was now seventy-nine years old, and could have been withdrawn to dignified retirement in Goa.

Everyone tried his hand in the game. Garcia put out various feelers to Thomas. Thomas made a variety of proposals. The pope sent out edifying documents to everyone concerned – to Garcia, to those who had remained faithful to him, to Thomas, to the followers of Thomas, to the world in general.³⁸ None of these efforts had any effect on the situation.

Then the pope decided to throw one more stone into the pool. Apparently following a suggestion made by some among the *cattānārs*, he sent to India four discalced Carmelites – two Italians, one Fleming and one German. These Fathers had two advantages – they were not Portuguese and they were not Jesuits.³⁹ The head of the mission was given the title of apostolic commissary, and was specially charged with the duty of restoring peace in the Serra.

From the start difficulties arose. The Carmelites held the view that, as direct emissaries of the pope, they had been entrusted with a jurisdiction superior to that of the archbishop. Garcia naturally held the view that the newcomers had no business to interfere in his administration of his diocese. Fr Joseph OCD, the first Carmelite to arrive, forbade Garcia to carry out any ordinations till further notice. For the sake of peace Garcia consented though with a very ill grace. It was unlikely that any peace would reign between the two authorities.

Then Garcia, blind as ever in his obstinacy, took the one step which was certain to make things worse than they already were. He appointed as archdeacon one of the senior *cattanārs* of his party, Kunnel Mathai of Kaṭutturutti. The new archdeacon, like Thomas, was a nephew of Archdeacon George, and on family grounds would have been acceptable to the Thomas Christians.⁴⁰ But everyone except Garcia realised that such action on his part would jeopardise any faint hope of reconciliation which still remained. The Thomas Christians were not likely to admit that anyone, even an archbishop, could change the succession.

To lock the door even more firmly against any possibility of a settlement, on 26 April 1656 Garcia declared Thomas excommunicate and relieved of all his offices. Thomas, naturally, took no notice of this sentence.

In the meantime the three Carmelites who had arrived in the Serra had started on their ungrateful task of reconciliation. In this they had more success than might have been expected. Fr Joseph (Sebastiani) travelled widely, and made himself thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of the Serra. He published far and wide the word that Thomas was no true bishop. He managed to persuade the Thomas Christians, who were naturally suspicious of anyone who came from Rome, that it was not his aim to subject them again to the Jesuits. But there was one fatal flaw in the mission of the Carmelites – none of them was a bishop. They had neutralised the one authority in the Serra recognised by Rome, and they had no means of putting anyone in his place.

By this time Fr Hyacinth, the official head of the mission, had arrived in India. Fr Joseph rightly decided that the next step was to return to Rome, to lay everything before the Holy Father in person and at greater length than could be done by letter. So Joseph and Vincent set off for Rome, leaving behind Fr Matthew, later to be famous as contributor to the *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus*,⁴¹ and Fr Hyacinth to bear the burden and heat of the day. After a journey which lasted more than a year, the travellers at length arrived in Rome on 22 February 1659.

When Sebastiani reached India again on 14 May 1661, he carried with him a concealed mitre. Malicious gossip declared that he had obtained the episcopal dignity by devious means.⁴² There is no reason to suppose

anything of the kind. Rome had for once decided to take the obvious and sensible course. Garcia was already very old and had put himself out of court by his intransigence. The archdeacon was unacceptable. There was in India no bishop who could or would consecrate anyone without a commission from the king of Portugal. To bring one of the *cattanārs* to Rome for consecration would have resulted in endless delays. The least objectionable course was to consecrate the man who was available, who was at the moment in Rome, and was also *au courant* with all the affairs of the Serra. So at the age of thirty-six Joseph Sebastiani, in religion Fr Joseph of Saint Mary OCD, was consecrated secretly on 15 December 1659, and given the title bishop of Hierapolis.⁴³

By consecrating a bishop and sending him to the Serra without consultation with the king of Portugal, the pope was undoubtedly committing an act of aggression against the *padroado*. But a number of precedents had already been established. The commission given by the pope to Sebastiani is deserving of remark. He is appointed as apostolic commissary for the whole of the Serra 'tam superstite quam defuncto praedicto Francisco Garcia Archiepiscopo' ('whether the aforesaid Archbishop Francis Garcia is alive or deceased').⁴⁴ By a second brief he is authorised, if he finds it desirable, to divide the Serra into two jurisdictions, North Malabar or Kanara, and South Malabar, and with the assistance of two clerics to consecrate two priests, who may be either seculars or regulars, as titular bishops, and may entrust to them the administration of these regions.⁴⁵

Before the new bishop could set foot in the area committed to him, two deaths, one long expected, the other less expected, had simplified the situation in the Serra.

On 3 September 1659 Francis Garcia, having taken a tender farewell of the clergy and people of the fortress of Cranganore, entered into rest. Of his virtues no one had ever entertained any doubt. An impressive record remains of his linguistic attainments.⁴⁶ But these merits were outweighed by the defects to which attention has already been drawn. Fr Thekedatu, who has tried hard to be fair to him as to other actors in this drama, comes to the melancholy conclusion that 'in spite of his exceptional qualities of head and heart, and in spite of the success that he had earlier as a Jesuit superior, the fact remains that as archbishop of Cranganore he was a dismal failure'.⁴⁷

On 10 February 1661 Fr Hyacinth of St Vincent, the head of the Carmelite delegation, died in Cochin. At the time of his arrival in India he was already more than sixty years old. His sincere but fumbling attempts at reconciliation led to no notable results. In the three years that he served in India, if he did not make things worse, he did not make them very much better.

The death of these two leaders left Sebastiani in a strong position. He now openly claimed the episcopal dignity, which he had so far concealed through fear of the Portuguese,⁴⁸ and could show that he was the only legitimate bishop in the Serra. Cochin was still vacant, and the archdeacon had been firmly rejected by all the authorities in Rome. He was now free from the presence of Fr Hyacinth, who in his later days had been more of a liability than a help.

There was one new factor in the situation, of which Rome was perhaps more fully aware than those in Malabar – the irresistible advance of the Dutch. By 1663 no further doubt was possible. In that year Cochin fell to the Dutch invaders, and Portuguese dominion in Malabar was at an end.⁴⁹

The attitude of the Dutch at that time towards the Roman Catholic church in India, and its chief representatives the Portuguese, was uncompromisingly hostile. Order was served on the Carmelites to leave Malabar within a stated period. They were told that they were to be conveyed to Persia, or some other place outside India, in friendly fashion. Sebastiani pleaded for permission to remain, but received the answer that not even the Dutch commander in India, Rikloff van Goens, had authority to disregard the instructions sent from Holland. All that he could do was to grant to the vicar apostolic some extension of time in which to set the affairs of the vicariate in order.

Sebastiani decided that the only course open to him was to make use of the faculty granted him by the pope, and to consecrate as his successor one of the Indian *cattanārs*. His choice, and that of the priests whom he was able to summon to meet him at Kaṭuturrutti, fell on Parambil Chāndy, the cousin of the archdeacon Thomas. Chāndy (Alexander de Campo) was stated to have been at this time fifty years old, a man of piety, prudence, seriousness, modesty and charity towards the poor.⁵⁰ The consecration took place on 1 February 1663,⁵¹ less than a month after the capture of Cochin by the Dutch, in the presence of a vast crowd of people. But Chāndy was not consecrated as archbishop of Cranganore, but as bishop of Megara *i.p.i.*, and with the title of vicar apostolic. This may have been out of regard for the now rather shabby claim of the Portuguese under the *padroado* agreement, but it did also stress the complete subordination of the church of the Serra to the See of Rome. Sebastiani had, however, been able to recover from Cranganore the pontifical vestments left by Francis Garcia at his death, and so to array the new bishop in the traditional splendour of a bishop of the Western church. The final action of Sebastiani was solemnly to excommunicate the archdeacon and his principal adviser, the *cattanār* Ittithommen.

Two weeks later Sebastiani left the Serra for good, having accomplished much, but necessarily having left undone many things that would have been

for the benefit of the Thomas Christians. He spent some time in Goa, at the instance of the governor who desired to have the help of the only European bishop left in the whole vast area from the Cape of Good Hope to Cape Comorin, to bring some sort of order into the affairs of the hopelessly divided chapter of the archdiocese of Goa.⁵² Having successfully accomplished this mission, the bishop went on his way to Rome, where he arrived on 6 May 1665.⁵³

5 THE DUTCH TAKE A HAND

The exclusion of the Carmelites from Malabar was neither as drastic nor as complete as might have been expected in view of what has been explained as Dutch policy. Fr Matthew of St Joseph was able to remain, having commended himself to the Dutch governors and especially to van Rheeде by his expert scientific and botanical knowledge.⁵⁴ Matthew seems to have come to India in 1657. He was skilled both in medicine and in the Arabic language. In 1674 he was able to build a church at a place the name of which is given as Bardelaquae Cettiati,⁵⁵ and by agreement between the bishop of Megara (Parambil Chāndy) and the Holy See to secure for it the status of a church exempt from the jurisdiction of the local bishop.⁵⁶

Thus the two cousins, Tumi and Chāndy, were left scowling at one another across the distance that separated them. Each had acquired what the other most desired. Chāndy had received the regular episcopal consecration, which would be recognised as valid by the whole Western church; but he had failed to secure the title and the dignity which, from the time of the Synod of Diamper, had signified the independence of the Eastern church. Thomas had not secured the regular consecration to which he had ardently aspired; but he had undone the greater part of what had been done at Diamper, and could rightly claim that he was now the independent head of a church which boasted of its apostolic origins. Chāndy was in control of about two-thirds of the parishes and clergy of the Thomas Christians, Thomas had to be content with rather less than a third. Chāndy had to rely on the help of the Dutch, who were anxious to be able to count on the Thomas Christians as their allies. No one came to the help of Thomas. And yet contrary to all probability Thomas was able to hold his threatened church together; today he is honoured by the Malankara church as its second founder, second only to the apostle Thomas himself.⁵⁷

Attempts to calculate the number of the Thomas Christians, and the parishes which adhered to the rival bishops, cannot be more than tentative since our authorities contradict one another at every point. Some have asserted the number of the Thomas Christians in the middle of the seventeenth century to have been 200,000, though some even go as high as

300,000. Beyond all doubt these figures are inflated; 100,000 would probably be nearer the mark, though this may still be in excess of the reality.⁵⁸ Fr Matthew, in a letter to the Propaganda in Rome, dated 4 February 1669, states that of the parishes of the Thomas Christians 85 are faithful to Bishop Chāndy, whereas 26 hold with Parambil Thomas. But this figure is not as clear as it appears. The actual parishes of the Thomas Christians seem not to have numbered more than 90; the larger number results from the inclusion of small and isolated groups which never had parochial status. And Matthew's figure seems to assign too high a proportion to Chāndy as against Thomas.

When all factors have been taken into consideration the figure of two-thirds to Chāndy and one-third to Thomas may be regarded as acceptable. But it seems that the larger churches and those nearest to the main centres of civilisation adhered to Chāndy; strong support for Thomas lay in the remoter areas, and among those less influenced by contacts with the West.⁵⁹

6 STABILITY IN SPIKE OF STRIFE

In this tangled history it was usually the unexpected which happened. In 1665 a certain bishop Gregory, sent by the Jacobite patriarch in Diarbekir, arrived in Malabar. Mystery still surrounds the circumstances of his sending and of his coming. These may have followed as a remote consequence of the letters written many years before by Parambil Thomas to the various patriarchs of the Eastern churches. At first the supporters of Thomas welcomed Gregory with enthusiasm, believing him to be a bishop of the same tradition as those who had come to rule over them in earlier years. Noting some difference in his manner of celebrating mass they began to be suspicious. But Thomas persuaded Gregory to adapt himself to the local rite, the same rite that had been adopted at Diamper, and was used by both the *Palayakūr* (the Old Believers), the name given to the Romo-Syrians, and by the *Puthenkūr* (the New Believers) or followers of Thomas. This Gregory agreed to do, except that he would not use unleavened bread in the celebration of the holy mysteries.

The followers of Thomas did not realise that the newly arrived bishop was about to introduce among them a theological revolution. To the Western mind the doctrine of Eutyches, to which Gregory was committed, was as different as could be from the doctrine of Nestorius, for whom the Thomas Christians had devoutly prayed until Diamper taught them better. The two agreed only in repudiating the doctrine of the Council of Chalcedon, which had been so sternly introduced among the Christians of the Serra by Menezes. But to these simple Christians matters may have presented themselves in a different light. Gregory was a foreigner who did

not speak a word of Malayālam. He seems to have been tactful and not to have introduced extensive changes. His great merit in the eyes of the Thomas Christians was that he was an Eastern bishop, and had nothing to do with either the Jesuits or the Portuguese. His views seem gradually to have spread themselves among the people, and in the end to have been accepted without any feeling that a revolution had taken place.⁶⁰

Doubt exists as to whether Gregory conferred episcopal consecration on Parambil Thomas. Local tradition affirms that he did,⁶¹ and that until the end of his life he refrained from exercising any of the functions of a diocesan bishop – these he left to Thomas. But this must be regarded as doubtful; if any such consecration did take place, it must have been carried out in secret, as Thomas did not wish to take any action which could cast doubt on the validity of his earlier consecration. Gregory was regarded by the people as a saint. From the time of his death, which took place in 1672, a special feast has been celebrated in his memory on the anniversary of his death. To this day he is regarded by the Christians of the Malankara church as one of their founders, and as the restorer of the true faith.

What followed on the death of Thomas I is extremely confusing, and reliable sources for the period are hard to find. Even the date of his death is uncertain. Germann states with confidence that it took place in 1673, one year after the death of Gregory,⁶² and this may well be correct.⁶³ Thomas was succeeded by a line of shadowy heads, each of whom took the name Thomas. It is reported of Thomas III that he was still a layman at the time of his accession. He was almost certainly consecrated by twelve *cattanārs* following the ritual observed in the ‘consecration’ of Parambil Thomas. With Thomas V, who succeeded in 1686 and apparently ruled the church until 1720, we emerge into a clearer light of history. He claimed to have been consecrated by a Jacobite bishop, but according to Paulinus was not able to establish that this was so.⁶⁴ The Dutch had been pleased to afford protection to the adherents of Bishop Chāndy; the party of Thomas, as we have seen, was left without the advantage of such protection. Yet that party managed to maintain its position, to hold the flock together, and to stand up for the rights and privileges of the Thomas Christians against the perpetual danger of encroachment by Hindu rulers.

If Thomas V did succeed in getting Jacobite consecration, this must have been at the hands of one of two bishops who arrived in India in 1685. In the month of January of that year one Bishop John came from Mosul with full credentials from the monophysite patriarch of Antioch. He was accompanied by another bishop, Basil, by one Greek priest, and by two Armenians. These two bishops showed themselves much less conciliatory than Mar Gregory, insisting more rigidly on Jacobite usage, destroying

crucifixes and pictures to which the Thomas Christians had become accustomed in the long years of Roman domination. This resulted in such strong opposition both from Thomas V and from the party of Bishop Chāndy that the two prelates withdrew to the northern part of the area inhabited by the Thomas Christians. Basil died not long after his arrival and John a little later. No trace of their work seems to have remained; they deserve mention only as evidence of the continued interest taken by the patriarch of Babylon in the affairs of distant Malabar.

The party of Thomas was not alone in experiencing difficulty. Bishop Chāndy was also fated to run into a whole series of problems.

The selection of Chāndy had not met with universal approbation. None of the accounts of his work as bishop which have come down to us is unconditionally favourable, though attacks on his manner of living and character are few. He had few of the gifts of leadership, and his lack of learning was a serious handicap in the exercise of his high office. Nevertheless the role that he sustained during the years of his episcopate was of great importance to the church.⁶⁵ He was a bulwark and a bastion. If there had not been a legitimate and regularly consecrated bishop on the scene to contend with Thomas, there can be little doubt that Thomas would gradually have drawn the whole body of the Thomas Christians into his allegiance. It is an indication of the strength and weakness of Chāndy that the division between Old and New Believers has continued to the present day, and that the proportions have changed very little in three centuries.

Although he had been consecrated by a Carmelite bishop, Chāndy found himself in controversy and conflict with the Carmelites, who had managed to re-establish themselves in the Serra, and to set up a strong centre in Varāppolī not far from Cochin. The bone of contention was the appointment of a bishop coadjutor for the Serra. Following the ancient custom of his church, Chāndy wished to appoint his nephew Matthew. But the Carmelites objected, on the ground that Matthew lacked the necessary qualifications,⁶⁶ and arranged to appoint instead a man of their own choice, Rafael de Figueredo Salgado, who was of part Indian and part Portuguese descent, and resident in Cochin. Nothing could more clearly indicate the small regard paid by the Carmelites to Bishop Chāndy. He was the bishop, and the choice of his successor belonged by tradition to him and to him alone. The action of the Carmelites showed that they regarded themselves as the true source of all authority in the Serra.

Bishop Chāndy very properly refused to consecrate a bishop in the choice of whom he had had no hand. But the Carmelites had a resource of which Chāndy perhaps had not thought. Thomas de Castro, the Theatine and nephew of the first vicar apostolic, appointed vicar apostolic of Kanara in 1674, was at this time residing in Mangalore. When the Carmelites invited

him to consecrate a coadjutor bishop for the Serra, he was delighted to accept the invitation, apparently believing that this might give him some permanent hold on the affairs of the Serra.⁶⁷

For a considerable time Chāndy would have nothing to do with the intruder; but in the end he seems to have recognised him as his coadjutor and to have surrendered to him some of his rights, an action that he was later deeply to regret. Rafael set out to make himself unquestioned master of the Serra, and to bring even the discalced Carmelites under his authority. It is not necessary to believe all that is reported of Rafael – that he permitted the *cattānārs* to indulge in concubinage, that he took into his service runaway monks and priests, that he sold for money the mass-wine supplied to him by Propaganda – but it is clear that he was a less than desirable character and no credit to the Carmelites who had chosen him. At last Chāndy could stand it no longer; the open dissension between the two bishops threatened to destroy the unity of the church of the Serra.

Something had to be done. In a brief of 6 February 1687 Pope Innocent XI appointed Custodius de Pinho, vicar apostolic of Bijāpur and titular bishop of Hierapolis, as apostolic visitor to the Serra, with full authority to inquire into disorders and to restore discipline.⁶⁸ At this point the records fall into hopeless confusion. Fr E. Hull cannot be sure whether Custodius died in 1689 or in 1697.⁶⁹ It is not certain whether he ever reached the Serra, and no report from him on a visitation of the area seems to have survived. What does seem to be clear is that Rafael, whose irregularities had by now become intolerable, was removed from office (the date is uncertain), and died on 12 October 1695.

By now all the principal actors had been removed from the scene. Bishop Chāndy had died probably not later than 1692, Custodius certainly not later than 1697. Rafael appears to have died in 1695. The redoubtable Fr Matthew of St Joseph had died in Cochin in 1691 and had been buried in Varāppoli. Once again the Serra was left without any bishop standing in any regular succession.

There was a rumour that a Jesuit bishop was to be appointed; but detestation of the Jesuits was still so hot among the Thomas Christians that such an appointment would have let loose a most dangerous storm. Wiser counsels prevailed, and the pope appointed a Carmelite, Fr Angelus Francis of St Teresa, as vicar apostolic of north and south Malabar, and titular bishop of Metellopolis. On 22 May 1701 Francis was consecrated in the parish church of Mangate by a Syrian bishop, Mar Simeon of Adana, who had been sent to India by the Syrian metropolitan of Diarbekir in communion with Rome.⁷⁰

The Serra was not destined to enjoy even a brief time of peace. By the end of our period there were three Portuguese bishops in India. Augustine of the

Annunciation had been archbishop of Goa since 1691; since 1699 a new bishop of Cochin, Peter Pacheco, had been resident in the southern part of his diocese where the Dutch writ did not run; John Ribeiro, a Jesuit, was made archbishop of Cranganore in December 1701. None of these prelates was permitted by the Dutch to reside anywhere in the Serra. But, hardly had the bishop of Metellopolis taken over the rule in his troubled vicariate, when the three joined together in a bitter protest against his appointment as an infringement of the rights of the king of Portugal under the *padroado* agreement. Against the orders of the Dutch Ribeiro managed to enter the territory of Cranganore, and stirred up renewed controversies among the Thomas Christians as to the jurisdiction to which they belonged. On 20 June 1704 a number of *cattanārs* came together in the church at Kaṭutturutti and swore by the Saviour, by the holy Virgin and the twelve apostles, to remain independent of Goa, until the pope could hear their appeal, and place them, as before, under the rule of the Carmelite vicars apostolic, 'since from that order they had received the truest help in all their necessities'.⁷¹ These unhappy disputes made it certain that the schismatics would not return to the unity of the church, and greatly hindered the work of evangelisation among the non-Christians.

7 THE BALANCE OF A CENTURY

It has been necessary briefly to chronicle these unhappy contentions, since, without some information of this kind, it would not be possible to form a picture of the life of the Thomas Christians in this troubled period. The astonishing thing is that, in spite of the troubles, the church continued to exist, retained its hold on the greater part of its church buildings and other property, maintained a strong sense of unity, in spite of the divisions, and of distinctness from the surrounding Hindu society, and was able to move forward into the eighteenth century, undiminished in numbers and with a courage that enabled it to endure the troubles which still lay before it. There is, humanly speaking, only one explanation for this remarkable persistence. In history the doings of prelates and of the great ones of the earth tend to be recorded at inordinate length. But this is not where the life of the church really lies. Through all these years the *cattanārs*, many of them ignorant and ill-trained men, not always virtuous and not always prudent in their actions, continued to celebrate the *Qurbāna*, the Eucharist, Sunday by Sunday, and to maintain the continuity of worship which had held the church together through many dark centuries. The people continued to come to church, to make their humble offerings, and to experience the fellowship of worship. Knowing little of the Gospel, for the most part illiterate, they still knew that they were Christians and that a great inheritance had been entrusted to their

keeping. Above all, they were kept in being by awareness of that great world church of which they were a part though they had little contact with it, and by the hope of better days to come. The better days were very slow in coming. But when at last they came, the ancient church was still there, ready in spite of the unhealed divisions, to renew its youth, and to take advantage of the new opportunities that in due time were to be offered to it.

14 · Other Roman Catholic Missions

The historian who essays to deal with the story of the Roman Catholic Church in India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is faced at the outset by a grave difficulty. It seems that there is not in existence any orderly and systematic account of this history such as could give general guidance in the planning of a survey of this period. In 1958 an Indian scholar, well versed in the history of the church in his country, wrote:

The missions in India, taken as a whole, have not yet been made the object of a serious and well-documented study. Since the history of the Indian [Roman Catholic] Church is no more than a long series of dissensions and conflicts, there exists on this subject an abundant polemical literature . . . which has little scientific value. Apart from such works, the various orders and congregations have left to us some well-written monographs on their respective missions.¹

The situation in 1982 is better, but not very much better, than it was in 1958. It still remains difficult, therefore, to work out a systematic and reasonably complete survey of the history and progress of the church in those difficult centuries.

The best interim method, for the historian, seems to be to take a number of the most notable events and processes, which on the whole are also the best documented, to deal with them in some detail, and to fill in the gaps as best he can, hoping that it will be the good fortune of some later writer to weave together the various pieces into an orderly and intelligible tapestry.

I EARLY DAYS OF THE PROPAGANDA

On 6 January 1622 Pope Gregory XV called into existence the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. The aims and purpose of the Congregation were succinctly set forth in the opening pages of its *Acta*:

The Holy Father in Christ and Lord Gregory XV, by divine providence pope, perceiving that the principal work of the pastoral office is the propagation of the Christian faith, by which men are led to know and worship the true God and to live seriously, piously and justly in the world, erected a Congregation composed of thirteen cardinals and two prelates, and also a secretary, to whom he committed and recommended the affairs of the propagation of the faith.²

There had been some precedents for action of this kind. But the Propaganda, as it came universally to be called, was the first serious attempt to view the whole missionary work of the Church of Rome as a unity, to bring it under a measure of control, and to establish a central point of reference. The Propaganda was brought into being to make it plain that the pope was the head of the missionary enterprise, as of all other ecclesiastical enterprises. This headship was to be made a reality by the accumulation at Rome of reliable information about all the missions, by establishing contact with the heads of all the religious orders, by strengthening the dioceses existing in the lands of mission and greatly increasing their number, and by issuing directives as needed to all those engaged in the work of evangelising the non-Christian world.

Propaganda was fortunate in its first secretary. Francis Ingoli (1578–1649), a native of Ravenna, who held office for twenty-seven years, was described by a contemporary as ‘the head, the body and the feet of the Congregation’.³ Very varied opinions have been held about him. The judgements of contemporaries were almost wholly favourable. At the time of his death one wrote of him, ‘I do not think that in the Roman Curia one could easily find one to compare with him.’ A modern writer has expressed himself in very different terms. Ingoli is accused of being a dreamer, an autocrat hungry for power, a Roman centraliser, a narrow-minded, short-sighted prelate, an unpractical idealist.⁴ For a definitive judgement on Ingoli it will be necessary to await the publication of all his many memoranda, reports and other documents. When the final judgement is handed in, there can be little doubt that it will be found with few qualifications to be favourable to him.

Ingoli never mastered the art of clear and elegant expression, either in Latin or in Italian. But his thinking was clear enough, and he was capable at times of giving forceful expression to what was in his mind. His programme for missionary work can be summed up under four main headings:

the missionary work of the church must be transformed from a colonial phenomenon into a purely spiritual and ecclesiastical movement.

missionaries must be set free from every kind of subjection to secular powers.

some kind of unity must be imposed on the labour of evangelisation.

above all, an indigenous clergy must be created, and hierarchies composed of nationals of the various countries must be brought into being.

To the last of these four Ingoli returns times without number. The ordination of indigenous priests and the consecration of indigenous bishops

will be the best method for rescuing the missions from the paralysis into which many of them have fallen. He is at pains to show the baselessness of the objections made by many missionaries to such ordinations. If we do ordain nationals to the priesthood, we shall be doing no more than what the apostles did, and their practice is to be followed since it was dictated by the Holy Spirit.⁵ The exclusion of the native races from the priesthood is the greatest hindrance to the spread of the Gospel, since the unreached provinces can more easily be converted by the citizens of these countries than by foreigners, who are not held in great esteem in those areas.⁶

2 THE FIRST VICARS APOSTOLIC

As early as 1625 the attention of Ingoli had been directed to the presence in Rome of a young Indian of exceptional promise, Matthew de Castro, by birth a Brāhman from Divar in the neighbourhood of Goa. Matthew appears to have been born about the year 1604,⁷ in a family which, if not wealthy, possessed a reasonable amount of property. He had managed to secure a fair education in the Franciscan college of the Three Kings at Bardes, and had felt the call to ordination. He made his desire known to the archbishop of Goa, at that time Christopher de Sá, but was met with an abrupt refusal; when pressed, the archbishop averred that he had taken an oath not to ordain any Brāhmans and that he intended to keep his oath.⁸

Determined not to be frustrated in his plans, Matthew decided to make his way to the West and to find a bishop willing to ordain him. He set out from Goa. After an adventurous journey, which took no less than four years, and included a visit to Jerusalem where he lost all his papers and almost all his money, he at last arrived in Rome, probably in September 1625, and made himself known to the authorities of the Propaganda. The arrival of this intelligent young man could not but be welcome to Ingoli, whose greatest need was for first-hand information from the lands of mission; here it was ready to his hand.

According to Matthew's own account, he told the secretary that the reports which were reaching Rome were incomplete since they pass over what is bad and tell only what is good. In reality many people hold back from conversion because they know that in India to become a Christian means to become a slave. The authorities are unwilling to ordain any Brāhmans; none are admitted to the religious orders – they declare that this would be contrary to the will of his Catholic majesty. No Indian is admitted to higher studies, and this causes great hindrance to the propagation of the faith.⁹

Matthew in the course of his life made many enemies but he was also skilful in acquiring powerful protectors. Among the most powerful was Cardinal Barberini, brother of Pope Urban VIII.¹⁰ After an examination, in

which he affirmed that he could speak fluently Latin, Spanish, Portuguese and Konkani (to which some accounts add Italian), and that on his travels he had picked up some Turkish, Persian and Armenian, he was admitted to studies in philosophy and theology. Although he was not yet a priest, he was able through the kindness of the Oratorians to join the company of those who lived together in community at the church of St John of the Florentines. This lasted for five years, during the whole of which Matthew comported himself well and won the approval of all who knew him. In 1631 he acquired the degrees of doctor in philosophy and in theology.

In the meantime Matthew had obtained the dispensations which made it possible for him to be ordained without letters dimissory from his ordinary, the archbishop of Goa, and also without presenting such documents as his baptismal certificate which had been lost, *ad titulum missionis*, for missionary service abroad.¹¹

Having been ordained, Matthew now asked for permission to return to his own country, and this was readily granted. In order to give him added dignity and authority the pope appointed him protonotary apostolic, and the Propaganda secured for him a number of special privileges. In the document issued in March 1631, he is described as D. Matthew de Castro Melo, an Indian missionary to the non-Christians of the East Indies and especially to the people called Brāhmans.¹² After tedious delays he at last reached Goa towards the end of 1633, after an absence of twelve years.

Matthew seems to have lacked the modesty and prudence which would have been fitting in a young man recently ordained and without knowledge of missionary work. Instead, he 'has showed concessions of this kind to all sorts of people, only with a view to showing that he has returned crowned with glory and honour'. These words are taken from a long complaint drawn up by John da Rocha, administrator of the archdiocese of Goa in the absence of the archbishop, and transmitted to the cardinals of the Propaganda.¹³ It is here suggested that the documents shewn by Matthew were forged – an objection well-chosen, since in all probability, even if the documents were found in Rome to be authentic, two years would pass before news of their authenticity could reach Goa. In the meantime the administrator could not see his way to allow Matthew to make use of any of his privileges within the boundaries of the archbishopric of Goa. 'We know by experience that the Brāhmans are not sufficiently firm in the faith to make proper use of such extensive faculties; the experience of us who know them inside and out bears witness to this fact.'

There were grounds for anxiety in the mind of the administrator. Too many Indian priests had been ordained. The archbishops had taken advantage of the rule that candidates might be ordained 'on their patrimony' without title to place or parish, thus turning what the council of

Trent had intended to be an exceptional permission to meet cases of special need into a general permission.¹⁴ In a report dating from the middle of the seventeenth century it is stated that in the Goa islands there were eighty-five parishes; of these fifty-three were served by members of the religious orders, eleven by Portuguese secular priests, and only twenty-one were in the hands of Indian priests. At the same time there were in the islands 180 Brāhmans who had been ordained but for whom no benefice had been found. These young men were idling away their time at home with nothing to do. It is not surprising that their character and conduct shed little lustre on their priesthood, and that from being unemployed they were becoming unemployable.¹⁵

This was the situation which obtained when Matthew de Castro returned from Europe. In view of the rough reception accorded to him and the endless difficulties which encountered him on every hand it is not surprising that he decided to return to Rome and to state his case to Propaganda in person. On this occasion he took to himself the title 'procurator of the Brāhman people'.

For the second time the coming of Matthew appeared to Ingoli as a gift from heaven. It had become clear to him that not much progress could be made in the Indian mission, unless Propaganda had on the spot a representative invested with considerable powers and authority. Who more suited to carry the weight of authority than Matthew, educated in the best theological schools of Rome, all too well acquainted with the Portuguese in India, and familiar also with the customs of his own people?

The main obstacle in the way of the development of the plans of Ingoli was the Portuguese *padroado*. The ingenious device adopted by him in order to circumvent this obstacle was the extension of the office of vicar apostolic. The custom of creating bishops *in partibus infidelium* to carry out episcopal functions but without territorial jurisdiction was by now well established. The pope had appointed vicars apostolic to care for sees in countries such as Hungary and the Netherlands where owing to the inroads made by Protestants it was not possible for territorial bishops to be appointed and to reside. Would it not be a legitimate extension of this method to appoint vicars apostolic to areas in which no diocese existed and in which it was unlikely that new dioceses would be created by either Spain or Portugal?¹⁶

The presence of Matthew de Castro in Rome seemed to indicate one person suited to grace the new office. The second choice fell on Fr de Santo Felice, who was to become vicar apostolic in Japan, with the title 'bishop of Myra' *i.p.i.* As Matthew knew the route so well, it was arranged that he should accompany Santo Felice to Japan, and should then make his way back to India, and take up, as bishop of Chrysopolis *i.p.i.*, the post of vicar apostolic to Idalcan for which he had been consecrated.¹⁷

So, in dead secrecy, on 30 November 1637 the two new bishops were consecrated by three little known bishops in the chapel of the Carthusians of St Mary, and sent upon their way.¹⁸

The bishop of Chrysopolis, as he now was, was to go to an area in which, though a number of Christians resided, there was nothing like an organised church. Nevertheless it was certain that Portugal would regard this as the gravest infringement of the *padroado* which had yet taken place. And Matthew was not the man to make peace. He went back to India with a deeply ingrained hatred of the Portuguese, and in particular of the Jesuits, to whom he attributed not only his own misfortunes but also almost all the troubles which had befallen the church in India. He made no attempt to conceal his views.

Matthew's first concern was for his vicariate of Idalcan. A bishop can do nothing without priests. He had managed to gather round him in Goa a small number of like-minded Christian Brāhmans, and these he requested the archbishop to ordain. He was met with a point-blank refusal, on the ground that the ministrations in India of a bishop who had not been appointed by the king of Portugal were inadmissible. Undeterred, or provoked, by this rebuff, Matthew crossed over into the region of Bījāpur, and proceeded to ordain his young friends without letters dimissory from their ordinary, the archbishop of Goa. This was undoubtedly a breach of canon law; Matthew could defend himself on the ground that he simply had to have priests, and that moreover he was planning to organise the newly ordained as a congregation of the Oratory (of St Philip Neri), and that this would withdraw them from the jurisdiction of the archbishop.

The reaction of the Portuguese against Matthew was extremely strong. The tale of the ordinations, reinforced by the allegation that the conduct of these young priests was very far from being above reproach, was not the only charge against the vicar apostolic; it was alleged that he had been engaged in political negotiations with the Dutch to the detriment of the Portuguese, and this may not have been mere invention. Matters became so serious that nothing would serve but for Matthew to take for the third time the long and perilous journey to Rome, and to defend himself in person. He left Goa on 3 April 1643.

The vicar apostolic was a man of infinite plausibility. In Rome he was not merely cleared of all the main charges against him, but was allowed to return to India with enhanced powers – the kingdoms of Golconda and Pegu had been added to his sphere of work. After a frustrating period as nominally vicar apostolic of Ethiopia, a country he never succeeded in reaching, by 1651 he was back in India, and all the old troubles started up again.

Soon after his return he made his way to Agra, where he was actually received by the emperor Shāh Jahān in circumstances which are not altogether clear.¹⁹ During this visit he managed as usual to set everyone by

the ears. There were the usual tales of political involvement, and of plots to the detriment of the Portuguese and the Jesuits. Not everything written against him by his enemies is to be believed; but it seems that his actions were both disturbing and discourteous. In their letters the Jesuits refer to him politely as *aper exterminator*, the 'wild boar out of the wood' of Psalm 80 (79): 14, and when they were finally rid of him, their relief expressed itself in the words of Scripture – 'he rebuked the winds and the sea and there was a great calm' (Matthew 8: 26).²⁰

It was at this point that the vicar apostolic took pen in hand, and poured out the vials of his wrath in a series of open letters, the most notable of which are the *Mirror of Brahmans* and the *Letter to the City of Goa*. A single quotation from the letter will give the gist of his complaints:

My intention is clear. I want first that the natives should be treated as vassals [protected persons] and not as slaves; second that the privileges which your king has granted to the Indians should be observed; third, that the Franciscans should be removed from Bardes and the Paulists [Jesuits] from Salsette, and that their churches should be given to indigenous priests. These are in no way inferior to the Franciscans and the Paulists; on the contrary as regards life, morals, and firmness in the faith they are their superiors.²¹

Such provocative action could not but provoke reaction. But surely Fr Metzler, who has published these documents, is right:

If the authorities in India had met with greater understanding the justifiable claims of Castro and Ingoli for more generous training for the indigenous Brāhman priests, and for the establishment of a sound relationship between the number of foreign and indigenous priests on the one hand and the number of foreign and indigenous Christians on the other, this tragic chapter in the history of missions need never have been written, and the tension between the Propaganda and the Portuguese *padroado* might have been less harmful to the work of the missions.²²

As usual Matthew was able to find friends to defend him. The Carmelite Joseph Sebastiani on his way to Malabar made a visit of inspection to the realm of Adil Khān, and reported to Propaganda, 'Don Matthew is a man of great merit; everything reported of him is sheer calumny except for his too great readiness in conferring ordination.'²³ But this was not the general opinion. The troubles that Matthew had brought upon himself were by now too heavy to be borne, and so once more he found it wise to return to Rome. This was to be his last journey. The cardinals, having got their troublesome bishop in their hands, decided to keep him where he could do no more harm either to himself or to the cause. He remained in quiet retirement in Rome till the day of his death in 1677. The Propaganda continued to speak well of him, and it is reported that the secretaries on occasion made use of his services in giving advice on Indian affairs.²⁴

There is a strange mixture of comedy and tragedy in this story.²⁵ The

eccentricities of the first Indian bishop caused great anxiety to Ingoli and his followers. But it was made clear that there was to be no withdrawal from the policy; the regime of the vicars apostolic had come to stay, and if suitable Asians could be found they would be appointed.

Matthew de Castro lived long enough to see the appointment of two further Indian priests as vicars apostolic.²⁶

Custodius de Pinho, like Matthew de Castro, was of Brāhman origin. As a young man he had been brought to Rome and had completed his studies in the college of the Propaganda. In 1668 he was chosen as vicar apostolic of Idalcan, to which Pegu and Golconda were added not long after. He was consecrated in Rome on 14 January 1669, with the title of bishop of Hierapolis *i.p.i.* Like Matthew he had difficulties with the Portuguese; but a suave and conciliatory manner seems to have saved him from the violent hostility which had so much hindered the work of his predecessor. He is credited with bringing bright new life into the vicariate of Idalcan, having ordained many candidates, built churches, and brought a seminary into being.²⁷ Custodius chose Bicholim, not far from Goa, and the place in which Matthew had established his house of the oratory, as his residence. In 1696 he asked to be relieved of all his duties on the ground of ill-health, and died at Salsette on 14 April 1697. He lacked the almost frenzied zeal of de Castro; but he demonstrated far better than his predecessor what an Indian vicar apostolic ought to be.²⁸

Since the number of Christians in Kanara, south of Goa, was increasing, Propaganda decided to extend to this area also the regime of the vicars apostolic. Thomas de Castro, a nephew of Matthew, had accompanied his uncle to Rome, and after completing his studies had joined the Theatine order. He had been designated as prefect and Visitor of the central institution of the Theatines in Goa, when it was decided that he should be the first vicar apostolic of Kanara.²⁹ The bull of his appointment makes it clear that he is to be regarded as 'inquisitor-general and founder of the mission in the realm of Cochin, Tanor, Gingi, Madura, Mysore, Cranganore, Cannanore, and the whole coast of Kanara'. It is true that none of the regions mentioned was directly under the rule of Portugal, or subject to the terms of the *padroado*. It is true also that the See of Goa had been left vacant by the crown of Portugal for many years (1635–75), and that no kind of episcopal supervision was available for Kanara. But it is clear also that, from the point of view of Portugal and of Goa, Propaganda had been guilty of aggression of an open and highly objectionable kind.

Thomas was consecrated in Rome in 1674 with the title of bishop of Fulsivelli *i.p.i.* He arrived in India in 1675,³⁰ and after two years in Calicut settled in Mangalore. By this time, there was a new archbishop of Goa, Antony Brandão, a Cistercian. Immediately on his accession to the

archiepiscopal throne, the archbishop took the gravest exception to the presence, in an area for which he held himself to be responsible, of an intruder, whose ecclesiastical character he was wholly unwilling to recognise. In 1681 he sent to Kanara a gifted Goan priest, Joseph Vaz, destined later to attain to great eminence by reason of his work in Ceylon, to restore order and to strengthen the hands of the Goan party.

Thomas died in 1684,³¹ and was not replaced. Thereafter the authority of Goa was to some extent restored in the disputed territory.

With the year 1696 the story of the Indian vicars apostolic comes to an end. For two hundred years after that date no Indian was to be consecrated to the episcopate. Of the three who had served, one had been intelligent but unsatisfactory; two had been less than notably effective. But this was no excuse for the failure to carry the experiment further. This failure suggests that there was more to the complaints of de Castro, exaggerated as may have been the form in which he expressed them, than has sometimes been admitted. Ingoli was wise in his generation; it is to be regretted that others in later days did not share his wisdom.³²

3 TO FAR CATHAY

A survey of Roman Catholic missions in India in the seventeenth century can hardly exclude the great journey of the lay brother Benedict Goes from India to China, though by far the greater part of the journey lay outside the frontiers of India.

Reports had reached Jerome Xavier in Lahore of a great region called Cathay, in which the majority of the inhabitants were Christians, though there were also many Muslims and pagans.³³

Where was Cathay, and who were these Christians of whom no word had previously reached Christian ears? It seemed to Xavier that the realm of Prester John had at last been discovered, and that it was of urgent interest to Christendom that contact should be made or renewed with it. The man indicated for the preliminary reconnaissance was Brother Benedict.

Goes had been born in the Azores in or about the year 1562, and had entered the Society of Jesus at the age of twenty-six. Not highly distinguished intellectually but a man of great humility and sincerity, he had served well in the third mission to Mogor from its inception in 1595 onwards. Together with a good knowledge of Persian, he possessed adaptability and that endless patience which is required of those who would travel in Central Asia.

Money would be needed for so immense a journey. The authorities in Goa produced 500 seraphins;³⁴ Akbar who was interested in the journey doubled the amount; Xavier was able to add a further 700. Merchandise of

various kinds was added to his equipment. In spite of many alarms and attacks by raiders and robbers, Goes seems to have been able to keep his gold intact, and the amount provided was sufficient to keep him in modest comfort till the end of his days. He was given as companion a helper named Isaac, who is described as an Armenian from Lahore; this young man, who proved a most acceptable companion, was with Goes till the end.

Goes, having changed his dress and appearance to that of a travelling merchant, said farewell to his friends in Agra on 29 October 1602, but his final departure from Lahore seems to have been delayed till 24 February 1603; even this was early for the exacting journey through the mountains. A slow journey from Lahore to Kabul took several months. There was a further delay in Kabul, while sufficient numbers were recruited to form a new caravan; but in spite of illness Goes pressed forward, and in November 1603³⁵ reached in safety the great city of Yarkand. Here again there were interminable delays. Caravans from Kabul did not go beyond this point, and Goes had to wait nearly a year while a caravan to cross Central Asia was being formed. Other troubles there were none; he was kindly received by the local ruler.

Once a fresh start had been made, the travellers had to wander endlessly through what was almost desert country, until at last the city of Chalis was reached.³⁶ Here Goes met merchants who claimed to have been in Peking, and told him that there were in that city Christian strangers who were in high favour with the emperor and other grandees of the court. There was no reason to doubt their reports; Matthew Ricci had reached Peking some years earlier (1601) and had succeeded at least to some extent in breaking through the wall of suspicion with which all foreigners had to contend.

The next stage on the way was the city of Camul, otherwise known as Hami, lying below the level of the sea, hot and humid, immensely fertile, but with a bad reputation among travellers by reason of its disregard of the moral principles observed elsewhere.³⁷ And here Goes learned that he was at the end of his quest; he was approaching the borders of China. No such place as Cathay had ever existed except in the imagination of some merchants; all that they had told the Great Mogul and Xavier was derived from ignorance or fiction, or from sheer lying. China and Cathay were one.

Goes was already three years out from Agra when he reached the Great Wall of China. A single day's journey from the Wall brought him to Su-chou, the first city of China, a distance of only twenty-five miles. Here he had to endure a delay of more than a year before contact with the Jesuits in Peking was established. On 31 March 1607 he was joined by a young Chinese, Chong Ma-li, who bore the Christian name John Fernandes, spoke Portuguese, and was a candidate for admission to the Society of Jesus. Fernandes had been sent out by Ricci in the hope that he might make

contact with the visitor from India. This had been accomplished. But when the Chinese Christian arrived, Goes was already a dying man and could travel no further.

Goes was not a priest. During the years that he had been on his travels, he had not been able once to hear mass, or to receive communion, unless he carried the reserved sacrament with him. In the hour of death there was no one to give him the *viaticum*. But his last days were not lonely. He had with him one who was attached to the same society, and with whom he could converse, and the devoted Isaac was always there. On 11 April 1607 he reached journey's end, and was buried in Su-chou.

After the death of Goes, Muslim companions of his journey to whom he had lent money succeeded in destroying his records in order to avoid paying their debts. Fernandes was able to recover a number of fragments, and with the help of Isaac to reconstruct the events of this memorable journey. Isaac managed in the end to make his way back to India via China; it is good to know that he was well received by the Fathers and given an adequate reward for all the services that he had rendered to Goes and to the society.³⁸

4 THE MISSION TO THE GREAT MOGUL

When Akbar died, though the Jesuits had been denied access to him on his death-bed, it might well have seemed that the star of the mission was in the ascendant. Prince Šalim had succeeded to the throne without any of the turmoil that so often followed upon the demise of an Eastern ruler. The Fathers could reasonably hope for the continuance, at the hands of the son, of the favours that they had received from the father. Throughout the years of the third mission the heir had spent much time in the company of the Fathers, had given some evidence of Christian devotion, and had kindled even in the generally pessimistic mind of Xavier the hope that one day God would work a miracle in him.³⁹

From the start all these hopes were to prove deceivers. It seems that the new emperor had given the Muslims a promise that he would restore the law of Muhammad to its old honour. He gave orders that the mosques should be cleaned and that the Muslim fasts and prayers should be restored.⁴⁰ He took as his imperial titles Nūr-ud-din (light of the faith) Muhammad, and Jahāngīr (conqueror of the world), thus indicating rather clearly the direction in which his allegiance lay.

From the beginning of his reign onwards he took actions which were certain to please the Muslims and to distress the Christians. One action of exceptional cruelty is recorded in detail in the sources. He caused the two young sons of an Armenian Christian to be brought before him and ordered them to become Muslims. On their refusing to do so, he had them forcibly

circumcised in his presence; when they refused to repeat the Muslim profession of faith, he had them cruelly flogged, until at last their resolution gave way and they did as they were told. When the Fathers were able to see them again, the younger of the two cried out, 'Padriji, I am a Christian, I am a Christian', and affirmed that the false profession of the Muslim faith had been extracted from them only by the pain that they had suffered. The end of the story is paradoxical, indeed incongruous; with a sudden change of mind, Jahāngīr resumed his formerly friendly attitude towards the Armenian and his children and other Christians, as though nothing unusual had taken place, and even despatched some business on behalf of the Fathers with every sign of goodwill.⁴¹

Three years later Jahāngīr took the astounding step of entrusting to the Fathers three of his nephews, young sons of his own brother, to be instructed with a view to their baptism. This event not unnaturally caused great astonishment and much speculation as to the motives that lay behind the emperor's action. Some suppose that the emperor was planning to introduce into his family beautiful Portuguese women, and thought that this might be more easily effected if some members of his family who could be regarded as possible bridegrooms were already Christians. Others thought that he might have the subtler design of excluding the boys, as Christians, from any possibility of succession to the throne. Whatever his reasons, Jahāngīr persisted in carrying out his plan; the boys were entrusted to Fr Corsi for instruction in the Christian faith. The names of the three princes, sons of the emperor's brother Dāniyāl, who had died in 1604, are given as Tahmūras, Bāyasanghar and Hoshang. The eldest of the three was at the time not more than ten years old. The baptism was carried out with the most impressive ceremonial, and even the English resident William Hawkins was prepared to put aside his Protestant prejudices to the extent of heading the procession with the standard of St George carried before him. The eldest boy received the name Philip, the second Charles, the youngest Henry.⁴²

The expectation of the Fathers that these baptisms, to which a fourth had not long after been added, would lead to a flood of conversions was never fulfilled. But for the moment all seemed to be going well. A month after the baptism Xavier was able to write that 'the day before yesterday the princes came to hear mass, accompanied by a large number of people. Don Philip, whose birthday it was, came with his brothers and his cousins, and all attended holy mass, making the responses to the priest as their tutor had instructed them. They returned home in a state of great contentment.'⁴³ But gradually zeal waned, and other preoccupations took possession of the minds of the brothers. On 26 February 1615 Fr Corsi reports that he has finally given up his classes with the princes – their apostasy is due to pressure from the king: 'may God forgive him and help them to understand

the great peril to which they have exposed themselves'.⁴⁴ The later history of the young men was in sad contrast to the happiness of the beginning. In 1625, after the death of Jahāngīr, Hoshang and Tahmūras were put to death by Āsaf Khān on the orders of Shāh Jahān, and Bāyasanghar, after having been defeated in battle near Lahore, simply disappears from history and nothing is known of his fate.⁴⁵

For years Jahāngīr kept the Fathers in a condition of mingled hope and despair, by ceaseless changes of attitude and by promises which came to nothing. In a letter of 9 September 1610 Fr Pinheiro records an almost comic scene which took place shortly after his return from an embassy to Goa. Among the presents he had brought for the emperor was a number of hats in the Portuguese style, a curiosity in that land where the best-known form of headgear was the turban. Emboldened by the interest shown by the emperor, Pinheiro ventured to say, 'How much better that hat would look on the head of his majesty, and how much more beautiful it would appear to our eyes.' Jahāngīr was particularly pleased with one of these hats, and, having embellished it with a plume of feathers and a spray of precious stones, one evening in the presence of a number of the magnates placed it on his head. Some of those present saw in this a symbolic action, and supposed that Jahāngīr had at the same time placed on his head the whole law of the Christians.⁴⁶

In spite of actions such as this, there is no reason to suppose that Jahāngīr ever seriously contemplated becoming a Christian. Apart from the intellectual difficulties, which he was bound as a Muslim to feel, it was unlikely that a prince, long accustomed to the enjoyments of an extensive harem and able at any moment to add to the number of its inhabitants, would renounce all that in favour of monogamy. And, the stability of the empire being as precarious as it was, no emperor could take the risks involved in religious change.

If Xavier ever had any serious hope that Jahāngīr would abandon his inherited ways, he must before long have given it up. In a long letter to the Jesuit general dated 25 December 1613 he summed up his experiences of eighteen years. It was impossible for the Muslims to receive the Gospel. Either they could not make up their minds to renounce Islam; or, if they had forsaken it, they found it only too easy to return to it. It was impossible to convince them by reasoned argument, since they understood nothing of philosophy or metaphysics, and in all circumstances referred themselves back simply to the authority of their prophet. He could not point to a single case of conversion in all these years brought about by way of understanding or discussion; such cases as there had been had all involved some more material and human considerations.

Nevertheless Xavier does not recommend that the mission should be

abandoned. The work demands, indeed, much prudence, much resolution and much patience. 'So', ends this rather gloomy letter, 'may the Lord give us the grace to carry out as we should the commands he has laid upon us.'⁴⁷

Though it may not have been apparent at the time, the great days of the mission were already over. The two leading figures, Xavier and Pinheiro, disappeared from the scene almost simultaneously in 1615.

Xavier, now sixty-five years old, was prematurely worn out, and much against his will was withdrawn to Goa and given charge of the college of St Paul. His heart was at all times with the mission which he had served for nearly twenty years, and 'he still planned to return to a post where he might hope to die the death of a martyr'.⁴⁸ This was not to be. In 1617 Xavier was appointed archbishop coadjutor of Cranganore with the right of succession, this being the chief post in the Serra. This special mark of honour was to remain without effect, since Xavier had died before news of the appointment reached India.⁴⁹ His end was tragic. Early on the morning of 27 June 1617 fire broke out in the college of St Paul. Xavier was unable to escape the flames, and in the vivid words of a contemporary 'he who was wont to set their hearts on fire by his fiery words had been devoured by another, that is a natural, fire, without their being able to bring him the least alleviation'.⁵⁰

Fr Pinheiro was also withdrawn to Goa, being then fifty-nine years old. He had spent twenty-three years in India. Of him, as of Xavier, it was reported that he was recalled 'because of the burdens and many troubles of old age, in order that, free from business and from labour, he might pass his time in prayer to God'.⁵¹ He spent his days quietly in the professed house at Goa, and entered into rest four years later, in 1619.

Among those who followed none was of equal stature to these two. Special mention may be made of two among them. Francis Corsi was twenty-seven years old when he arrived in India in 1600; he spent in all thirty-five years in the service of the mission. He seems to have been of somewhat active and ardent disposition – on one occasion Pinheiro uses of him the words *pro solito suo ardore*. Much of his time was spent in attempting to counter the plans and purposes of the English; yet he and the ambassador Sir Thomas Roe managed to remain in a relationship of mutual respect and courtesy. Of this Edward Terry gives an agreeable picture:

His desire was that the wide differences 'twixt the church of Rome and us might not be made there to appear, that Christ might not be seen by these differences to be divided among men professing Christianity which might be a very main obstacle and hindrance unto the great design and endeavour for which he was sent thither, to convert people to Christianity there; telling my lord Ambassador further, that he should be ready to do for him all good offices of love and service there, and so he was.⁵²

Heinrich Roth, a German, was born in 1620, came to India in 1653, and settled in Agra in 1659. His chief claim to fame is that, after Nobili, he was one of the few who gave themselves to the study of Indian languages. He worked on Sanskrit for six years, and was without doubt the first European to compose a grammar in that language.⁵³ Roth not merely pioneered himself, but communicated to others what he had learned. The traveller Francis Bernier was acquainted with him and derived from him much of his information concerning 'the Superstitions, strange customs and Doctrines of the Indous or Gentiles of Hindustan'.⁵⁴

Roth had occasion to visit Rome in 1664. There he met the learned Athanasius Kircher and passed on to him much information, which Kircher included in his book *China Illustrata*.⁵⁵ 'Between pages 162–163 . . . there are inserted five full-page copperplate engravings containing the alphabet and elements of Sanskrit, the originals of which were drawn by Roth himself. They were the first specimens of Sanskrit ever printed in Europe.'⁵⁶

To the end of his reign Jahāngīr continued to show sporadic interest in the affairs of the Jesuits, and even to make promises of conversion, none of which of course was ever kept. What was lacking in him was any fundamental seriousness. C.H. Payne is not too harsh in his characterisation of him:

Unlike his father, Jahāngīr had no feeling for religion. Though he was interested in, and took some pains to understand, the doctrines of Christianity and other faiths, he was in no real sense a seeker after the truth. The study of religious problems was with him nothing more than a hobby . . . Jahāngīr would have subscribed to one set of doctrines as readily as to another; but he had very little use for any religion, and none at all for one that would not permit him as many wives as he wanted.⁵⁷

Of the reign of Shāh Jahān there is little of interest to be recorded in connection with the Jesuit mission. The tragic story of the capture of Hugli and all that followed from it has been described in another context. The Jesuits found themselves led increasingly to concentrate on pastoral work among Christians in the Mughul empire. Public discussions of religion had almost ceased, and such hopes as there had been of conversions in high places had dwindled away to practically nothing.

There was a momentary revival of hope towards the end of the reign through the interest in religion of the prince Dārā Shūkoh. This intelligent and attractive prince had a wide-ranging and deep interest in many forms of philosophy and religion. He was perhaps the most intellectual of all the members of the Mughul royal house. He it was who had arranged for the translation of a number of the *Upaniṣads* into Persian.⁵⁸ He entered into

relations of close friendship with Fr Busi,⁵⁹ who himself was a man of wide linguistic and scientific interests. If he had succeeded to the throne, the fortunes of the mission might have been very different from what they became. But the days of Dārā, as of so many princes of that house, were destined to end in tragedy.

Aurangzīb, a younger son of Shāh Jahān, was determined to make himself emperor. To that end he deposed his father, and in turn defeated and got rid of his three brothers. Dārā Shūkoh was defeated at the battle of Samogarh, ten miles east of Agra, and compelled to flee. From this time on, till the end came more than a year later, the story of the prince is one of flights and recoveries, but always with diminishing resources, until betrayal by a Baloch in whom he had unwisely trusted brought his increasingly feeble resistance to an end. These tragic days live vividly for us in the pages of the traveller and physician Bernier, who was attending on Dārā's sick wife, and was with him throughout his endless and almost aimless wanderings. After being shamefully treated in Delhi, Dārā was finally executed, on 9 September 1659, on a charge of apostasy from Islam.⁶⁰ There was in the character of Dārā a certain instability or amateurishness, an inability to make firm and sensible decisions, which raise doubts as to whether he would have made a good emperor.⁶¹

As in other similar cases, it is hard to assess the evidence as to Dārā's interest in the Christian faith. There is no reason to doubt that his interest was sincere, but so was his interest in a great many other things. It is alleged that in his last hour, he cried aloud, 'Muhammad kills me and the son of God gives me life.' Manucci clearly wishes us to believe that Dārā had a great desire to become a Christian.⁶² On the other side, an Indian writer points out that there is no sign of Christian belief in his written works, and that the apostasy on the ground of which he was put to death consisted in his recognition not of the Bible but of the *Vedas* as the Word of God.⁶³

From the rigorous and increasingly fanatical Aurungzīb the Jesuit Fathers could expect no help. There was no immediate change in relationships, but attempts at proselytisation were severely discountenanced. What hit the Christian cause more severely than anything else was the *jizya*, the poll-tax on non-Muslims, reintroduced by Aurungzīb in 1679, just a century after it had been remitted by Akbar.⁶⁴ Most of the Christians in Mogor were poor, and the tax was a heavy burden on them. Increasingly pressure was put upon those who could not pay to turn Muslim, and so to become exempt. During all this time the Jesuits were suffering from financial stringency. They could count on no help from the court. The decline in Portuguese power inevitably affected the revenues of Goa, and reduced the sums which could be spared for the support of the missions.

The accounts of the Mogor mission for this period show a pitiful drop in the amount available for charitable purposes.

From the middle of the century onwards, the main concern of the mission was to care for congregations of Christians which had never been large and from now on had a tendency to dwindle. Such pastoral care was a necessary part of Christian activity, and it was carried on faithfully until nearly the end of the eighteenth century. But this must be regarded as a poor exchange for the high hopes of the early years, when the Jesuits looked forward to the gathering in of a Christian elite from the highest ranks in society, and kept dangling before their eyes the prospect of the conversion of the emperor himself. It had become clear that there would never be an Indian Constantine. Even if there had been, he could hardly have exercised such power in the religious sphere as had been within the reach of the Constantine of the Roman empire.⁶⁵

5 A MISSION TO TIBET

One more gallant adventure of the Jesuits remains to be recorded, though it is only on the fringe of Christianity in India – the missions to Tibet.⁶⁶

Four hundred years ago the minds of Christians were constantly being excited by tales of bodies of Christians in unknown and unexplored parts of the world. Fr Monserrate was convinced that there were Christians beyond the high ranges; he gave them the name Bottans. It is not clear how or why he came to use this term. He may have heard of the kingdom of Bhutan. But it is more likely that he had heard the term 'Buddhists', though without having any clear idea of what the term conveyed. When Christians of that era did encounter Buddhists, they were at first impressed by certain similarities to the Christian faith as they themselves understood it – monasteries, a celibate priesthood, the solemn chanting of liturgies, the ideal of poverty and so on.

On the basis of these and similar rumours, it was decided to send out a party to reconnoitre, and to find out how things really were. The pioneer was Fr Antony de Andrade, whose courage was well matched with the difficulties of the enterprise. The party set off from Agra on 30 March 1624. The jumping-off place for the penetration of the high interior was to be Srīnagar.⁶⁷ The local *rājā* was not friendly to the travellers, but this mattered the less, as they had no intention of staying there and were eager to press on beyond the high ranges.

The season was far advanced, and the journey proved to be terrible. A pass of 20,000 feet had to be crossed, and the travellers were in grave danger of death. But frost-bitten, suffering from mountain-sickness and snow-

blindness, Andrade and his two companions reached Tsaparang, a considerable trading centre situated in the upper Jhelum valley at a height of about 14,500 feet. Without knowing it, Andrade had crossed the main chain of the Himalayas and was now on the northern side of the great mountain barrier.

At first the rājā was considerably disturbed by the sudden arrival of strangers from far away. But, when Andrade was able to meet him personally and to explain that his mission was purely religious and had no political significance, both he and the rānī became surprisingly friendly. When Andrade after a brief stay returned to India to report and to ask for fresh workers to help in the foundation of a mission, he carried with him a document in which the rājā stated that

rejoicing in the arrival in our lands of Padre Antonio Frangim (*parangi*) to teach us a holy law, (we) take him for our Chief *Lāma*, and give him full authority to teach the holy law to our people. We shall not allow that any one molest him in this, and we shall issue orders that he be given a site and all the help needed to build a house of prayer.⁶⁸

True to his promise to return, Andrade was back in Tsaparang on 28 August 1625, accompanied by Fr Gonçales de Sousa, and with three other companions. The foundation for a church was laid on Easter Day, 12 April 1626; the work of building was completed in August of the same year, and the first place of Christian worship ever erected in Tibet had come into being.

By this time Andrade had become aware of the realities of the situation. There were no neglected Christians anywhere in the area. The resemblances between Buddhism and Christian ideas were of the slightest; the work of evangelism must start from the very beginning. But the friendship of the rājā remained unchanged; he did his utmost to help forward the work of the mission in spite of considerable opposition from the *lāmas*, the chief of whom was his own brother. There seems, however, no basis for the rumour that he was himself thinking of accepting baptism. Baptisms did, however, take place, though never in any large numbers. Andrade, still with visions of Cathay, and beyond Cathay of the route to China, in his mind, was optimistic about the future. His colleague Alamo dos Anjos, a Frenchman from Lorraine,⁶⁹ wrote in 1627 that, 'it will become one of the most flourishing missions which the society possesses at the present time'.⁷⁰

These high hopes were not to be fulfilled. Two misfortunes fell upon the mission. In 1630 Andrade was recalled to Goa to become superior of the entire Jesuit mission; no other Jesuit who served in Tibet was his equal in power and determination. In 1633 war broke out between Ladakh and the kingdom of Tsaparang. The friendly ruler was overcome and carried off to

captivity in Leh. The vengeance of the *lāmas* fell upon the Christians, who at that time were reckoned to number about 400. At that time there were five missionaries in the mission; no lives were lost, but the effective work of the mission was at an end.

Hearing this sad news, Fr Andrade bestirred himself to return to the scene of his labours; but in the midst of his preparations he died suddenly at Goa on 19 March 1634. A heroic journey by Fr Francis Azevedo in 1631 and 1632 had secured from the *rājā* of Ladakh permission for the continuance of the work. Sporadic efforts were made to keep the mission in existence, but never with any real success. In 1641 Fr Mapichi reported that the way to Tibet was permanently closed; he had himself escaped from the hands of his enemies, but one lay brother, Manuel Marques, the hero of many journeys, was still a prisoner. (It is uncertain whether he was ever released.) Fr Wessels concludes his masterly account of this romantic and tragic episode with the words;

Though on the spot the hostility of the *lāmas* swept away every vestige of Christianity and blotted out from the short memory of the rude inhabitants every remembrance of the preachers from the West, India did not forget. There . . . the hope remained alive that one day they might be able to go back to the forbidden land beyond the mountains.⁷¹

The mission of Tsaparang was not the only attempt made by the Jesuits to penetrate the fastnesses of Tibet. The Fathers had heard of the great kingdom of Utsang in eastern Tibet, and, rightly judging this to be the main centre of the *lāmas* and therefore crucial for the evangelisation of Tibet, proposed that an attempt be made to enter it. But this could better be done from the side of Bengal; and, as that part of India was included in the Jesuit province of Malabar, the organisation of the attempt should be left to the Fathers in Cochin.⁷²

The proposal was accepted, and two Fathers, Stephen Cacella, a Portuguese aged about forty, and John Cabral, his junior by fourteen years, together with one lay brother, were sent to spy out the land. Starting from Hūglī on 2 August 1626, they made their way through Dacca and Hajo into the kingdom of Cooch Behar. Without doubt they were the first Europeans ever to travel by this route; but the news of the presence of foreigners in Tsaparang seems to have travelled far and wide by the *lāma* grape-vine, and the arrival of the missionaries occasioned less surprise than might have been expected. The next stage of the journey took them to Paro in the heart of Bhutan, where the *rājā* received them in most friendly fashion and urged them to stay permanently. But Bhutan is not Utsang. The Jesuits never lost sight of the ultimate object of the journey. As the local ruler was not willing to let them go, in the end Fr Cacella took French leave and made his way to

Shigatse. Here he was joined by Cabral on 20 January 1628. They could not have chosen a better centre. Shigatse, at a height of about 12,000 feet on the Tsang-po river, is still one of the main centres of population in Tibet. Until the communist take-over the Tashi Lhunpo monastery was the residence of the Tashi Lāma or Ringpotchen, the second man in the kingdom. Tsaparang was about a month's journey distant. In Shigatse the king, a young man of twenty-two, like other rulers elsewhere showed exceptional favour to the foreigners, providing a residence for them, and a servant instructed to inform the king if there was anything that they needed.

Cabral's stay was short. He found it necessary to return to Hūgli on business connected with the mission. This time he took the other route, through Nepal, being the first European to make the acquaintance of that secluded country.⁷³ Having been delayed too long in Hūgli, Cabral on his return had to take the more difficult route through Cooch Behar where his colleagues Cacella and the new recruit Fr Manual Diaz joined him. The two latter pressed on to Utsang, leaving Cabral to follow later. But Diaz died on the way (3 November 1629), and Cacella soon after his arrival in Shigatse (6 March 1630). These two deaths sealed the fate of the mission. The authorities rightly judged that a mission in the far places of Tibet was too expensive, both in financial terms and in the demands made on human life and endurance, and that the rewards would be exiguous for so great an expenditure. It is possible both to admire and to regret the courage and the hardihood which led the messengers of Christ into these desolate regions; fantasies of Cathay and of hidden Christians were all the time mixed up with the solid additions to human knowledge which were the lasting fruits of these explorations.

Tibet became a closed land, and has remained so with some few exceptions to the present day. 'No more missionaries went to Utsang to take up Cacella's work and to pray over his lonely and forgotten grave beyond the mountains, whilst even the memory of his daring enterprise has grown dim and has almost sunk into oblivion.'⁷⁴

6 DEVELOPMENTS ON THE FISHER COAST

The death of Henry Henriques marked the end of a period in the life of the church on the Fisher Coast. In the two generations which had passed since the arrival of Francis Xavier the Parava Christians had been exposed at every point of their existence to Christian teaching and to Christian influences. Few could remember the time before the coming of the Jesuits, and very few indeed the days before the first baptisms had taken place. They had never had deep roots in Hindu culture; all that they had they owed to the Christians. The church had now become a stable and settled reality. In the

year 1601 seventeen Jesuit priests, together with two assistants and a scholastic, were serving twenty churches. Christian life was well ordered, and the Christians of the Coast were held in high esteem throughout the churches in India.

The seventeenth century, however, was not to be a time of peaceful development.

The Jesuits had had endless troubles with the Portuguese, who called themselves Christians but whose ungodly lives were among the principal hindrances to the spread of the Gospel. But this time the worst injuries came from the very one who ought to have been their best friend, the bishop of Cochin.

The arrangement for episcopal control in South India was highly unsatisfactory. The mission of Mathurai, which worked in territories not under Portuguese control, was under the governance of the archbishop of Cranganore, Francis Roz, who had no easy access to the eastern part of his diocese. The Fisher Coast, where Portuguese influence was strong, was part of the diocese of Cochin. The work of a Roman Catholic bishop, most of whose priests belong to a religious order of which he is not himself a member, has always been difficult, even when personal embitterment has not come in to complicate canonical issues.⁷⁵ The right course would have been to constitute a diocese for the Fisher Coast, of which the bishop would naturally have been a Jesuit. Portuguese ideas of episcopacy militated against this simple solution. The bishop, as they saw him, was a grandee, expected to live in considerable state and to manifest the splendour of the church rather than its simplicity. This kind of episcopacy was naturally expensive, and did not commend itself to administrators always perplexed by the task of making both ends meet.

The bishop of Cochin, Fr Andrew of St Mary (1588–1615), a Franciscan, is already known to us. Unpopular with his own brethren, he was at first very friendly towards the Jesuits; but gradually the milk of human kindness turned to gall and he had no good word to say for his former friends. Two causes are assigned for this change of front. The bishop extended to the whole order the controversies in which he was engaged with the archbishop of Cranganore, a Jesuit, over questions of jurisdiction. Secondly, with his high view of episcopal authority, he wished to establish control over all the parishes in his diocese, including the Fisher Coast. But this at once raised delicate questions of his rights as ordinary and of the rights of the Jesuits under the agreement of the *padroado*.

The details of these painful dissensions may be left to the specialist. In 1608 Fr Laerzio the Jesuit superior in Cochin signed a document in which he made over to the bishop all the Jesuit parishes in the diocese of Cochin. It is not necessary to take too literally the statement of a Jesuit historian, that

‘the Fathers were wrenched away *manu militari et monachali*, and replaced by native priests who had emerged from the episcopal gaols of Cochin’.⁷⁶ It is, however, certain that the priests whom the bishop had at his disposal were inadequate in numbers and in character to replace those who had been driven out.

The actions of the bishop were condemned both in Rome and in Portugal. On 15 February 1614 the king signed an order to the effect that the churches of the Fisher Coast were to be handed back to the Jesuits, and in the following year brought about the resignation of the recalcitrant bishop. The chapter of Cochin elected as his successor the bishop of Mylapore, Fr Sebastian of St Peter, and it was hoped that reconciliation would quickly follow. But the new bishop hedged and dissembled. Nothing was done until 1621. Then at last the affair was settled by letters patent of the king of Portugal, and the Fathers were able to return to their field. Only those who knew Tamil were selected to undertake the work. In the end twelve were chosen, among them Fr Gonçalo Fernandez, the colleague of Nobili in Mathurai, now eighty-six years old, who thus gained his desire of being laid to rest by the side of Fr Henry Henriques, who had won him for the service of the Society of Jesus fifty-five years earlier.

The Parava Christians turned out in thousands to welcome the Fathers, weeping with joy at their return. But this return was not to be an affair only of joy. The poverty of the people was extreme. For years the pearl-fishery had ceased to operate. After more than twelve years of neglect, grave disorders had arisen among the Christians, a number of whom had returned at least in part to their old pre-Christian ways. It was not long before the Fathers found themselves locked in painful controversy with the flock they had come to feed.

The cause of the dispute is set out in a letter from Fr Antony Rubino in Punnaikāyal, dated 20 November 1623. During the absence of the Jesuits from the Coast many of the Parava Christians had remained faithful to them. Among these was a man named Henry da Cruz, who had worked hard for the return of the Fathers, and, when their return had been achieved, had contributed liberally from his own funds for the rebuilding of houses and churches. The rector, Fr Andrew Pereira, decided to reward him by securing his appointment as *Patangatin Môr*, a position of considerable eminence in the Parava community. He was warned against taking any action in the matter; Henry was not a member of any of the leading families, from among whom the principal officials of the community were generally drawn, and there were large sections of the church which would be gravely offended by the appointment. Pereira refused to listen, and with the help of the provincial and the visitor secured from the viceroy licence for the appointment of Henry to the vacant post.

Once appointed, Henry showed himself insolent and arrogant. Before long matters came to such a pitch that, having convinced himself that one Peter da Cruz was his enemy, Henry went to Peter's house with a large company, burned down the house and killed no less than eleven persons, among whom Peter was one. Naturally, at this point Pereira turned against his former friend, denounced him, and proclaimed his dismissal. Henry strengthened his position by ingratiating himself with the vicar of the bishop of Cochin and the secular clergy. Vengeance was not long in seeking him out. As Henry was leaving church on 25 September 1623, he was stabbed to the heart, apparently at the instigation of a Portuguese, a former captain of the settlement of Negapatam, who was passing through Tuticorin at the time.

The partisans of Henry were furious; for a time it appeared as though plans for the expulsion of all the Jesuits from the Coast might be successful. But the visitor, Andrew Palmeiro, wisely took the matter in hand himself, and by his tact and wisdom was successful in restoring peace. The Jesuits had had many friends among the more peaceful members of the congregations. When Fr Rubino wrote again on 2 January 1625, he was able to report that the civil war was at an end. But on 2 May 1627, Fr Andrew Lopez commented regretfully, that 'for nearly four years the Fathers have had against them simultaneously pagans, Christians, kings, subjects, whites, Blacks, Portuguese, captains, clergy [the secular clergy introduced by the bishop of Cochin], and the bishop of Cochin himself, who provided credibility to the lies which had been circulated against us'.⁷⁷

Such unpleasant episodes should not be omitted from a faithful record of the life of the church. But it must not be supposed that this was the ordinary state of affairs. After twenty years of renewed Jesuit effort the situation was very different. In 1644 Fr Lopez, in a general report on the Jesuit province of Malabar, informs us that

on the Fisher Coast hardly a trace of heathenism remains. The Christians are well grounded in the faith and in the knowledge of God. They have been very well trained. This is in part due to the care which the Fathers took many years ago to reduce the number of small villages, and to bring the Christians together in seven main centres.⁷⁸ . . . The piety of the women in attending mass is remarkable; every day the churches are as full as on the days of obligation.⁷⁹

This report gives, with welcome precision, exact statistics of the number of Christians in, or attached to, each of the main centres of Christian life. The total number of Christians under the care of the Fathers is 26,218. Each day 2,836 children are instructed in the catechism, and of these a number are attending also the day schools in the villages.⁸⁰

Throughout the seventeenth century the story of the Parava Christians, like that of other Christians in India, is punctuated by wars and rumours of wars, and by the arbitrary actions and exactions of the local rulers. To these a new peril was added in 1649 with the arrival of the Dutch. Their first raid on the Coast seems to have taken place on 7 February 1649, when a fleet of ten vessels appeared off Manappādu, and five days later occupied Patnam (Vīrapāṇḍianpatnam) without difficulty. On 13 February, they sailed away.⁸¹ The Dutch had been for a considerable period installed further north, in Pulicat and Masulipatam. Their main centre of interest was Ceylon, apart from the Moluccas further east. It was inevitable that they should increasingly lay their hands on the Coromandel Coast. It was not their policy to conquer territories, but to control strong points from which trade could be established and controlled. This meant the steady elimination of the Portuguese. The commercial factor added weight to the religious rivalry which was already present. The attachment of Indian Christians to the Roman Catholic faith might mean also an attachment to the Portuguese; therefore to win the Christians over from their old allegiance to the Reformed faith might be not only a Christian duty but also a measure commanded by political strategy.⁸²

The *predikant* Philip Baldaeus, though stationed in Ceylon, paid a visit to the Fisher Coast in 1658. He found the Christians very ignorant – they knew little beyond a few prayers. Although the Jesuits had been driven out by the Dutch, they had built little shelters for themselves some distance inland, where they could live in greater safety under Hindu princes than under their fellow-Christians of a different persuasion on the Coast. To them the people used faithfully to resort; and their devotion to their Roman Catholic faith was such that neither Baldaeus nor the former Roman Catholic John Ferreira d'Almeida, whom he left to carry on the work, was able to make much impression on their minds.⁸³

Relations between the Dutch and the Jesuits were not always so strained as might appear from this first account. At the end of the century we are told that the earlier persecutions have come to an end, and that the more reasonable and gentle directors who are now in charge, so far from troubling the people in the matter of religion and doing violence to them, have given permission to their former pastors to return and live in the villages and to carry on the work which they had been doing since the days of Francis Xavier. One witness reports that he had found among the Dutch very honest people, who had gained the affection of the Christians and had made themselves loved by the missionaries, who in their turn had been able to render considerable services to the Dutch.⁸⁴

Yet the tensions remained. In the same letter Fr Martin gives an amusing

account, which has become famous, of the efforts of a Dutch preacher to win the Paravas away from the Roman Catholic faith. (The name of the apostle is not given; it is possible that Fr Martin is referring to the visit of Baldaeus forty years earlier.) When the *predikant* had had his say, the leader of the Paravas replied to him:

The faith which we profess took root in our hearts only through the power and the number of the miracles which our holy apostle [Francis Xavier] performed in all the places in which our community lives. For this reason, before you talk to us about changing our religion, you should if you please perform before our eyes not only as many miracles as our father did, but many more, since you wish to prove to us that the religion which you bring to us is better than that which he taught us. So begin by bringing back to life at least a dozen dead people, since Francis Xavier raised five or six on this Coast; cure all our sick people; make our sea richer in fish than it is at present; and, when you have done this, it will be time to consider what reply to make to you.⁸⁵

The Paravas were, at the end of the century, very much what they had been at the beginning – hardy, rough, independent, quarrelsome, quick to flare up into anger and even into violence, but basically affectionate and good-hearted, and unshakable in their devotion to the Roman Catholic form of the faith. Their understanding of that faith may have been less than adequate; but they never showed any lasting tendency to revert to their previous Hindu ways (though there were a good many survivals from the Hindu past in their manner of living), and no efforts to win them to other forms of the Christian faith have ever had more than nugatory success.

7 OTHER MISSIONARY ENTERPRISES

Now that some account has been given of the four main missions of the Jesuits in India and beyond, it is time to turn to other enterprises of the Jesuits, and to the work of other religious orders.⁸⁶ But there is less to be recorded than might be expected. The second half of the seventeenth century was by no means favourable to Christian missionary work. The decline of the Muslim power, the endless wars in almost every part of the country, the weakening of the hold of Portugal, and the increasing aggressions by other European powers – all these things produced a climate of uncertainty and restlessness. Some new enterprises were started; but on the whole it was a time of holding on, of securing that which had been grasped, rather than of reaching out with courage to that which was unknown and unattempted.

Goa continued to be the centre of the Portuguese power and missionary effort in India. At the end of the century the Jesuits had four main buildings in or near the city. It had been found necessary to move the college of St Paul

from its first site, which had proved very unhealthy, to another site nearer the centre of the city. The new college of St Roque took the place of the old which now served mainly as the place of instruction for catechumens. There were also the house of the professed, the novitiate, and the seminary of St Paul attached to the college of St Roque. The other foundations to the north of Goa were maintained throughout the century. In 1653 there were no less than 240 Jesuits in the Province, including thirty novices.⁸⁷

There are reports of extensions in various directions. We hear of the foundation of a mission in Kanara, and of another in Mysore;⁸⁸ but for the time being little seems to have come of either of these. Not much more came of the efforts to set up work in the kingdom of Bījāpur. As early as 1608 the ruler had been approached with a view to securing permission to start a mission. He had agreed on condition that a mosque was erected in Goa. This was refused, and the negotiations came for the time being to an end. In 1622 some Jesuits did enter the kingdom to care for the Christians who were resident there, many of them being immigrants from Goa and from other Portuguese possessions. Again in 1653 there is a reference to Jesuits in the kingdom of Bījāpur. But it seems likely that all these attempts were swept away in the flood of the war of Aurungzīb against Bījāpur.

The day of the great French missions in India had not yet dawned. But an interesting beginning had been made in Pondichéri, which had become a French possession in 1673. In 1687 a considerable party of French Jesuits had been sent to Siam at the request of the ruler of that country. Not long after, a revolution broke out, and made impossible the further residence of missionaries in Siam. They withdrew to Pondichéri. When it became clear that there was no possibility of their return to Siam, they decided to settle permanently in India. In 1699 the bishop of Mylapore made over to them the care of the Indian congregations in the place, the French-language work being otherwise cared for. By 1703 there were already five priests and two lay brothers in the colony, and the French Jesuits were already lifting their eyes to other spheres. The story of their notable mission in the Carnatic belongs to a later stage in the history.⁸⁹

Next after the Jesuits come the Augustinians.

Archbishop Menezes had founded in Goa the sisterhood of St Monica, for many years the first and only convent for women in India, and later added to this an orphanage for girls and the Magdalene, a home for errant women. Both of these were for a number of years under the direction of the Augustinians, until the increasing demand for workers in the mission of Bengal made it desirable to hand over these works to the direction of the secular clergy.

The Augustinians had churches in Golconda and in other parts of India. But the chief centre of their activities was Bengal. Jesuits and Dominicans had made unsuccessful attempts to settle there. The Augustinians, who came in in 1599, seem from the start to have been more successful. The centre of their operation was the Portuguese settlement of Hūgli. When this was captured and destroyed by order of the emperor Shāh Jahān, the Augustinians could not but be involved in the disaster.⁹⁰ But the bad times passed away. Hūgli was rebuilt, and the Augustinians were able greatly to extend their work. The vicar general resided in Hūgli, and had the oversight of eleven parishes, each of which had a parish priest and a vicar. Some of these parishes were on the coast of Orissa, others in Bengal, and some even stretched out their hands to the eastward in Arakan, now part of Burma. It is stated that the Fathers had the care of 22,000 Christians, but that many of these were Portuguese and slaves.⁹¹

The mission did not, however, enjoy a very good reputation. It is affirmed that there were grave disorders not only among the laity who engulfed themselves in vices of every description, but even among the clergy. These, it is said, lead a highly disorderly life, employing a large number of domestic servants; they are generally very ignorant of the languages and of the sciences, and very avaricious; and this is the cause of many unpleasant things. The source for this severe judgement is the report submitted to the pope in 1678 by Fr Urbano Cerri, secretary of Propaganda from 1675 to 1679.⁹² Cerri, at the centre of affairs in Rome was in a good position to receive reports from all over the world. But it is to be remembered that, besides being a passionate advocate of the development of the indigenous clergy, Cerri, like other heads of Propaganda, greatly preferred the secular clergy to the members of religious orders as missionaries, and may have been inclined to lend too ready an ear to reports circulated against the religious.

The Franciscans have often complained that the zeal of the Jesuits and their skill in propaganda have so dazzled the eyes of men that the share of others in the evangelisation of India has rarely been recognised and praised as is its due. The contemptuous words of G.P. Maffei have often been quoted:

The members of the family of Francis, when they first made a settlement in India, were eager for the extension of the religion of Christ in India; but being hindered by daily recitation of the Psalms, by conducting funerals, and by carrying out other ceremonials both by day and night, had not sufficient leisure for journeyings and for giving instruction in the catechism, and for other tasks which are doubtless necessary for the conversion of the heathen and for the care and upbuilding of them in the faith.⁹³

The recovery and publication of the *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente* of Paul da Trindade may be regarded as a sufficient answer to this

unfavourable judgement. Paul was born in Macao in 1570 and died in India in 1651. Between 1630 and 1636 he was engaged on his *Conquista*, consciously as an answer to the allegations of Maffei. He writes in minute detail of all the work of the Franciscans from the time of their first arrival in India; it is difficult to find all that he writes interesting, but he does give an impression of zeal and at times of saintliness among the friars. It was believed that the work had been entirely lost, but a manuscript was discovered in 1924 in the Vatican library by the historian of Franciscan missions Leonard Lemmens, and thus a large gap in our knowledge has been closed.⁹⁴ One of the notable achievements of the Franciscans was the opening of a college 'where they would do nothing else but study'. A vivid description of the opening of the college on 13 July 1618 is given by Paul, who was present on the occasion, and, as noted elsewhere, in his capacity as *lector* in theology gave the first lecture. The course of studies, which lasted six years, included the arts (philosophy), theology, and the languages of the country (Konkanī) for those who would be called to work in the parishes.⁹⁵

For the later years of the seventeenth century the work of Paul can be supplemented by the laborious researches of Fr Achilles Meersman OFM, by whom the work of the Franciscans in all parts of India is displayed with a large accumulation of detail.⁹⁶

One of the important aspects of Franciscan work to which Fr Meersman rightly draws attention is the study of Indian languages, especially Konkanī.⁹⁷ Instructions had frequently been issued by the king of Portugal and other authorities to the effect that priests should not be appointed to the care of parishes, unless they knew the local language.⁹⁸ In 1639 the general chapter of the Franciscans set forth a decree to the same effect. That the decree did not remain a dead letter is clear from a list of Franciscans who were the authors of books in the Konkanī language.⁹⁹ Undoubtedly the most distinguished of these was Gaspar de San Miguel, who in addition to a considerable number of other works produced a Konkanī grammar and a Konkanī-Portuguese dictionary. A copy of the grammar was discovered not long ago among the Marsden manuscripts in the school of Oriental and African Studies in London. Fr Meersman pays it the compliment of stating that it is perhaps the best grammar of Konkanī ever written, and that it will contribute towards settling the question whether Konkanī is a language in its own right or a dialect of Marāthī.¹⁰⁰

The great days of the Franciscans may have been in the sixteenth and not in the seventeenth century. Convents were, indeed, maintained in a number of places, some in the neighbourhood of Goa but others in places as far away as Negapatam. Fr Clement in the report already referred to says that in the year 1667 the Franciscans had under their care in Goa (with which he probably includes the island of Bardez) 35,000 Christians. But the general

impression is that of carrying on work that had already been started rather than of venturing out into unreached and unexplored fields.¹⁰¹

The discalced Carmelites came to Goa in 1616, but had great difficulty establishing themselves. By papal order they were exempt from the jurisdiction of the Portuguese prelates, and these naturally put every possible difficulty in their way. Many of the Carmelites were Italians and therefore not readily acceptable to the Portuguese, a difficulty that pursued them throughout the century until at last in 1709 they were glad to hand over their work in Goa to the Oratorians. When the East India Company took over Bombay from the British crown in 1668, they invited the Carmelites in. Their purpose was to get rid of the Franciscans and the secular clergy who were subject to the king of Portugal, and to replace them by others whose lives would not be complicated by a dual loyalty.

One among these Carmelites attained to episcopal dignity.¹⁰² Fr Peter Paul of St Francis, a member of an aristocratic family resident in the neighbourhood of Naples and a nephew of Pope Innocent XI,¹⁰³ had joined the Carmelites in 1673, and was in Malabar in 1680. The Indian vicar apostolic of Mogor, Custodius de Pinho, had died in 1695. On 20 September 1696 Peter Paul was appointed to succeed him, with the title of archbishop of Ancyra *i.p.i.* The new archbishop arrived in Surat in 1699, but never took up his appointment, since he died in that place on 4 January 1700.¹⁰⁴

The Theatines¹⁰⁵ reached India, by way of Aleppo and the Persian Gulf, in 1640. Some members of the team pressed forward into the interior in the hope of founding a mission in the kingdom of Golconda. Some initial success was enjoyed, but, after the death of the devoted Fr Manco in Bimlipatam, it was found impossible to maintain the mission. In the meantime, those who had stayed in Goa found a great field of work in the city and its environs. Through lack of adequate pastoral care, many Christians had not once received holy communion, not so much as in the hour of death. Fr Ardizzone set himself with vigour against this abuse, with such success that he is said to have brought 100,000 unchurched Christians back to their duties and to holy communion.

The question of giving communion to Indian Christians came up again in the days of Archbishop Francis of the Martyrs (1636–52). The Theatine Fathers were successful in bringing about a public discussion on the question whether holy communion should be given to such Christians at Easter time, and also as the *viaticum* in the hour of death. The question was resolved in favour of the Indian Christians, and a decree to this effect was promulgated by the archbishop and a copy sent to all priests.¹⁰⁶

Various attempts were made to get rid of the Theatines, as of other non-Portuguese missionaries; but with the help of one viceroy after another they managed to hold on. Like others, they found themselves constantly understaffed. Among those who continued to serve, Fr Ferrarini distinguished himself by reconciling two parties among the canons of Goa who found themselves locked in a bitter dispute after the death of the archbishop Antony Brandão, and by taking into his house four young Brāhmans whom he prepared for the priesthood. One of them was Thomas de Castro, whom we have already met as the vicar apostolic of Kanara.¹⁰⁷

It is interesting to note that this mission was joined in 1701 by two Englishmen, Frs Alexander Hamilton and John Milton. The former of these died on the journey and never set foot in India. Relations between the English and the Theatines seem always to have been particularly good.¹⁰⁸ In 1693 a Theatine from the Valtelline named John Clerici found himself on the coast of Coromandel. The English in Fort St David (Cuddalore) invited him to become chaplain to the Roman Catholics in that station, an invitation which he accepted. When he died in 1694, the English called in his place another Theatine, Fr William delle Valle, to become the permanent chaplain of Fort St David, a post which he accepted, but without the good will of the bishop of Mylapore.

The Capuchins did not arrive in India till 1630. It was the intention of the authorities that a mission should be started in Pegu; but the two French Capuchins selected for this purpose got no further than Masulipatam. There, like the Theatines, they made friends with the English. At that time Madras was growing from a village into a considerable town (by 1670 the Indian population was reckoned at 40,000). Many Roman Catholics had been drawn there by the conditions of safety and good order which were guaranteed by the British. With so many Christians of that persuasion under their care, the British decided, perhaps as early as 1650, to invite the Capuchins to come and accept spiritual responsibility for them. So Fr Ephraim of Nevers with a companion, known as Fr Zeno or Zenon, accepted the invitation. Before long they found themselves in charge of a mixed multitude of 10,000 persons of various races and languages. Fr Ephraim was skilled in both Portuguese and in the Indian languages, and also proved extremely useful to the English in the settlement of disputes. But his popularity with the English was balanced by his unpopularity with the Portuguese. Tavernier¹⁰⁹ tells a fantastic story, to the effect that Ephraim was kidnapped by the Portuguese, taken to Mylapore, and from there shipped off to the dungeons of the Inquisition at Goa. In retaliation the English arrested the Portuguese governor of Mylapore and incarcerated him in the Capuchin convent of Madras. The governor managed to escape; but it

was only through the intervention of the king of Golconda that the imprisoned Capuchin recovered his liberty.¹¹⁰

The attitude of the English merchants resident in Madras (unlike that of their directors in London) towards the Capuchins was generally kindly and forbearing. The merchants helped them to build their first church in the Fort; when it was consecrated in 1675, the governor ordered salutes to be fired in honour of the occasion.¹¹¹

These scattered notices of the work of various religious orders in India gives some indication of the number of religious persons, so far all males (with the exception of the sisterhood noted above) engaged in the work of the church in India, and also of the ineffectiveness of their efforts. Much courage and devotion were displayed, many enterprises were set on foot. But there was a lack of that massive strategic sense and continuous support which had led to the success of so many of the great ventures of the sixteenth century.

For much of this, circumstances largely outside the control of the church can be regarded as responsible. Before the end of the century the decline of Mughul power was irreversible. A century of weakness and disorder, inaugurated by Śivājī's raid on Ahmadnagar in 1657, was brought to an end only by the decisive victory of the British arms at Plassey in 1757 and by the gradual extension of British power which followed. Times of disorder are naturally unfavourable to the work of Christian missions. Furthermore, the power of Portugal was no longer adequate to bear the weight of empire and to sustain a monopoly of Christian missions in Asia. That monopoly had been breached by the work of Propaganda and by the admission to India of missionaries of other nations. But Portugal held up progress by refusal to admit any diminution of its privileges and to recognise the international character of the church. The Dutch and the English had introduced a new, permanent and divisive factor in the situation. Inevitably this brought about confusion on the political scene. It also introduced, though as yet in rather feeble fashion, the possibility of a Christian presence throughout India other than the Roman Catholic, in what Portugal had intended to be a purely Roman Catholic empire.

The seventeenth century had dawned with auguries of fair promise for the church. By the end the clouds had gathered. The old India was on its way to dissolution; the time had not yet come for the new India to be born.

15 · Non-Roman Catholic Christianity in India

I ANGLICAN BEGINNINGS

The first half of the seventeenth century in Europe was an intensely religious age. The new counter-reformation piety was finding expression in such works as the *Introduction to the Devout Life* of Francis de Sales, bishop of Geneva (1567–1622). Lancelot Andrewes, bishop of Winchester (1555–1626), and George Herbert (1593–1633), were producing imperishable memorials of Anglican devotion. The work, however, which perhaps more than any other gave expression to the new age came from Holland. That universal genius Hugo Grotius produced in 1627 his work *de Veritate Christianae Religionis*. This book marked a new beginning in ecumenical thinking.

At that time the missionary awakening of the Protestant churches had hardly begun. But the capacious mind of Grotius reached out far beyond his native Holland. He saw that the expansion of European influence in the world must be accompanied, if Europe was to be true to its great traditions, by an extension of Christian concern. He wrote his book in the hope that it might be useful to mariners voyaging to the far places of the earth. For missionary purposes the *de Veritate* was translated into Arabic (1660) by the eminent Arabist Edward Pocock (1604–91), the expenses of the edition being borne by Robert Boyle (1627–91). It appears that it was translated also into Persian, Chinese and Malay.¹

The founders of the English East India Company belonged to that race of sober, pious London burgesses, who took pleasure in the sermons of John Donne, and, though of a somewhat puritanical cast of thinking, had not found it necessary to separate themselves from the Church of England as by law established. They held the view that commerce cannot be a glorious enterprise, if it limits its objectives to those things after which the Gentiles seek.

The concern of these founders for spiritual realities is seen in the commission which they issued to the general for the very first voyage carried out on their behalf in the East:

for that religious government doth best mind men to perform their duties, it is principally to be cared for that prayers be said morning and evening in every ship, and the whole company called thereunto with diligent eyes, that none be wanting, so that all may jointly with reverence and humility pray unto Almighty God to bless and preserve them from all dangers in their long and tedious voyage.

It was not likely that such instructions would be carried out unless chaplains were appointed to the larger ships. So the first Anglican clergymen in the East were ships' chaplains. The question of appointing Company's chaplains to reside in India arose only when the English, like the Portuguese, discovered that enterprises in the East cannot be maintained without the presence of permanent or semi-permanent residents, to care for them in the intervals between the coming and going of fleets.

Anglican history in the East begins with the redoubtable Sir Thomas Roe (1581–1644), the first English ambassador to the Great Mogul.² Roe's journals reveal him as much more than a conventionally Christian man. As a royal ambassador Roe was entitled to be accompanied by a chaplain. To this office he had appointed the Reverend John Hall, whom in a letter to the Company dated 24 November 1616 he described as 'one of the best and quietest and humblest men that ever I knew'.³

To Roe's great grief, Hall died soon after their arrival in India.⁴ The ambassador was sick and discouraged. His loneliness was increased by the loss of one of the few companions to whom he could talk with unrestrained ease. Shortly after his loss he wrote to the representatives of the Company at Surat to send him a replacement: 'Here I cannot live the life of an atheist, lett me desire yow to endeavour my supply, for I will not abyde in this place destitute of the comfort of Gods woord and heavenly sacraments.'⁵

Fortunately the very next season brought to Surat a fleet accompanied by two young chaplains. Of one of them the factors wrote (26 September 1616): 'The graver of the two, about twenty-five years of age, is called Edward Terry; was a fellow of Corpus Christi College in Oxford. He is very desirous to stayer in the country, and . . . would willingly embrace your Lordshipps service. The General hath spoken to me in his behalf and geven him fair commendations.'⁶

Terry, a highly intelligent man, twice wrote down his recollections of all that he had seen and heard during his two and a half years in India.⁷ The first version, a short and vivid account written soon after his return to England, was presented to the Prince Charles in 1622.⁸ It contains almost all the information of value that has been set forth again at wearisome length in Terry's second effort as a writer, the 571 pages of his *A Voyage to East-India* (1655).

Of the scenery and natural products of the regions in India that he knew – parts of Mālwa and Gujarāt – Terry gives such a glowing account that he himself realises that he may be misleading his readers by giving the

impression that 'this remote countrye should seeme like an earthly paradise without any discommodities' (p. 303). He notes with approval 'mangoes, (in shape and colour like to our apricocks, but more luscious)', and 'to conclude with the best of all, the ananas or pine, which seems to the taster to be a pleasing compound made of strawberries, claret-wine, rose-water, and sugar, well tempered together' (p. 297). He praises the variety of 'partridges, quailles, peacockes and many other singular good fowle', with the curious addition that 'there are no capons among them but men' (pp. 296-7).

Terry recognises clearly the distinction between Muslims and Hindus and gives an accurate delineation of their customs as seen by an outsider. He has some knowledge of the tenets of the two religions, but only such as can be acquired by casual conversation. He excuses himself from expatiating on them further in the words:

It were easy to enlarge, but I will not cast away inke and paper in a farther description of their stupid idolatries. The summe is that both Mahometans and Gentiles ground their opinions on tradition, not reason; and are content to perish with their fore-fathers, out of a preposterous zeale and loving perverseness, never ruminating on that they maintayne, like to uncleane beasts, which chew not the cud.⁹

Of Jahāngīr he writes penetratingly, noting the contradictions in his character – 'the Kings disposition seemes compounded of extreames – very cruell, and otherwhiles very milde; often overcome with wine, but severely punishing that fault in others' (pp. 330-1). For his tolerance in religion he has nothing but praise – 'all religions are tolerated, and their priests in good esteeme. My selfe often received from the Mogoll himselfe the appellation of Father, with other many gracious words, with place among the best nobles.' By the work of the Jesuits he was not favourably impressed: 'the truth is they have spilt the water of baptisme on some faces, working on the necessities of poore men, who for want of meanes, which they give them, are content to wear crucifixes, but for want of instruction are only in name Christians'.¹⁰ Of his own ministrations he writes nothing, assuming, perhaps, that his readers will know already the kind of work in which he was engaged. He would have liked to set about some missionary work, but did not know how to make a start.

The thought of preaching the Gospel of Christ in the non-Christian world was not absent from the minds of Christians in England in the seventeenth century.

The first seriously to embrace the idea seems to have been that man of broad and comprehensive mind, Oliver Cromwell. He had plans for a Protestant Propaganda to balance that which already existed in Rome.

There were to be four provinces with a secretary for each, the fourth province to be that of the East and West Indies. The aim was to carry on correspondence with every part of the world, 'to know the state of religion all over the world, that so all good designs might be by their means assisted and protected'. Funds were to be placed at the disposal of the secretaries for use in emergencies. Cromwell's time of rule was short; this was one among many plans which he entertained but was not able to put into execution.¹¹

Another man of far-reaching mind who was concerned for the spread of the Gospel was the admirable but not always prudent Richard Baxter (1615–91).¹² From him the concern was transmitted to Robert Boyle, whose interest in chemistry was equalled by his concern for the defence and extension of the Christian faith. Boyle communicated his concern to the celebrated Dr John Fell, dean of Christ Church, and later bishop of Oxford (1625–86), who was so much interested that he declared himself ready to have men trained in Arabic at Oxford with a view to ministry abroad. On 21 June 1681 Fell wrote to Archbishop Sancroft of Canterbury:

It so happened that we fell into discourse of the East India Company [of which Boyle was a director] and I enlarged upon the shame that lay upon us, who had so great opportunities by our commerce in the East, that we had attempted nothing towards the conversion of the Natives, when not only the papists, but even the Hollanders, had laboured herein.¹³

Fell died in 1686, and for the moment interest in the project lapsed. But some years later the notable orientalist Humphrey Prideaux, dean of Norwich (1648–1724), returned to the charge, with a work entitled, *An Account of the English settlements in the East Indies, together with some proposals for the propagation of Christianity in those parts of the world*. Like Fell, Prideaux points to the example of the Dutch, and contrasts it with the negligence of the English company. What, then, is to be done? It is at this point that the mind of Prideaux shows itself surprisingly modern; the only solution is the preparation of workers specially for the task of evangelisation, and to this end a seminary must be set up in England 'for training persons for the work, and that those to be trained be poor boys out of the hospitals of London, whose fortunes could give them no temptation, when trained, to refuse the work'. He proceeds that 'after a time the persons to be prepared for this duty at a seminary should be brought from India; and that, when Christianity should have made sufficient progress in those parts to encourage the settling of a Bishop in India, the seminary should be removed thither, and placed under the charge and government of the Bishop.'¹⁴

For the time being the dreams of Prideaux remained dreams, but dreams not without a certain efficacy. In 1698 a new charter for the East India Company was drawn up, and contained something unknown to any previous charter. The Company are instructed to maintain:

One Minister in every Garrison and superior Factory, which the same Company, or their Successors, shall have in the said East-Indies . . . and shall also, in such Garrison and Factories respectively, provide, or set apart, a decent and convenient Place for Divine Service only; and shall also take a Chaplain on board every Ship which shall be sent by the same Company to the said East-Indies . . . which shall be of the Burthen of Five Hundred Tons, or upwards for such voyage . . . And we do further will and appoint that all such Ministers as shall be sent to reside in *India*, as aforesaid, shall be obliged to learn, within One Year after their arrival, the *Portuguese* language, and shall apply themselves to learn the Native Language of the Country where they shall reside, the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos, that shall be the Servants or Slaves of the same Company, or of their Agents, in the Protestant Religion, and that in the case of the Death of any of the said Ministers, residing in the *East Indies* . . . the Place of such Minister, so dying, shall be supplied by One of the Chaplains out of the next Ships that shall arrive at or near the Place where such Minister shall happen to die.¹⁵

This was something new. For the first time, the Company accepted a measure of spiritual responsibility for all those in its service, whether Christians or non-Christians. This was not a charter for unrestricted evangelisation among the non-Christian peoples of India; but at least it was recognised that ministrations to Europeans alone would not suffice, and that the Company must accept a larger responsibility.

Information about chaplains in the service of the East India Company is fragmentary and has had to be collected from many different sources.¹⁶ For a general view of their position and duties we cannot do better than turn to Richard Ovington, whose *Voyage to Suratt in the year 1689* was published in 1696.¹⁷ Ovington was the equal of Terry as an observer. He tells us less than Terry about the Indians and their ways, but more about the English and the kind of life they led so far from home.

The factory at Surat was a capacious edifice, strongly built and adequate to the housing of all the leading people of the English community. The president lived in considerable state, and never went abroad without that parade of magnificence which was intended to impress upon the Indians the greatness of English power. The organisation of life in the factory was a little like that of an Oxford or Cambridge college. None was allowed to leave the factory without 'liberty' from the president, and all were expected to be in at a reasonable hour of the evening. Every day there was a common meal, which all were expected to attend and at which the fare was sumptuous enough to provide for the entertainment of any person of eminence in the kingdom.

The chaplain was regarded as the third, or even as the second, man in the establishment. 'There is a stated salary of a Hundred Pounds a year appointed for a Minister, with Diet and convenient Lodgings, a Peon to

attend him in his Chamber, and the command of a Coach or Horse, at any time he thinks fit to use them.' The chaplain being debarred by his vocation from engaging in trade, his remuneration may seem rather meagre even allowing for the difference in the value of money between those days and these. But, apart from presents which seem to have come in with some regularity, he was entitled to receive fees for baptisms, marriages (if any), and funerals (all too many in those days of high mortality among European residents in the East).¹⁸ Altogether, provision for the needs of the chaplains may be regarded as having been at least adequate.¹⁹

The minister was under obligation to read prayers three times on a Sunday and to preach once, and on other days to read the prayers in the morning at about 6 a.m., and at 8 at night, when all the business of the day was finished. All resident in the factory were required to be present at prayers, and could be fined for non-attendance. Today this might seem to be a grievous application of compulsion in matters of religion; but many of the young employees of the Company had come from schools in England in which the habit of prayers twice a day had been sedulously maintained, and some from families in whose homes a chaplain resided to teach the younger members of the family and to provide for the daily reading of morning and evening prayer. The imposition of the fine does not seem to have been a cause of grave complaint; the money raised in this way was used for the creation of a charitable fund.²⁰

A letter of Streynsham Master of 18 January 1672 tells us that 'he that omitts Prayer on a weeke day pays 2s.6d., on Sunday 5s.' – a considerable sum in those days. Master adds, that 'here is a most excellent govern'd Factory, indeed more like unto a Colledge, Monasterie, or a house under Religious orders than any others'.²¹

One notable omission, which contrasts strongly with the custom of the Portuguese, is that until 1680 there was no church building. Ovington notes that 'the Chappel, where they meet at prayers is within the Factory, decently embellisht, so as to make it both neat and solemn, without the Figure of any living creature in it, for avoiding all occasion of offence to the *Moors*, who are well pleas'd with the Innocence of our Worship'.²² Hinduism is a religion of processions and of magnificent public ceremonies. The private and family character of Protestant worship, at which it was unlikely that any Hindu or Muslim would be present, may be one reason for the strange idea prevalent among Indians that Protestants had no religion.

One interesting exception to the rule should be noted. On 8 December 1678 Shāh Raza, one of the principal ministers of the king of Golconda, at his own request was present at divine service in the chapel at Masulipatam. On the following Sunday the king himself was present, attended by Shāh Raza and some few of his principal servants. He stayed till the end of the

service, and was much impressed by the fact that even the ladies of the congregation could read. He satisfied himself of this strange phenomenon by asking two of the ladies present to read aloud to him.²³

2 CHURCHES AND CHAPLAINS

It must not be supposed that all English life in India was as decorous as might be inferred from the account given by Ovington. The English were faced with the same problem as the Portuguese in Goa. The number of foreigners resident in India was steadily increasing. Not all the servants of the Company kept the rules; we find the authorities in London complaining of 'the disorderly and Unchristian Conversation of some of their Factors and Servants in the parts of India, tending to the dishonour of God, the discredit of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the shame and Scandal of the English Nation'.²⁴ There were soldiers of the garrison and servants of the factors. There were English sailors, unemployed during the long waits between voyages. There were women who had come out in the hope of getting married, not all of them of perfectly virtuous life, and the usual miscellany of merchants, adventurers and ne'er do wells, and foreigners of one kind and another who had become attached to the English community. The chapel in the factory would hardly provide adequate spiritual care for so mixed a multitude.

Bombay²⁵ has the distinction of being the first city in India in which the proposal to build an Anglican church was made. The proposal came from the Court in London, but it was warmly taken up by the president Sir George Oxenden, one of the most outstanding men ever to serve the Company in India. It is to be noted that the church, to seat about a thousand people, was to be built with a definite missionary purpose – that the natives should repair to church, 'and observe the purity and gravity of our devotions'. The same interest was expressed by a later and almost equally distinguished governor, Gerald Aungier; the purpose of building the church is to exercise a good influence on the natives, so that 'when the merciful pleasure of God shall think good to touch them with a sense of the eternal welfare of their souls, they may be convinced of their error, sensible of their present dangerous uncertain wanderings, and desirous to render themselves happy in a more sure way of salvation, which we pray God grant in His good time'.²⁶

Five thousand pounds were raised by public subscription, and the walls rose to a height of fifteen feet. For a considerable time interest lapsed, and the work was not completed until 1718; on Christmas Day of that year service was held for the first time in St Thomas' Church. The planning was

so ample that, when the Anglican diocese of Bombay was formed in 1837, St Thomas' immediately became the cathedral church of the new diocese; it still serves the same purpose as the cathedral of the Bombay diocese of the Church of North India.²⁷

Madras had better fortune. Under the vigorous leadership of Streynsham Master the good citizens set to work to raise money for a church, to work out the plans and to complete the building without any consultation with the authorities in England and without making any appeal for help. Work was started in March 1678. A year later a substantial church 86 feet (24.6 m) long and 56 feet (15.4 m) broad stood ready and waiting for consecration.

The problems arising out of the request for this ceremony are an interesting commentary on the difficulties faced by the Anglican establishment in India. The consecration of a church is a legal as well as an ecclesiastical rite. It can be carried out only by a bishop, or by one expressly commissioned by him for that purpose. All Anglicans outside the British Isles were under the jurisdiction of the bishop of London. But Richard Portman, the chaplain in Madras, though in Anglican orders and regularly appointed by the East India Company, held no position in the diocese of London and had no licence from that bishop.²⁸ So a whole series of documents, in the florid ecclesiastical Latin of that time, had to be produced, starting with the oaths and subscriptions to be taken by Richard Portman before he could receive his licence.²⁹ All this having been carried out in order due, on 28 October 1680 Portman and all the leading Anglicans in Madras joined in the solemn ceremony of the consecration. The record in the council's Consultation Book reads as follows: 'The solemnity was performed in very good order, and concluded with vollies of small shot fired by the whole garrison drawn out, and the cannon round the Fort. The Church named St Mary's as at first intended, and from this time forward all public service to be there performed.'³⁰

Madras had a considerable population of Roman Catholics of Portuguese or part-Portuguese origin. French priests were made welcome and allowed to minister to these Christians of their persuasion. It had been made clear, however, that this did not include ministrations to members of the English community which were the concern solely of the Company's chaplains. In 1680 an English merchant married a Portuguese widow, and the marriage was solemnised by a Portuguese priest from neighbouring Mylapore. To this the authorities took the gravest exception. The priest had wisely fled to avoid the disciplinary action to which he had made himself liable. Intermarriage as such was not objected to; many soldiers of the garrison had taken 'Portuguese' wives and had been married by the chaplains. It now seemed to the authorities wise to regulate the matter more exactly, and to

make sure that the children of such marriages were to be regarded as belonging to the English and not to the Portuguese community. In March 1680 the following decision was reached:

That upon the marriage of a Protestant with a Roman Catholic, both the parties to be married shall solemnly promise before one of the Chaplains of the place, by themselves or some for them, before the banns shall be published, and also in the chapel or Church by themselves in person, upon the day of marriage and before the parties shall be married, that all the children by them begotten and borne shall be brought up in the Protestant religion; and herein due care shall always be taken by the overseers of the orphans and the poor.³¹

A number of sailors and others had married Indian women. So much trouble had arisen out of marriage with Roman Catholics that both the authorities in Madras and the directors in London agreed that marriage with Indian women was more desirable as an answer to the needs of the troops in India. So a decree was issued on 8 April 1687, to the effect that:

The marriage of our soldiers to the native women of Fort St George, formerly recommended by you, is a matter of such consequence to posterity that we shall be content to encourage it with some expense, and have been thinking for the future to appoint a Pagoda [=4 rupees] to be paid to the mother of any child that shall hereafter be born of any such future marriage upon the day the child is Christened.³²

It is perhaps due to these measures that Madras has always had a large and highly respected community of those formerly known as Eurasians but since 1900 designated Anglo-Indians.

But marriage with Roman Catholics continued. The only remedy seemed to be to start Anglican services in Portuguese, the *lingua franca* of the coast, understood by many 'who have no place to hear the Word of God in a language they understand, . . . If they had God's word preached to them in the Portuguese language according to the Protestant Doctrines and Prayers of the Church of England, they would as readily frequent the Protestant Church as the Popish chapels.' So the Company would have the Prayer Book translated into Portuguese.³³ And only a year later they were able to inform the president Elihu Yale, later famous in American history, that they had been able to send two sober, able learned ministers, one of whom, Mr Lewes, was recommended to be the first minister of the Portuguese Protestant Church.³⁴

Madras also took the lead in providing education for children of Europeans, and for part-European part-Indian children in some way connected with the service of the Company. One John Barham was appointed master in 1682, and seems to have held the office till 1717. This was the first small beginning of the immense educational work of the Anglican church in India.

Chaplains came and went. Some were good and others were bad, the majority were neither very good nor very bad, but on the whole good rather than bad. It may be convenient to consider first two who must be considered unsatisfactory, and then two who stood out conspicuously by their intelligence and virtues.

The astonishing story of Mr Gouldinge, was related by Captain Martin Pring in a letter from Surat dated 18 March 1618.³⁵ Gouldinge had come to India in the good ship *Anne*, which reached Swally Roads on 24 September 1617. During his stay in Surat, where he solemnised the marriage of Mr Richard Steel to his lady, he had devoted himself markedly to the service of 'the gentlewomen'. When 'the gentlewomen' were to depart for Amadavare (Ahmadābād), he was most anxious to accompany them; permission having been firmly refused, he fitted himself out with 'Moores apparel', and took his way to the forbidden place. The virtuous Sir Thomas Roe was naturally much incensed by such gallivanting, and sent him back to Surat with a stern reprimand. Gouldinge did not immediately return; but at the end of the letter already quoted, Pring remarks sadly, 'The strayed minister is since retourned to his flocke. I have pardoned his rebellions, negligences and ignoraunces, in hopes hee wilbecome a new man.'³⁶

John Evans was a Welshman (and Welsh-speaker), who like so many of his fellow-countrymen went to Jesus College, Oxford, and took the degree of BA in 1671. In 1677 he was appointed to the staff of the East India Company as chaplain, and arrived in India on 20 June 1678. He was the first chaplain specifically appointed to 'the Bay', and had under his charge, together with Hügli, the factories at Balasore, Kasimbazar, Malda, Patna and Dacca. Evans was involved in the troubles which led to the expulsion of the British from Bengal, and with the others reached Fort St George in February or March 1689. There he assisted the local chaplains, at least until April 1691. He may then have spent some time in Bengal, but his name appears once more in the register of St Mary's in Madras as having solemnised a marriage there in November 1692.

Evans was a happily married man, and no objections were raised against his moral character in the narrower sense of that term. The height and front of his offence was that he was passionately and continuously engaged in trade. Chaplains, like other officers of the Company, were debarred from trading in their own right. Many interpreted this prohibition as referring only to trade with England, which 'was clearly the monopoly of the Company, and did engage in local enterprises some of which could be extremely profitable. In a number of places in the records it is noted with regret that one chaplain and another had taken advantage of such opportunities, it being thought below the dignity of their vocation to engage in commercial activities. Evans seems to have had no inhibitions, and to

have engaged in trade in every possible direction. But the gravest of all the crimes with which he was charged was that he had a great deal to do with the Interlopers, the independent traders who had no licence from the Company, were increasing in numbers, and were already engaged in the plans which led in 1698 to the formation of the rival company.

There are a number of allusions in the surviving records to these activities. For instance, William Hedges, who was for a time the Company's agent in Bengal, reports that 'Agent Beard, Mr Evans (the Minister), and Mr Trenchfield are very often in company with the Interlopers, especially the two latter who are seldom out of their company.'³⁷

When news of these doings reached London, the Court, in a letter written as it seems sometime in 1691, comments bitterly on 'the quondam Minister but late great Merchant'. On 28 January 1692, they write more officially: 'Mr Evans having betaken himself so entirely to Merchandizing, we are not willing to continue any further Salary or allowances to him after the arrival of our two Ministers we are now sending you.'

Evans had difficulty in getting away from India; eventually he managed, somewhat surreptitiously, to secure a passage on a ship leaving about the beginning of February 1694, and was back in England in August of that year after an absence of sixteen years, spent not unprofitably to himself.

After his return to England Evans engaged in politics, taking up an advanced position on the Whig side of the fence. This no doubt commended him to William III. In 1701 he was appointed bishop of Bangor, thus returning to the area in which he was born.³⁸ In 1716 he obtained the position of bishop of Meath, the premier bishopric of the Church of Ireland.³⁹ He died suddenly in March 1724. In a somewhat florid Latin epitaph set up by his wife, we are told that 'it was always his principal concern to fulfil the ministry which he had received in the Lord', and that in both his dioceses he was 'a most vigilant pastor'. This may have been so; it cannot be said that in his years in India he was a priest of unblemished reputation.⁴⁰

The first of our two virtuous chaplains is the Reverend Patrick Copeland (or Copland, both spellings are used) who travelled to India on the same ship as the egregious Gouldinge. Captain Pring remarks on the two men in pleasant contrast:

When I consider the vanity of this man, I praise God that sent Mr Copeland with me, whose virtuous life, suiting so well with his sound doctrine, is the only meanes to draw men unto God, and that ought to be your Worships chiefest care in these voyadges, to choose men that are approved for theyr sincerity, that they may be good examples to theyr flocke.⁴¹

More is known about Copeland than about most of the chaplains of the seventeenth century. All that is known is good. He has a special place in this

history as having been concerned in the baptism of the first Indian who is known to have become an Anglican.

In 1614 it was reported that one Captain Best had brought to England a young Indian said to have been born in the Bay of Bengala.⁴² The boy was handed over to Patrick Copeland, with the request that he would have him 'taught and instructed in religion that hereafter he might upon occasion be sent unto his country, where God may be pleased to make him an instrument in converting some of his nation'. A year later Copeland was able to report that the boy had made so much progress in knowledge of the Christian religion that he is now able to give an account of his faith, and asking what steps he should take to arrange for his baptism, 'being of opinion that it were fitt to have it publicly effected, being the first fruits of India'. There being no precedent, the Court thought that it might be prudent to consult the archbishop of Canterbury; that prelate having expressed the opinion that there could be no objection, the baptism was put in hand. King James I was himself interested; on being asked to give a name to the young man, he provided the name Peter, hoping no doubt that on this rock God would build his church in India. The baptism took place on 22 December 1616 in the church of St Dionis Backchurch, Fenchurch Street.⁴³ An immense crowd assembled, including members of the Privy Council, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, members of the East India Company and of the Virginia Company.

In 1617 Copeland set off on another journey, accompanied by Peter, and returned without him in 1621. Presumably the convert was left somewhere in his native land. Nothing definite is known of his subsequent career. But he does make one further appearance in history. In 1622 Copeland was called to preach before the Virginia Council. His sermon, *Virginia's God be Thanked* was printed, and as an Appendix are included three letters written by Peter in 1620 in the florid Latin of that day. If these were really written by Peter himself, they are evidence of the excellence of the teaching that he had received.⁴⁴ After this, nothing more is heard of him. Copeland's career continued to be distinguished. He became a member of the Council of State in Virginia, and it is stated that he was appointed rector of a college for the conversion of the American Indians. He appears to have ended his days in Bermuda.⁴⁵

The second of our virtuous chaplains is the Reverend Henry Lord, who arrived in Surat in 1624. The president of the time, Thomas Kerridge, was urgent with Lord to attempt to make his way into the beliefs and customs of the Hindus, a subject of importance to those who resided in their midst. Lord was eager to undertake the work in gratitude for the favour shown him by Kerridge, 'who, to give this undertaking the better promotion, interested himself in the works by mediating my acquaintance with the *Bramanes*,

whose eminence of place was an attraction to draw on this discovery and manifestation'.⁴⁶

So Lord set himself to work with his Indian helpers, and gradually his work was brought to completion. It was highly praised by the eminent orientalist Sir William Jones, who writes that 'the inhabitants of this extensive tract are described by Mr Lord with great exactness, and with a picturesque eloquence peculiar to our ancient language'.⁴⁷

At certain points the account given by Lord is vivid and accurate. His account of Hindu practices relating to marriage is clearly based on careful inquiry.⁴⁸ He gives details of the cremation of the dead as practised in his day, and adds a note on Satī – 'the examples be more rare now than in former times'. Where, however, he tries to deal with questions of philosophy and religion, he is less successful and does not penetrate far below the level of Purāṇic legend. His most extraordinary error relates to the four castes. He is right about the Brāhmans and the 'Cutteries' (Kṣatriyas). But he affirms that the 'Shuddery' (Śūdras), were appointed by Puruṣa to follow the profession of merchandize, 'and all such as live in the nature of merchants are comprized under this name, and belong to this cast'.⁴⁹ He is less than accurate in describing the 'Wyse' (Vaiśyas), the great trading caste, whose ancestor 'was the master of the mechanics or handicrafts, so all manufactory men were to belong to the cast of the Wyse'.

To Lord belongs the credit of being the first European to identify the community of the Parsis, and to recognise all that distinguishes them both from Hindus and from Muslims. With the help of a Parsi, 'whose long employment in the companies service had brought him to a mediocrity in the *English* tongue', he approached 'one of their church-men called their Daroo' and attempted to penetrate the veil which had so long covered the Parsi religion. In this he was much less successful than Anquetil-Duperron a century and a half later. Lord had discovered that the Parsis had a sacred book called the 'Zundervastan' (*Zendavesta*), but he seems to have little or no access to it, even through interpreters. He had also ascertained the name of the prophet 'Zertoost' (Zarathustra), and some of his historical notices seem to be correct. He is correct also in what he writes about the Parsi manner of the disposal of the dead. But he was not in a position to distinguish fact from fiction, nor to give such an account of the religion as would have been possible if he had been able to acquire some knowledge of the Gāthās and of the Zoroastrian faith in its oldest and purest form.⁵⁰

The English chaplains in India have not on the whole been well reported of by English writers. The delinquencies of the few have been expanded into a condemnation of the many. The chaplains seem, in point of fact, to have been on the whole creditable representatives of their church at a time at

which religion was a major concern both in England and in the English settlements overseas. F. Penny lists twenty-two chaplains appointed to Fort St George in the period covered by this volume. Some were better than others; but in the records there are many references to the excellent character of chaplains, of which the following, referring to the Reverend Patrick Warner, may be taken as an example: 'he is truly a person of those abilities piety and meekness, so becoming that holy calling, that we hope he will be the means of much good unto your people here, and wish we could prevail with him to make a longer abode amongst us; or if not that his successor may resemble him.'⁵¹

The sober judgement of Dr Percival Spear, though it refers to a rather later period, may be taken as a judicious estimate of what the Anglican clergy in India were during the seventeenth century also:

The chaplains could not logically be better as a body than the class in England from which they sprang, and they were not likely to be worse than the settlers themselves . . . They were much less than fiery apostles of the faith, but also more than merely commercial parsons, and they certainly fulfilled the test of a virile priesthood in being as a whole slightly better than the rest of the population.⁵²

3 THE DUTCH IN INDIA

The Dutch, no less than the English had a long history in the East. But the greater part of that history belongs to what is now called Indonesia, with outliers in Taiwan (Formosa) and Sri Lanka (Ceylon), and there is comparatively little to write about the Christian aspect of Dutch enterprise in continental India.

The course of the Reformation in the Netherlands had been far from tranquil. The assassination of William the Silent in 1584 was perhaps the lowest point in its fortunes, but was at the same time the action which steeled the resolution of the Hollanders and their determination to maintain themselves against all the Roman Catholic powers of Europe. The northern provinces, though not the southern, drove deep roots into the soil of Reformed thinking, and, nourished by the stern teachings of John Calvin, developed the same capacity as the Scots for unyielding hardness and an indomitable will to survive.

This deep Christian conviction manifested itself, among other places, in the first missionary training centre of the western world, the college founded at Leiden in 1623 under the guidance of a devout and learned teacher Antony Walaeus.⁵³ College is rather a grand name to give to a small enterprise. All that it meant was that Walaeus took into his own home a number of theological students, never more than six at a time, and undertook to give them a measure of special preparation for work in the

Eastern regions. Among other things the students were introduced to the Malay language, and also to the rudiments of Hinduism and Islam as religious systems. Short as was its life, the college sent out to the East twelve preachers of more than ordinary devotion and competence. But after only ten years, in 1633, the college was closed, and in spite of many requests that it should be reopened,⁵⁴ the directors of the Dutch East India Company (VOC), obstinately stood by their decision. They pleaded the ground of economy, and added that ministers trained elsewhere were coming forward in sufficient numbers to offer themselves for service in the East. That this was no idle boast is shewn by the fact that in two centuries the company sent to the East no less than a thousand *predikanten*, apart from schoolmasters and other subordinate ministers of the church. But, as Professor C.R. Boxer tartly remarks, 'experience had shown that the graduates of the Seminarium Indicum were apt to be less amenable to the Company's officials than were *predikanten* who had been hand-picked for their docility by the regional chambers'.⁵⁵

Here we encounter the basic weakness of Dutch Christian enterprise in the East. The motto of the Dutch authorities was 'thorough'; more than either Anglicans or Roman Catholics they saw to it that the ministers of the Gospel would have to exercise Christian liberty within very narrow confines indeed. The location of ministers was entirely in the hands of the governor general and council in Batavia. Even when appointed, the minister had no security of tenure in any one place, and might find himself at a moment's notice moved from one end of the Dutch sphere to the other. In theory ministers were called to exercise concern for the non-Christians around them as well as for the generally small Dutch congregations; but, if a minister had taken the trouble to learn the local language, he might find himself moved at short notice to another area where that language would be of no use to him. And any independence of thought or action was most severely frowned on.⁵⁶ A striking example of this is reported from the year 1653. The church council in Batavia had had the temerity to protest against a day of fasting and thanksgiving for the successes of the Dutch arms against the rebels in the Moluccas, on the ground that the war in Ambon was not a just war. They had to endure a swingeing rebuke from the governor general on the ground that they were giving a bad impression of the Company's righteous trade. The XVII Heeren in Amsterdam brought heavier artillery to bear; in future any *predikanten* guilty of a like offence were to be immediately dismissed from their office, and shipped back to the Netherlands at the earliest possible moment.⁵⁷

The nature of Dutch Christian work in India is best set out by considering the work of a number of chaplains, of whose operations it is possible to give a somewhat detailed account.

Among these Abraham Rogerius stands out as *facile princeps*. Born in the early years of the seventeenth century, he had studied at the college in Leiden, and in 1630 was appointed by the *classis* of Amsterdam for service in India. After a brief stay in Batavia he reached Pulicat (Pāliacatta) on 1 September 1632. Unlike so many of the *predikanten*, he was allowed to stay where he was. His service in Pulicat lasted almost exactly ten years – till 1642. Not having much to do in his ministrations to the small Dutch community, numbering probably not more than a hundred in all, he looked outward and found other employment; a letter of 9 January 1636 reports that Rogerius had begun to preach in the Portuguese language, and also that he is engaged in the study of the Malabar (Tamil) language. Here we see the genesis of his famous book *The Open Door to the hidden heathen Religion* (1651).⁵⁸

Fairly early in his career Rogerius had had the good fortune to render a service to a Brāhman named Padmanābhan, who, in trouble for some indiscreet actions in his homeland, had found it wise to take refuge in the Dutch Fort Geldria. Acquaintance led to friendship, and the chaplain spent much time with the Brāhman, who had some knowledge of Portuguese (not, I think, of Dutch), questioning him on every detail of Brāhman usage, custom and religion. Other Brāhmans seem to have joined the company, and one of these, having a better knowledge of Portuguese than Padmanābhan, was able to act as interpreter. Out of these colloquies grew the book *The Open Door*.

The first twenty-one chapters deal with the life-style and customs of Hindus, starting with the four castes, and leading on to funeral customs and the immolation of the faithful Hindu wife on the pyre of her husband. In the second part, also in twenty-one chapters, we are introduced to an outline of Hindu philosophy, starting with the idea of God, leading through worship and festivals to temples and rituals, to superstitions, and to ideas of life after death. The first sentence of this second part is noteworthy: ‘no one should think that these people are simply like beasts, and that they have no knowledge of God and religion’.⁵⁹

Most of the information collected by Rogerius is accurate and reliable, and gives a strikingly vivid picture of South Indian Hinduism as it was more than three centuries ago. Only in chapter 5 ‘on the privileges or prerogatives which the Vedam (*sic*) confers on the Brāhmans’ does his information go astray. The reason for this may be, not that Padmanābhan had any desire to deceive his friend, but simply that at that epoch in South India not even a Brāhman would have reliable information about the fountain head of his faith. Rogerius learned at least the names of the four *Vedas*, in the form *Roggawedam*, *Issourewedam*, *Samawedam* and *Adderawanawedam*. But what he was told about the content of these great works was strangely far from the truth:

The first treats of the first cause, of the first matter, of the angels, of souls, of the reward of the good and the punishment of the bad, of the generation of creatures, and their corruption, what are sins, those that may be forgiven, who may do it, and wherefor. The second treats of the Regents to whom they ascribe power over all things. The third part is entirely moral, which exhorts to virtue and obliges to the hatred of the contrary. The fourth part treats of the ceremonies of the temple, of offerings and of festivals; but this fourth part cannot be any longer found, as it had long been lost.⁶⁰

Not the least valuable part of the work was a paraphrase⁶¹ of the first two 'centuries' of Bhartṛhari, a writer probably of the sixth century. This is described by Rogerius as dealing with the 'way to heaven'. Bhartṛhari is a writer of some eminence, but his writing cannot be reckoned as among the chief of Hindu classics. The significance of the publication of the document by Rogerius is that it seems to be the first translation of a Hindu work in Sanskrit to be made available in print to readers in the West.

Rogerius was a true pioneer; his work fully deserves the commendations of many scholars, and the pilfering to which it was subjected by many of those who came after. Caland remarks that his book

gives an arresting and objective description of Indian religion, free in the main from the troublesome and fanatical criticisms by which the work of many other theologians has been characterized . . . It must have been of great value to the missions in his day, since acquaintance with the religious ideas of those whom one wishes to convert to Christianity is the best means to approach them with a view to their instruction.⁶²

Philip Baelde, better known under the Latinised form of his name Baldaeus, was born in Delft in 1632. He completed his theological studies in 1654, was accepted for service in India, and reached Batavia on 24 June 1655 before the completion of his twenty-third year. In 1666 he was back in the Netherlands, and died in 1671. The greater part of the time of Baldaeus in the East was spent in Ceylon; but he was in India in 1658, when he was present at the siege of Tuticorin, in 1660–2 in Negapatam, and perhaps also in 1664, and therefore he is entitled to a place in these pages. The fame of Baldaeus rests on one large work, compiled out of several smaller ones, and published, posthumously, in 1672 under the lengthy title, *A True and Exact Description of the most celebrated East Indian Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel; and also of the Isle of Ceylon. Also a most circumstantial and complete account of the idolatry of the Pagans in the East Indies . . . taken partly from their own Vedam, or law-book, and authentick manuscripts, and partly from frequent conversations with their priests and divines.*⁶³

The first part of the work deals with the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel. Baldaeus is a garrulous author. The style is discursive, and the

work lacks co-ordination and arrangement. But he is a good observer, and for those parts of the Dutch campaigns in India at which he was himself present his work is reckoned a primary authority.

Thus he was with the Dutch fleet at the capture of Cranganore, which took place on Sunday, 15 January 1662. On this he comments: 'During this siege we found the nights very cold, though the days were almost insupportable by the excessive heat. And after the conquest thereof, being ordered to preach the thanksgiving sermon in one of the parish churches, of which there were seven, I pitched upon a text in Deuteronomy xxiii, 14.'⁶⁴

Of the siege of Cochin he has interesting things to say. When it was clear, in November 1662, that the capture of the city could not be long delayed, generous terms were offered to the Portuguese – 'that they should be left in full possession of their churches (except one), provided they would receive a Dutch garrison'. The final capitulation, 8 January 1663, stipulated that the

Franciscans [are] to enjoy the free exercise of their religion under the protection of the State. The clergy to have full liberty to carry away all their images, church ornaments, relicks etc. and what else belonged to them . . . Such of the inhabitants as were willing to stay behind under the jurisdiction of the *Dutch* Company to have free liberty to remain in their full possessions . . . and that care should be taken of the sick and wounded.⁶⁵

The desire of the Dutch to extirpate the popish religion was not carried to extreme lengths.

We have noted elsewhere the unsuccessful attempts of Baldaeus to seduce Roman Catholic Christians from their faith and to induce them to accept the Reformed religion: 'My endeavours proved ineffectual by reason of the great number of popish priests yet remaining in that country, and the people being blind zealots in their religion.'⁶⁶ He had pleasanter recollections of Negapatam (Nāgapattinam), later the centre of Dutch power on the Coromandel Coast, which had been captured in 1658. Here he preached for the first time, both in Dutch and in Portuguese, on 18 July 1660, 'and administered the holy sacrament to twenty persons, and baptism to several children'. After he had spent some time settling the reformation in Negapatam, the work was handed over to John Kruyf who had formerly been in Indonesia, and, after his death, to Nathaniel der Pape, 'who in a very short time has made considerable advancement in the Portuguese and Malabar languages and . . . has settled the spread of the Gospel in the circumjacent villages'.⁶⁷

The fourth part of the large work is the *Idolatry of the East Indian Pagans*, on which the fame of Baldaeus principally rests.

By far the larger part of this section is given up to an exposition of Purāṇic tales, including the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, and the many legends

attached especially to the stories of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. Only in chapter 12 do we come to theology in the proper sense of the term – to creation, the nature of the soul and transmigration; and to religious practices – the use of sacred ashes, fasting, marriage, and customs relating to death and burial.

Though Baldaeus seems at certain points to have been acquainted with the work of Abraham Rogerius, the *Idolatry* is much inferior to the *Open Door*. Furthermore, it is the sad fact that Baldaeus was a fraud. His modern editor Dr A.J. de Jong expresses the opinion that in the seventeenth century writers were not as careful to acknowledge their indebtedness to others as they are today, and that, in studying Baldaeus, we have to ‘reckon with the possibility that here and there he puts forward as his own work what he had in fact borrowed from others’.⁶⁸ This careful editor had no idea of the enormities that Baldaeus had in fact committed. On p. 56, Baldaeus remarks innocently that ‘I think that I have read in a manuscript of a Roman Catholic priest, who was engaged in conversation about these things with a near relative of the Zamorin of Calicut’. When Professor Jarl Charpentier of the university of Uppsala was working a number of years ago on the *Livro de Seitas dos Indias Orientais* of Fr Jacob Fenicio SJ, which he had discovered in the British Museum, he noted the similarities between certain parts of the *Livro* and a number of passages in the *Afgoderye* of Baldaeus. Detailed comparison shewed that pp. 3 to 82 in the text as printed by de Jong are nothing but a translation of books I to III of Fenicio, and that pp. 185 to 300 are a fairly faithful translation of book VIII, chapters I to II.⁶⁹

It seems that during his stay in India Baldaeus had in his hands the complete text of the *Livro*, and made his translation from it. This is then reproduced in the *Afgoderye* with only this extremely vague form of acknowledgment.⁷⁰

Worse is to follow. A study of the Dutch manuscript Sloane 3290 in the British Museum, containing an account of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu written to accompany ten Indian drawings of the incarnations, reveals that practically everything in Baldaeus’ account of the same (pp. 57 to 179 in de Jong’s edition) has been lifted with the minimum of editing from the anonymous manuscript.⁷¹ It seems that the original manuscript was written in Surat somewhere about the middle of the seventeenth century. Baldaeus must have become acquainted with it at some time during his stay in India, and copied extensively from it. In this case, he makes no allusion whatever to the source of his information.⁷²

Too harsh a judgement should not be passed on Baldaeus. To maintain an old clothes’ shop is not a criminal offence. Criminal deception comes in only when second-hand clothes are passed off as new. Of this Baldaeus must be judged guilty. The opinion of Charpentier that ‘the work of Baldaeus on Hindu mythology lacks every ounce of value as a historical source’ is not too

severe.⁷³ But, even though Baldaeus has no claim to be regarded as an independent investigator, he may demand some recognition as a populariser. He made available, in lucid Dutch, information which up to his time had been hidden in manuscript form.⁷⁴ And he rescued from archaic and obscure Portuguese the work of Fr Fenicio, which did not appear in print until 1933.⁷⁵ His work was widely used, having been translated into both German and English, and was highly regarded. He may be granted a measure of esteem, if not for the extension, at least for the diffusion, of knowledge about the religions of India.⁷⁶

Mention has been made more than once of the *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus* of Henry Adrian van Rheede and Drakensteyn, the Dutch governor of the Malabar region, who arrived in India in 1669, and early on in his career formed the plan which over the years developed into the twelve stately and beautiful volumes of the great botanical work. We have a vivid description of the plan of action developed by van Rheede – how he would send out searchers in groups of two and three into the woods and jungles, and how he had arranged that specimens should be immediately drawn and painted before they had had time to wither. One of his useful collaborators was the discalced Carmelite Matthew of St Joseph. Matthew was an ardent collector, but he lacked both the knowledge and the aptitude required for the scientific classification and description of the trees and plants brought under investigation. Van Rheede was fortunate in securing the co-operation of John Casarius, the chaplain of Cochin, who, though he was unwilling because of his lack of botanical training to engage himself in such an enterprise, was at length persuaded to lend his talents and rendered service of the utmost value. Matthew, recognising his own limitations, was willing to hand over the results of his investigations to John. John then drew up the plan for the whole work, and rendered into elegant Latin the information collected in Malayālam, Dutch and Portuguese, up to the conclusion of the second volume of the series. The first volume was not published, in Amsterdam, till 1678. Before that date John Casarius had died in Batavia. His death was a grave loss to the whole enterprise, but it was not allowed to bring it to an end. The series was gradually carried to its conclusion, and stands as one of the greatest monuments of early European scientific investigation in India.⁷⁷

It is evident that the Dutch contribution to the life of India was not inconsiderable; but that contribution was made more in the area of scientific knowledge of India and its religions than in any great progress towards evangelisation. Yet it is to be noted that all who have specially engaged our attention were members of the clerical profession. Their primary concern was with the vocation that had brought them to India, but they were not

unaware of the wider realms of knowledge that were opened before them by a sojourn in the East. Other things passed away; their achievements remain. With the British occupation of the whole of India, the Dutch gradually withdrew, and very little remains to bear witness to their period, almost two centuries long, of control in some areas of India. There is one church in Negapatam; another church impressive in its simplicity in Tuticorin;⁷⁸ a few old houses in Cochin; a church and some other memorials at Chinsurah in Bengal, a settlement which the Dutch did not surrender to the British until 1825, when it was exchanged for a number of British possessions in Sumatra. All these are somewhat pathetic memorials of past greatness. As far as the life of the church is concerned, all the Dutch congregations in India seem to have been absorbed into the local churches.

4 OTHER CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES

We have reason to think it likely that there were Christians both in the north-western provinces, and also in the south-west, of India from a very early date. These naturally professed Eastern forms of the Christian faith. The majority of them made their permanent home in India, and through many generations of residence became almost completely assimilated to their Indian surroundings, except in the matter of religion. We have also to recognise the presence in various parts of India of Christian immigrants, who resisted assimilation and maintained both their traditional way of life and their Christian faith over long periods. The community which has been most widely represented, and has perhaps been most successful in retaining its national and Christian characteristics, is that of the Armenians. The Armenians are by any account an astonishing people. Centuries of persecution have reduced their numbers but have not broken their spirit. Many of them, having outstanding gifts as traders and merchants, have become exceedingly wealthy in the lands of their voluntary or involuntary exile.⁷⁹

In pre-Mughul days most of the Armenians in India were travelling merchants, who having done their business returned each year to their own country, as the merchants from beyond the passes still do. The first who encouraged them to settle and to make India their permanent home seems to have been the great Akbar. He promised that he would not interfere with their religion, and that they would be given permission to build a church in Agra in order to be able to worship God in their own way. In response to this invitation many Armenians came to the capital, where their first church was built in 1582.⁸⁰

There is a tradition that Akbar carried his liking for Armenians to the point of taking to himself an Armenian Christian wife, Mariam Zāmāni

Begum. Theoretically there is no reason why this should not be true – Akbar set no limit to the number of his wives and was catholic in his choice. All that can be said is that there is no conclusive evidence, and that there is a parallel tradition which credits Akbar with having had a Portuguese Christian wife.⁸¹

Much more reliable is the report that one Iskander won the favour of the emperor. His wife Juliana, a Christian and probably an Armenian, bore him two sons, Mirzā Zū'lqarnain (1592), and Mirzā Sikander (1595).⁸² These two boys were constantly about the court and Akbar showed them many marks of favour. This was for a time interrupted, when Jahāngīr after his accession in 1606 adopted a strongly Muslim attitude. It is almost certain that Zū'lqarnain was the elder of the two boys forcibly circumcised by order of the emperor, as has been recorded in another place.⁸³ But the capricious favour of the emperor soon returned to the family. After the death of Iskander, Zū'lqarnain was appointed to the *jāgir* of Sāmbhar, with responsibility for the collection of the salt revenues. This profitable employment formed the basis of a considerable fortune, which in spite of the ups and downs of imperial favour steadily increased through the years, so that at his death in 1656 the grandee was a very wealthy man.

Whatever may have been the religion of his ancestors,⁸⁴ Zū'lqarnain at an early age embraced the Roman Catholic form of the Christian faith, as his father may have done before him. For half a century his relationships with the Jesuits of his time were intimate and affectionate. He always had one or two Fathers attendant on him, and for years they regarded his home at Sāmbhar as a safe and pleasant retreat from the more arduous duties of Agra or Delhi. There are many references in the Jesuit letters to his systematic and ordered life, and to the depth and sincerity of his devotion.⁸⁵

There are many stories of the generosity of the Mirzā to individuals of all classes who were in need. But what raised him for ever high in the estimation of the Jesuits was his gift of enough money to make possible the foundation of the Jesuit college in Agra. The sum of Rs. 20,000 was made available to the Jesuits; raising an additional Rs. 7,000, they were able to purchase two villages, one on the island of Bombay and another on the peninsula of Salsette. The revenues from these villages, a considerable sum, went to the maintenance of the mission to Mogor, thus delivering the Jesuits from dependence on the always uncertain favour of the emperors. The generosity of the Mirzā was acknowledged by his being officially enrolled, about 1625, as the founder of the *Collegium inchoatum* of Agra.⁸⁶

The career of Mirzā Zū'lqarnain is of great importance as showing that it was possible for a Christian to resist all attempts to turn him into a Muslim, and yet to attain to a position of high, though insecure, eminence in the realm of Mogor. No doubt the comparative ease and security in which the

Jesuits were able to carry on their work owed something to his influence and to the favour which he showed towards them. Fr Antony Botelho, who served in the mission from 1648 to 1654, notes that 'the Armenian merchants, who were fifty or sixty in my time, were much surprised at the freedom we had at the great Mogul's court'. It was a privilege not enjoyed by the other Religious settled in Constantinople, where the Turks molested them in a thousand ways, going so far at times as to beat them severely.⁸⁷

A number of inscriptions in Armenian and Persian give evidence of the continued existence of the Armenian community in India. The oldest is in what has come to be known as Martyrose's chapel at Agra, a mausoleum erected on the tomb of a wealthy merchant of that name, which appears to be the oldest Christian building still standing in that part of India. The Armenian inscription reads: 'In this tomb rested the pilgrim Martyrose, son of Pheerbashee of Julfa. Died at the city of Agra, and gave his goods to God for the good of his soul, in the year 1060 of the Armenian era [AD 1611].' The Persian is as follows: 'Here lies interred the Armenian Khwāja Martinus (*sic*), the pilgrim, who called himself the slave of Christ; as he was of a charitable disposition, he gave whatsoever he possessed in charity to the poor, out of respect for the Lord. One thousand six hundred and eleven from the birth of the Lord Jesus.'⁸⁸

No less than seven Armenian priests are known to have worked in Agra during the lifetime of Zū'lqarnain and later, while the Jesuits also were at work in the same area:

1614 Asatoor
1616 Mekhithar
1630 Sookias
1656 Zacharia
1668 Johanness
1671 Bagdassar
1675 Arrathoon⁸⁹

Clio is occasionally permitted to smile; perhaps one of the occasions is the gallant story of William Hawkins at the court of Jahāngīr. The English captain had in a remarkable way won the favour of the emperor, who desired to keep him in India, and offered him all accommodations, including a wife. This placed Hawkins in an embarrassing situation; he did not dare to refuse so generous an offer, but stated that as a Christian he could marry only a Christian girl, 'at which my speech I little thought a Christians daughter could bee found'. But the emperor was too clever for him; he found the daughter of an Armenian gentleman, Mubarique Sha [Mubārak Shāh], lately deceased; so 'I seeing shee was of so honest a Descent, having passed my word to the King, could not withstand my fortunes; wherefore I tooke

her . . . So ever after I lived content and without feare, she being willing to goe where I went and live as I lived.’⁹⁰

The marriage was not of long duration. Hawkins died at sea on his return voyage. His widow went on to England, and is believed to have been the very first resident of India to have visited these shores. In the following year she married again; her second husband was Gabriel Towerson, one of the principal men at Amboina barbarously murdered by the Dutch on 27 February 1623.

Armenians followed trade wherever it went. They are found at Chinsurah, the Dutch settlement, where a church was completed in 1697. Armenians were resident in Madras at least as early as 1666. On 22 June of that year the Armenian merchants were informed of the exceptionally favourable terms granted to them by the East India Company; they were to be free to trade on the same terms as British subjects, and ‘wherever there were forty Armenians resident in a Company’s town, a temporary church was to be built for them, and ground granted to them for the erection of a permanent place of worship, the Company allowing £50 a year for seven years for the maintenance of a priest’.⁹¹ No higher tribute could be paid to the value attached by the Company to this venerable, upright and reliable community.⁹²

In 1707, when Aurungzib died, Christianity was still a very minor force in Indian affairs. But it had taken root in many parts of the country; it was beginning to take on the shape familiar in later years; and with Thomas Christians, Armenians, Portuguese and other Roman Catholics, Dutch, English and Danish Protestants, and such Indians as had adopted one or other of these various ways of practising the Christian faith, had begun to manifest that astonishing diversity which is increasingly the perplexity of the historian, as the story draws nearer to the contemporary scene.

Appendices

APPENDIX I THE COPPER-PLATES OF MALABAR

By far the best easily accessible account of the copper-plates is that to be found in L.W. Brown, *The Indian Christians of St Thomas* (1956, 1982²), pp. 74–5, 85–90. But reference should also be made to A. Matthias Mundadan, *Sixteenth Century Traditions of the Thomas Christians* (1970), pp. 130ff.

Four sets of plates come under consideration:

- (i) The Thomas of Cana Plates (also known as the Mar Jacob plates). These were seen by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century. Couto maintains that they were still in the Factory at Cochin in 1599, but that by 1603 they had disappeared (Ferrolì, *Jesuits*, vol. 1, p. 80). It is thought that they may have been moved to Portugal, but no trace of them has ever been discovered in that country. Gouvea refers to this disappearance and to the concern which it caused the Christians, not having writings with which to defend themselves before the infidel kings, who keep violating their privileges.¹

A manuscript in the British Museum contains what is alleged to be a Portuguese translation of a version in Malayalam of the inscription on this plate, made with great difficulty by a learned Jew, from the original plate. This records that the king 'Cocurangon' called Thomas to him, as a mark of honour gave him his own name, and later built for him a church and houses. He also accorded to him a number of privileges –

seven kinds of musical instruments and all the honours, and to travel in a palanquin, and that at weddings, the women should whistle with the finger in the mouth as do the women of kings, and he conferred on him the duty and the privilege of spreading carpets on the ground and to use sandals and to erect a pandal and to ride on elephants. And besides this he granted five taxes to Thomas and his posterity and to his associates both men and women, and for all his relations and the followers of his faith, for ever and ever.

On this Bishop Brown remarks somewhat caustically that 'it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the Jew was as ingenious as the

Brahman who translated the inscription on the stone cross, found in Mylapore by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, and that he was as fortunate in knowing the local tradition before he started his work' (p. 87).

It is possible that the mystery about this plate is in reality no mystery at all. Fr Schurhammer has suggested that in reality it is identical with the Quilon plates to which we now come.

- (ii) The Quilon Plates. These consisted originally of six plates in two sets. The third plate of the first set is missing; the two surviving plates are preserved in the Syrian Christian Seminary in Tiruvalla. Of the second set the first plate is missing; the second and third are in the Old Seminary at Kottayam.

The plates were reproduced in *JRAS* in 1841, and photographically and very clearly in S.G. Pothan, *The Syrian Christians of Kerala* (New York, 1963), between p. 32 and p. 33. They were elucidated by E.W. West in 1870 (*JRAS* NS 4, pp. 79, 80). Further revisions in the translation have been made in subsequent years.

The last plate of the Kottayam set has the signature of witnesses in Pehlevi, Kufic and Hebrew (or rather Persian in Hebrew script). The Kufic signatures were deciphered by Professor F.C. Burkitt of Cambridge, the Pehlevi, not quite completely, by Sir Harold Bailey, also of the University of Cambridge. C.P.T. Winckworth, a linguistic expert, also of Cambridge, has given it as his opinion that what we have is not the original, but a copy cut by a craftsman who was ignorant of the languages concerned. Mingana, p. 76, adds the suggestion that these witnesses were in all probability not Indians, but immigrants from Persia or Arabia; but concedes that they may have been Indian Christians with Syriac Christian names. For transliterations, see Brown, pp. 87–9.

- (iii) The Iravi Korttan plate, preserved in the Old Seminary at Kottayam. As indicated in the text, the date of this plate is quite uncertain, nor can it be stated with any confidence that Ravi Korran was a Christian.

The translation of this inscription, as provided by V. Venkayya is as follows:

(Line 1) Hari! Prosperity! Adoration to the great Ganapati! On the day of (the nakshatra) Rôhîṇi, a Saturday after the expiration of the twenty-first (day) of the solar month Mina (of the year during which) Jupiter (was) in Makara, while the glorious Vira-Râghava-Chakravartin, – (of the race) that has been wielding the sceptre for several hundred-thousands of years in regular succession from the glorious king of kings, the glorious Vira-Kêrala-Chakravartin, – was ruling prosperously; –

(l. 5) While (we were) pleased to reside in the great palace, we conferred the title of Manigrâmam on Iravikorttaṇ alias Sêramaṇ-lôka-pperuñ-jeṭṭi of Magôdaiyarpaṭṭinam.

(l. 7) We (also) gave (him) (the right of) festive clothing, house pillars, the income that accrues, the export trade (?), monopoly of trade, (the right of) proclamation, forerunners, the five musical instruments, a conch, a lamp in day-time, a cloth spread (in front to walk on), a palanquin, the royal parasol, the Telegu (?) drum, a gateway with an ornamental arch, and monopoly of trade in the four quarters (*śēri*).

(l. 11) We (also) gave the oil-mongers and the five (classes of) artisans as (his) slaves.

(l. 12) We (also) gave, with a libation of water, – having (caused it to be) written on a copper-plate, – to Iravikorttaṇ, who is the lord of the city, the brokerage on (articles) that may be measured with the para, weighed by the balance or measured with the tape, that may be counted or weighed, and on all other (articles) that are intermediate, – including salt, sugar, musk (and) lamp oil, – and also the customs levied on these (articles) between the river mouth of Kodungûlûr and the gate (*gôpura*), – chiefly between the four temples (*taḷi*) and the village adjacent to (each) temple.

(l. 17) We gave (this) as property to Sêramâṇ-lôka-pperuñ-jeṭṭi alias Iravikorttaṇ and to his children's children in due succession.

(l. 19) (The witnesses) who know this (are):– We gave (it) with the knowledge of the villagers of Paṇṇiyûr and the villagers of Sôgiram. We gave (it) with the knowledge (of the authorities) of Vêṇâḍu and Oḍunâḍu. We gave (it) with the knowledge (of the authorities) of Eṛânâḍu and Valluvanâḍu. We gave (it) for the time that the moon and the sun shall exist.

(l. 21) The hand-writing of Sêramâṇ-lôka-pperuñ-dattâṇ Nambi Saḍeyan, who wrote (this) copper-plate with the knowledge of these (witnesses).³

- (iv) The plate in possession of the Jews of Cochin, of which once again the date is uncertain.

Work on the plates is continuing. When the experts differ so much among themselves, it is temerarious for one who is not an expert to express an opinion. It seems, however, to this writer that a date earlier than the seventh century cannot be established for any of the plates; that a date between the beginning of the eighth century and the end of the ninth is probable; but that the possibility that the Iravi Korttan plate is considerably later cannot be excluded.

APPENDIX 2 THE LEARNED BRĀHMAN AND THE THOMAS CROSS

The story of the decipherment of the Pehlevi inscription on the Thomas Cross is a cautionary tale for all decipherers of strange documents in unknown languages.

The Portuguese are an inquisitive folk, and were naturally anxious to know the meaning of the inscription on the Cross which had been discovered in 1547. No progress was made, until, in 1561, a learned Brāhman was brought in from far away (Kanara, Vijayanagar?), and claimed to be able to interpret the mysterious words. There are thirty-six signs in the inscription. The Brāhman maintained that each of these represented an idea, which could be expanded into a whole sentence; he produced as his rendering what turns out to be a poem in Tamil–Malayālam of twenty-eight lines.⁴

The Brāhman was more ingenious than helpful. He had never heard of Pehlevi, and, if he had heard of it, would not have known what it was. He guessed at the language, and guessed wrong. He adopted a false principle of interpretation – no Indian language is written in ideograms like those of the Chinese. His interpretation has the distinction of bearing no relation at any single point to what he set out to interpret. But, as no one else stepped into the breach, he held the field for nearly three centuries, and his imposture was not discovered. Clearly the Brāhman, perhaps a convert, had heard a good deal about the beliefs of the Portuguese, especially as these related to Thomas and Mylapore. Honour demanded that he should not confess himself defeated by the inscription. Courtesy demanded that he should produce an interpretation agreeable to those who presumably were paying him for his labours. At least he may be given the credit for willingness to oblige.

For centuries the Brāhman's rendering was known only through a somewhat garbled Portuguese version supplied by Diogo de Couto, who was in India from 1556 to 1580 and died in 1616, in his work *Da Asia*.⁵ In this translation we read that one of the twelve servants of Jesus

came to a place called Majalle (Maiale), with a staff in his hand, and he took a great beam, which had come by sea, of which he made a church, whereat the whole people rejoiced. Then a number of kings and others of their own will took the law of Thomas as it was the law of truth, and he gave them the sign of the cross to worship. And he went up to the place of Antenodur, where a Bargmene (Brāhman) struck him with a lance, and he embraced this cross which was stained with his blood, and his disciples carried him to Majalle (Maiale), and buried him in his church with the lance in his body.

The most important phrase in this rigmarole is that which relates to the Brāhman who struck the apostle with a lance and killed him. Writer after writer has woven his story of the martyrdom from this slender evidence; and in almost all of them appears the malice of the Brāhman as the cause of the death of Thomas. But in all probability the Brāhman never existed even in

the interpretation of the learned Brāhman; he seems to have crept in simply through the misinterpretation of two Tamil words.

Matters remained in this state, until in 1923 the learned Fr Hosten published a letter written from Cochin in 1579 by Fr Monserrate to the Jesuit general in Rome.⁶ This letter is a most remarkable achievement. Monserrate gives a fairly accurate sketch of the Cross, a reproduction in Latin script of the Brāhman's effusion, and a translation of the same into Spanish. Although he did not know Tamil, with the help of friends who probably spoke Malayālam rather than Tamil, he succeeded in producing a transcript in which the least expert Tamil reader can recognise a number of words which are undoubtedly Tamil, and a translation which is nearer to the original than Couto's version.

A number of Indian scholars have worked on Monserrate's Tamil, have elucidated a number of problems, and have produced a plausible text, helped by the fact that the original appears to be a poem (not a very good poem) in the Agaval metre. A.S. Rāmanātha Ayyar, with great ingenuity, has printed a reconstruction in Latin script.⁷ T.K. Joseph has printed what he believes to be the original poem in Tamil script.⁸

There are a number of differences in interpretation, but there is a fair measure of agreement. The main disagreement is that Mr Joseph keeps the Brāhman, whom Mr Rāmanātha Ayyar has entirely eliminated. I think the latter is right. The word 'Brāhman' does not occur in Monserrate's transcript. And the two Tamil words *anthaṇa* and *maraiyavar*,⁹ which certainly at times are used of Brāhmans, are not necessarily so. They can be used in a much more general sense, and in fact the University Tamil Lexicon gives for both words the rendering 'sages'.

So the wicked Brāhman belongs only to mythology, or hardly even to that tenuous form of existence.

APPENDIX 3 INDIAN EMBASSIES TO ROMAN EMPERORS

That there was more contact than is generally supposed between India and the Roman empire in the early centuries of the Christian era is shewn by the number of embassies from Indian kings to Roman emperors to which reference is made in the Western sources.

There is a convenient but not entirely satisfactory discussion of the evidence in B.A. Saletore, *India's Diplomatic Relations with the West* (Bombay, 1958), pp. 210-67.

The following embassies seem to be fairly well established as having actually taken place:

Indian Embassies to Roman Emperors

(1) *To the Emperor Augustus (31 BC–AD 14)*

Probably received by him in the island of Samos in 20 BC. This is referred to by Strabo, Suetonius, Florus, Dio Cassius and Orosius (though Orosius gives Tarragona in Spain as the place where the embassy was received).

(2) *To the Emperor Tiberius (14–37)* no embassy is recorded.

(3) *To the Emperor Gaius (37–41)*

The authority is Pliny. But from what country? Perhaps from the Pāṇḍiyan king in South India (if Taprobane in this account is to be taken as a reference to the river Tāmraparṇi in South India).

(4) *To the Emperor Trajan (98–117)*

The authority is Dio Cassius. Perhaps in the year AD 107, and perhaps sent by the king Kadphises II.

(5) *To the Emperor Hadrian (117–38)*

The authority is Pliny. Probable date is between 128 and 133; the king is almost certainly the great Kaniṣka, the third in the line of Kuṣāṇa kings. (The date of Kaniṣka is still a matter of dispute among the experts.)

(6) *To the Emperor Elagabalus (218–22)*

The authority is Stobaeus; but no clear indication is given as to the king who sent the embassy.

(7) *To the Emperor Aurelian (270–5)*

In connection with the triumph of Aurelian in 274, it is stated that he received many embassies from, among others, Bactrians, Indians and China; but no details are given, and the king who sent the embassy cannot be identified. The triumph is vividly described by Gibbon in chapter 11 of his *Decline and Fall*.

(8) *To the Emperor Constantine* (311–37)

The authority is Eusebius, a contemporary. He asserts that ‘ambassadors from the Indians of the East brought presents’, probably in 336. Gibbon mentions this in chapter 18 of his *Decline and Fall*.

(9) *To the Emperor Julian* (the apostate) (361–3)

The authority is Ammianus Marcellinus, always well informed and generally accurate. The year is 361; the embassy is from the Indian nations as far as from the Divi (Maldives) and the Serendivi (Sinhalaadvīpa = Ceylon).

A further reference in Sextus Aurelius Victor.

(10) *To the Emperor Justinian* (527–65)

The authority is John Malalas. The year 530. ‘At the same time an ambassador of the Indians was sent to Constantinople.’ By what king it is impossible to determine.

These fragmentary notices are enough to make it clear that contact between East and West was not unknown. The references are mostly incidental, and disappointingly vague; but it is to be remembered that there may have been many other embassies which are not mentioned in the surviving sources; for some reigns we do not have adequate historical materials.

APPENDIX 4 THE RISE OF MAHĀYĀNA BUDDHISM IN SOUTH INDIA

In the early centuries of the Christian era Buddhism in South India was much more than an alien importation, or a merely popular religion. It was in this area, apparently, that the great system of Buddhist philosophy commonly called the *Mahāyāna*, the great vessel, was beginning to take shape; and the more popular form of *Mahāyāna* may also have had its origins in the same area.

It is generally agreed that Nāgārjuna, the most eminent in the race of philosophers of the *Mahāyāna*, lived in the Āndhra area of South India.¹⁰ He is the philosopher of total nothingness, of *śūnyatā* the void, to which in the end all essences and substances are to be reduced. Some scholars hold that beyond the void, the nothingness, of Nāgārjuna, a very important something is to be found: ‘It seems to me clear that the reality after which

Nāgārjuna is striving is a reality of mystical character, and that all his subtle reasonings have one aim and one only – to demonstrate the impossibility of attaining to that reality by the path of abstract reasoning.¹¹

Buddhism in its other *Mahāyāna* form was opening itself to the aspect of a vast mythology of Buddhas and gods and demons, perhaps with the aim of winning back the allegiance of the common people, to whom the austere doctrine of the *Theravāda* was proving unattractive.¹² If this was the aim, the effort proved itself counter-productive. If the Dravidian mind wanted colour and mythology, it could find it nearer home, in the ancient traditions of the Dravidian world enriched by the more popular aspects of revived Hinduism. It was this Hinduism which in course of time prevailed.

APPENDIX 5 THE DATES OF THE TAMIL 'BHAKTI'-POETS

The chronology of early South India is notoriously difficult to determine. Clearly fixed dates are few, and the process of working backward and forward from those which there are is bound to leave many uncertainties.

One of the dates which can be relied on as having been fixed on the basis of good historical evidence is the battle of Vādāpi or Bādāmi in AD 642. The Chālukya kings had made Bādāmi a great centre of their rule. The most powerful of their kings, Pulakēśin II, had had a victorious career; but this came to an end when, in revenge for an attack on the Pallavas, he was in turn attacked and defeated by the Pallava king Narasiṃha-Varman I.¹³

This king has been brought to life by an inscription discovered at Tirukkalukunram, a village half way between Chingleput and Sadras, and elucidated by V. Venkayya;¹⁴ in this inscription he is referred to as *Vātāpi koṇḍa Narasingapottaraiyar*, which seems clearly to be a Tamil form of 'Narasimhavarman, the one who has taken Vātāpi.'

Sēkkilar's *Periyapurāṇam* is the great hagiography of the Tamil Śaivite *Bhakti* movement. The biographies of sixty-three prominent Śaivite devotees are given. One of these is Cirutṇaṇḍanāyanār, 'the little devotee', who in his biography is referred to as having been originally a soldier, and as having 'reduced to dust the ancient city of Vātāpi (Vādāvi)'.¹⁵ There can be little doubt that the reference here is to the battle which took place in AD 642.

Further, the *Periyapurāṇam* tells us that Cirutṇaṇḍar was visited in his own village by Tirugṇānacambandar,¹⁶ who also refers to Cirutṇaṇḍar in one of his hymns:

Senkāṭṭankuḍi is his holy fane,
And there his 'Little Servant' dwells who now
And ever doth before Lord Śiva bow.¹⁷

In another verse printed by Kingsbury and Phillips there is a slighting reference to the opponents of the Śaivites:

Those Buddhists and mad Jains may slander speak,
Such speech befits the wand'ers from the way.¹⁸

In yet another verse, there is a reference to the queen with whose help Cambandar was able to convert the Coḷa king to the true Śaivite faith. The name of the king is given in the Śaivite sources as Kūn Pāṇḍiyan; it is probable that he is the same as the Neḍumāran referred to in the text.¹⁹

Cumulatively these references suggest a date in the seventh century for some among the leading Śaivite saints. K.R. Srinivas Iyengār, in *History and Culture*, 3, p. 328, accepts this dating: 'The dates arrived at by Mr C.V. Narayana Ayyar seem to be on the whole satisfactory: Appar (AD 600–681); Sambandar (644–660); Māṇikkavāchakar (AD 660–692), and Sundarar who "must have lived for 18 years at any time between AD 710 and 753".'²⁰ It is to be noted that I myself would place Māṇikkavāchakar considerably later than the date suggested here.

Mr Srinivas Iyengār, rejecting a very early dating of the Āḷvārs, the Vaiṣṇavite singers, concludes that 'we have to be satisfied with the broad inference that the Āḷvārs in all probability flourished in the period marked by the extreme limits of AD 500 and 850, and that it is not unlikely that some of the greatest Śaiva Nāyanārs and Vaishṇava Āḷvārs were actually contemporaries.'²¹ Noting that the Āḷvārs belonged to a wide range of communities, he adds the interesting comment that 'All this illustrates the noble catholicity of the Tamils of a bygone age.'

APPENDIX 6 THE TRAVELS OF LUDOVICO DI VARTHEMA

Ludovico di Varthema (or Barthéma) carried out his immense journey by the land-route to India and countries beyond in the years 1503–1508. His work, therefore, took place after the opening of the sea-route to India, and an account of it is for this reason given in an Appendix and not in the text.

Varthema was an excellent observer, and there is no reason to doubt the veracity of what he writes; indeed the naiveté of his account of various events and activities gives strong reason to believe that he is recording and not inventing.

Varthema arrived in India from Ormuz. Most of the places that he visited are on the coast, and he seems rarely to have penetrated far into the interior. He mentions, among other cities, Cambay, Goa, Honavar, Cannanore, Vijayanagar, Calicut, Coromandel 'where the body of Thomas is buried'; then to Ceylon and on to the Indonesian archipelago, back to India, and so via Ethiopia, Moçambique and the Cape of Good Hope to Europe.

Varthema met Thomas Christians in the neighbourhood of Quilon, but has little to say of them. He does, however, give the important piece of information that 'every three years a priest comes there to baptize them, and . . . he comes from Babylon'.

Varthema's work is important in itself, but also because of the immense popularity which it attained; for many years it was for Europe one of the main sources of information about India and the countries beyond. It first appeared in Italian in 1510, under the title *Itinerario de Lodovico de Barthema Bolognese nello Egypto . . . La fede, el vivere & costumi de tutte le prefate Provincie . . .* The work was almost immediately translated into Latin (Milan, 1511). It was included by Simon Grynaeus in his *Novus Orbis regionum ac insularum veteribus incognitarum* (Basel, 1532), from which it was translated into German and printed in Strassbourg in 1534. A Spanish translation appeared in 1520 (Seville, several times reprinted). The *Novus Orbis* was translated into Dutch, and appeared in that language at Antwerp in 1563.

Varthema was also included by Ramusio in his *Primo Volume delle Navigazioni e Viaggi, nel qual si contiene la descrizione dell' Africa* (Venice, 1550; the Latin text is here corrected from the Spanish translation.) Finally in 1577 Richard Eden produced a work called *The History of Travayles in the West and East Indies*, in which he claimed to have included the 'Navigation and Voyages of Lewes Vertomannus, Gentleman'; but this version was found to be highly inaccurate and unreliable.

This constant reproduction of the work of Varthema in so many editions and in so many languages is good evidence for the interest felt in Europe at that time in the far places of the earth, and for the desire of Western Christians to know about them. One element in this interest was without doubt concern for the Christianisation of these previously unknown peoples.

The many imperfections in Eden's edition led the Hakluyt Society to the conviction that a new and reliable edition must be prepared. This appeared in 1863. The translation was made by J.W. Jones, and an extensive introduction and notes were added by the Rev. G.P. Badger, at one time (1845) a chaplain in the presidency of Bombay. The details about Varthema and his work given above are drawn from this excellent edition.

APPENDIX 7 NIKITIN IN INDIA

The Archpriest Sergei Hackel is lecturer in Russian Studies at the University of Sussex. His article 'Apostate or Pioneer? Nikitin and his Dialogue in India, 1469-1472'²² is of exceptional value in as much as Hackel is acquainted with all the relevant literature in Russian, and is also familiar with modern movements in the direction of a better understanding

as between the religions of the world. He quotes comments by Bishop Kenneth Cragg, who had read the article before publication.

E.F. Oaten, in his rather superficial work *European Travellers in India during the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (London, 1909), had stated categorically: 'From hints he lets drop, it seems clear that he was compelled temporarily to abandon the Christian faith, and confess Islam' (p. 47). Hackel is not prepared to admit this. He interprets as ironic the words, 'Now Christian brethren of Russia, whoever of you likes to go to the Indian country may leave his faith in Russia, confess Mahomet, and then proceed to the land of Hindustan' (p. 166).

Hackel maintains that Nikitin manifested an attitude of much more than ordinary tolerance towards non-Christian religions, untaught by others and having to work this out for himself in his solitude. But he was never betrayed into abandonment of the Christian faith. Hinduism was startling to him; yet he is able to describe some of what he saw without condemnation (pp. 165–6). In Islam he finds much that was akin to his own thoughts, and in Islamic insistence on monotheism he may at times have found support for his own threatened faith in God. Much in Muslim devotion he finds it possible to adopt and use. 'In general only a minority of his invocations are in Russian; the longer prayers, such as his concluding prayer (the most elaborate of all) are basically Arabic in language, and, more important, Muslim in provenance' (p. 168).

The greater part of one prayer is expressed in Turkic. But the variety of languages employed in his coda could be said to have a programmatic implication. Here he invokes God four times, and in as many tongues: *Olo* (Arabic); *Khudo* (Persian); *Bog* (Russian); *Dan'gry* (Turkic) (p. 172).

Hackel's conclusion is kindly:

Afanasi Nikitin's 'abeyance of judgment' and his 'willingness to listen' were not merely the result of ignorance or curiosity. There is no need to postulate a leaning towards heresy, a tendency towards syncretism, or a conversion to Islam to explain them. Nikitin's genuine and untutored respect for the 'other' was the product and the presupposition of his pioneer dialogue . . . the dialogue had its foundation and its justification (p. 173).

Perhaps this goes too far in giving a twentieth-century interpretation to a fifteenth-century document. But it is an interesting approach to the fragmentary record of the first Russian Christian whom we know to have been in India.

APPENDIX 8 CRUSADE AGAINST ISLAM

Instructions issued by the king of Portugal to the Viceroy D. Francisco de Almeida, dated 5 March 1505:

He is 'to seize and enslave all Muslim merchants at Sofala, but not to do any harm to the local Negroes'. He is to tell the latter that 'we have ordered the said Moors to be enslaved and all their property confiscated, because they are enemies of our holy catholic faith and we have continual war with them'.²³

Professor Boxer comments: 'In other words, the Portuguese crusade against the Muslims of Morocco was to be continued against their co-religionists in the Indian Ocean, and this was the keynote of Portuguese policy in that region for the next hundred years.'

APPENDIX 9 THE POWERS OF THE KING OF PORTUGAL OVER
THE MISSIONS IN INDIA UNDER THE 'PADROADO' AGREEMENT

An extreme view of the authority of the king of Portugal over the missions in India was set forth by a professor of the University of Salamanca, John Solorzano Pereira, *De Indiarum Jure* (Madrid, 1629¹; Lyon, 1672²). The king is described as being 'as it were vicar of the Roman Pontiff in the ecclesiastical affairs of India' (Solorzano, vol. II, p. 512 n. 36). Even the right of the pope to confirm the election of a bishop is reduced to practically nothing (vol. II, p. 530 n. 51). If the pope were to appoint an apostolic nuncio to one of the *padroado* countries, this would constitute an infringement of the rights of the king (vol. II, pp. 726-7, nn. 42-4).

The Spanish government, which at that time controlled Portugal, adopted the work of Solorzano as a guide to its rights and responsibilities in India. Naturally Rome had no hesitation in placing on the Index that part of the work which dealt with ecclesiastical affairs (20 March 1642). (H. Reusch, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher*, vol. II, p. 374.)

APPENDIX 10 BULL OF POPE ALEXANDER VI, 'INTER CAETERA'
OF 28 JUNE 1493

The full Latin text of this lengthy bull is conveniently accessible in F.C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, vol. II (1966²), pp. 481-6.

Throughout the bull the emphasis is on bringing the inhabitants of the islands and lands discovered, or yet to be discovered, to the knowledge of Christ, and through Christian faith to salvation. All necessary steps to this end are to be taken. The crucial passage reads:

Furthermore, we command you in the virtue of sacred obedience . . . to appoint to those lands and islands already mentioned, upright and god-fearing men, learned, skilful, and well-trained, to instruct the inhabitants and those dwelling in the lands already referred to in the Christian faith, and to instil into them good morals, giving all diligence to carry out those things to which we have already referred.

APPENDIX 11 THE AUTHORITY OF THE POPE

Questions could be raised as to the authority by which the pope could convey to the king of Portugal such rights of conquest over large parts of the earth's surface, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction over lands not yet discovered. An attempt has been made to show, in connection with the bull of 1493, that the pope was taking advantage of the 'omni-insular' doctrine first put forth by Urban II in 1091, in the bulls *Casu universae insulae* and *Cum omnes insulae*, according to which all islands belong to the pope, and may be assigned by him to whom he wills at his good pleasure.²⁴ But the pope already knew in 1456 that Africa is not an island in any ordinary sense of the term. And, in any case, there was no need to look so far back in church history for authority and precedents. The canonists of the thirteenth century had worked out a doctrine of the universal sovereignty of the pope quite adequate to cover everything done by popes two centuries after their time. Innocent IV (*d.* 1259), a canonist of some distinction, had summed up the matter with admirable lucidity: 'We believe that the pope, who is the vicar of Christ, has power not only over Christians but also over all unbelievers, since Christ has power over all.'²⁵

APPENDIX 12 SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

The discovery of America by Columbus in 1492 added a new dimension to papal activities and a new set of problems. In the same year a new, and infamous, pope succeeded to the papal throne, Rodrigo Borgia, who took the name Alexander VI. Once seated on his throne Alexander lost no time in dividing up the world between Spain and Portugal by the famous bull *Inter Caetera* of 28 June 1493. The bull is addressed to the king of Spain, and the king of Portugal is not mentioned in it; but it is clear that the document is really addressed to both. The division between the two spheres is to be an imaginary line running a hundred leagues to the west and south of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands. At the same time, the pope renews the privileges of the two kings, and lays on them afresh the duty of evangelising and converting the newly discovered peoples.

Just a year later, by the Treaty of Tordesillas (14 June 1494), the two powers modified the decision of the pope by moving the line of division 270 leagues to the west. As a result of this change Brazil became part of the Portuguese colonial empire.

It has sometimes been maintained that there was a difference between the 'patronate' of Spain and that accorded to Portugal in that there is less emphasis in the Portuguese documents on the duty of evangelising the unbelievers. But a document such as the bull *Ineffabilis et Summi* of 1 June 1497 shows that the rights and duties of the two monarchs were in reality

almost exactly the same. These were once again set forth by Paul III on 3 November 1534, in the bull *Aequum Reputamus*, by which the diocese of Goa was called into being.

The fullest statement of the rights and duties of the kings under the 'patronate' is to be found in the bull *Universalis Ecclesiae*, put forth at the request of Ferdinand of Castile;

By this Bull the pope practically handed over to the king of Spain the government of and responsibility for the Church in America (and later in the Philippines). In effect the king possessed all the powers which do not require the sacerdotal character . . . It is not too much to say that, by the rights conferred on him and the services that he is to render, he holds in his hands the entire life of the new church. (R. Ricard in Fliche et Martin, *Histoire de l'église*, vol. XIII, 'L'église et la renaissance', (1951), p. 125.)

APPENDIX 13 THE NATURE OF THE 'PADROADO'

Later generations were to argue endlessly as to the juridical status of the *padroado*. Was it a privilege or a right? The problem has been succinctly stated by A. da Silva Rêgo:

In the great polemic joined between the Propaganda in Rome and Portugal, two opinions regarding the definition of the *padroado* took shape with increasing rigidity:

The Portuguese *padroado* of the East is a privilege (Propaganda)

The Portuguese *padroado* of the East is a right (*ius*), as is clearly stated in bulls relating to it (Portugal).

The whole question turned on these definitions. If the *padroado* was a privilege, as the Propaganda maintained, the Holy See could at its pleasure modify it, or even go so far as to abolish it. If the *padroado* was a right, as Portugal maintained, the actions of the Holy See in attempting to interfere with this right were unjust, and Portugal was fully justified in resisting them.²⁶

Men for the most part are not gifted with long sight into the future. In the sixteenth century the rapid success of the Portuguese in establishing their bridgeheads in the East and in defending them against all comers must have seemed a satisfactory guarantee of their permanence. The papacy, having skilfully divested itself of financial responsibility for these distant missions, may have felt too well pleased with its policy to desire any change. The problems of privilege and right had not raised their awkward heads above the horizon. With the decline of Portugal, the rise of the Protestant powers, and the diversification of Roman Catholic missions, the whole situation had to be reconsidered. It may be that in strict law Portugal had the better case; but all history, and not only the history of the church and the papacy, shows that in the end strict law has to yield place to practical necessity.

APPENDIX 14 THE JESUIT LETTERS AS HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

The letters that have been preserved fall into four classes. Many are simply personal notes of friends to friends, and are often interesting because of the spontaneity and detail with which they are written. Some are meant for circulation within the society, and these too are often written without undue caution. Those addressed to superiors are generally more formal in style and cautious in statement, with the result that so high an authority as da Silva Rêgo expressed the judgement that 'the historical value of the General Letters is inferior to that of the personal ones'.²⁷ Finally, there are the letters edited for the consumption of the general public, and it is here that the trouble really starts. At times the missionaries themselves wrote for edification, stressing the supernatural and concealing the shadows. But the serious offenders were the editors in Europe:

There was often an over-emphasis on edification – edification not rightly understood. The supernatural was accentuated and the human relegated to the background, so that there is at times an atmosphere of unreality about the whole scene . . . Even the worthy Polanco, in many respects a very great benefactor of historical science, is not entirely blameless in this regard. He had his own way of 'improving' the letters from India . . . for the intended spiritual profit of his readers, but to the distress of the historian.²⁸

Unfortunately it was in this unsuitable clothing that the doings of the Jesuits were made most widely known in the Western world. The best known series of all, the *Lettres Édifiantes et Curieuses* (1702–76) is one of the worst in this regard.²⁹ The letters are always curious and sometimes edifying, and were read with enthusiasm by a large public, especially in France. But as historical documents they have to be treated with the utmost caution.

The impeccable scholarship of the great twentieth-century publications is gradually bringing the Jesuits to life as they really were. The *Documenta Indica* of Fr J. Wicki SJ, of which fourteen volumes have so far appeared, is a magisterial work, giving evidence of unwearied and amazingly accurate scholarship. But so far this publication has reached only to the year 1588. For the seventeenth century our evidence is far less satisfactory.

APPENDIX 15 THE LANGUAGE SPOKEN BY FRANCIS XAVIER

The evidence has been carefully collected by Fr G. Schurhammer in an article 'Die Muttersprache des Hl. Franz Xaver' (1929), republished in 'Xaveriana' (*Gesammelte Studien*, Bibl. Inst. Hist. S.I., Rome and Lisbon, 1964), pp. 339–52.

It might seem that the matter had been definitely settled by the letter which Xavier wrote early in 1544 from Cochin, in which he describes his

first attempts to wrestle with the problems of an unknown Indian language. The most reliable text may be translated as follows:

As soon as I came to this [Coromandel] coast, I endeavoured to find out from them what knowledge they have of Christ our Lord . . . And as they did not understand me nor I them, since their native language is Malabaric³⁰ and mine is Basque,³¹ I brought together those among them who seemed to be most intelligent, and such as understood both our language and their own,³² we met together over many days, and translated with great labour the prayers.³³

It would seem that nothing could be clearer. The trouble began with the Latin translation of the letters of Xavier by Tursellinus, published in 1596. For *Biscaine*, Basque, Tursellinus wrote *hispanice*, in Spanish. As far more people read Latin than read Portuguese, this error crept into almost everything written about Xavier in a variety of languages. The only existing translation of the letters of Xavier in English, that of Fr H. Coleridge (1872),³⁴ is based on the Latin of Tursellinus. The publication of *Monumenta Xaveriana* in 1900 and 1912 eliminated many errors and restored the true texts.

Antony, one version of whose testimony is given in the text, had spent seven years in the college of St Paul at Goa, and is reported to have been well versed in Latin, Spanish and Portuguese. Another version of his evidence reads: 'he held great conversations in a loud voice with our Lord in various languages which he knew'.³⁵ The Jesuit Visitor Valignano was in Macao in 1578, and there met Antony, now a very old man. From him he received detailed information as to the last days of the saint on the island of Sancian (Shang Ch'uan). There is no reason to doubt the general accuracy of the report. The unknown language in which Xavier spoke can hardly have been other than Basque.

APPENDIX 16 THE 'COMMENTARIUS' OF FR ANTONY MONSERRATE

The study of the first Jesuit mission to Akbar has been revolutionised by the discovery of the *Commentarius* of Fr Antony Monserrate SJ, one of the members of the mission. According to his own account, Monserrate obeyed strictly both the Jesuit rule that a careful record should be kept of all events, and in particular the charge laid upon him by Roderick Vincent, the Jesuit superior in Goa, that he should keep a record of everything that happened, both on the journey and during the residence of the Fathers at the court of the Great Mogul. 'I therefore set myself, full two and a half years, to write down every evening all the events of the past day.' Urged by a number of the brethren, he set to work to study his notes and to bring them together into a connected narrative. During the course of these labours he was captured by

Muslims off the coast of Arabia, and carried first to Aimand, and then to Sana in what is now the Arab Yemeni republic. In each place he was treated by his captors with somewhat unusual kindness and allowed to carry on his literary labours. He was at last able, in December 1590, to complete his *Commentarius*. But he was fated to linger in captivity for another six years, until at last he was ransomed and returned to Goa, sixty years old and broken in health, carrying with him his precious manuscript. Four years later he died.

For some reason the *Commentarius* was never sent either to Lisbon or to Rome. It may have been used by some in India who wrote of the affairs of the Jesuits; but for almost three centuries its very existence was known to few people.³⁶ Then by a fortunate chance a copy was discovered in 1906 by Archdeacon W.K. Firminger in the library of St Paul's Cathedral in Calcutta. How it got there has never been clearly established, though it is known that at one time it was in the library of Fort William College. Its value was immediately recognised by all concerned with the study of the history of India. This is one of the very few contemporary accounts of the court and reign of Akbar as seen through Western eyes. Monserrate commends himself as a sober, thoughtful and accurate observer, especially of the emperor himself as seen by the Jesuit Fathers in various moods and situations.³⁷

It is now possible to check Monserrate's narrative against original letters written by himself and others from Fathpur Sikrī and other cities during the course of the mission, and recently published by J. Wicki (DI, II and 12), and by da Silva Rêgo (*Doc.*, vol. XII).

It is clear that, though Monserrate has naturally organised his material, and his style is somewhat affected by the fact that he is writing in Latin and not in Portuguese, he has followed closely his notes written at the time, and that the changes and adaptations are not such as to impugn his accuracy. Even the trivial details which he records help to carry the reader back to the atmosphere of India four centuries ago.

The Father is not always happy in his biblical references. He tells us (Hoyland, p. 45) that 'Claudius the centurion merited the mercy of God towards himself by such actions.' The reader who refers to Acts chapter 10 will find that the name of the centurion is more commonly given as Cornelius.

APPENDIX 17 PROFESSOR SAMUEL LEE AND JEROME XAVIER

In the year 1824 the Rev. Samuel Lee, being at that time professor of Arabic in the university of Cambridge, decided to make available in English the account of the controversy between the Rev. Henry Martyn and Muslims in

Shiraz in the year 1812. In his preface Lee gives an account of earlier controversies between Christians and Muslims. For this purpose he makes use of the *Fount of Life* of Jerome Xavier, of which he had found a copy in Persian in the library of Queens' College, Cambridge. He takes note, also, of a reply to Xavier written by a Persian nobleman, Ahmed ibn Zain-al-'Abidin, and further refers to a Latin work by one Fr Guadagnoli of the college of the Propaganda in Rome, written in defence of Xavier and in refutation of Ahmed.³⁸

In thirty-four pages, which include considerable extracts in Persian, Lee gives a highly competent summary of the work of Xavier; this is the form in which that work first became available to the English-speaking world. The course of the argument can be clearly followed from Lee's account of it. He quotes, p. ix, the striking prayer with which the Preface concludes:

Give unto us, O Lord, the key of the knowledge of Thee. Grant to our understandings the power of comprehending thy greatness, that Thy Majesty and Grace may not be to us an occasion of stumbling, and hence we remain unblessed by Thy many favours. Let not that come upon us which happens to the bat, which is blinded by the light of the Sun, and which in the midst of light remains in darkness.³⁹

The title of Lee's work is *Controversial Tracts on Christianity and Mohammedanism* (Cambridge, 1824). On p. xli he sums up his impressions of Xavier and his work:

It is very evident that the writer was a man of considerable ability and energy, and that he has spared no pains to recommend his religion to the Mohammedan or heathen reader; but that he has trusted much more to his own ingenuity than to the plain and unsophisticated declarations of the Holy Scriptures. His style is on the whole correct, though occasionally interspersed with Europeanisms, but it never makes the most distant approach to what may be called elegance.

Sir William Muir, the great Christian scholar to whom we owe the first modern and scientific life of Muhammad (1857–61) dealt at some length with the work of Lee in an article on 'The Mohammedan Controversy', published in the *Calcutta Review* in 1845 (reprinted Edinburgh, 1897), pp. 1–19. Muir agrees with Lee's judgement on Xavier, and speaks very highly of Lee's own contribution to the debate.

APPENDIX 18 TOWARDS A LIFE OF ALEXIS MENEZES

Carlo Alonso OSA: 'Documentación inedita para una biographia de Menezes', *Analecta Augustiniana*, 27/28 (1964–5), pp. 263–333.

This careful work is not as interesting as might have been hoped. Consisting as it does almost entirely of official documents, it does not reveal

very much of the mind and character of Menezes.

But document 27, a letter of M. to Mgr F. Biondi, patriarch of Jerusalem, of 19 December 1597, shows that already at that date Menezes had a clear idea of what he intended to do on the visitation of the Serra, which he was convinced was essential but which he was not able to carry out until 1599. Among other things, he states that it is essential that a bishop of the Latin rite should be sent to the Serra. When such a bishop comes, one of his first tasks must be to extinguish the Syriac language; this is not their native language; their priests learn it just as our priests learn Latin, and this is the channel by which this heresy entire (Nestorianism) makes its way in here.

It is clear that as early as 1606 Menezes desired to be set free from his heavy task in India and to be allowed to return to Portugal.

In a report to the pope (Doc. 59 of 12 November 1611), on the work that he had carried out in India, he specifies as being of special importance his introduction of the Augustinian sisterhood into India, the restoration of order in his diocese, and the reduction of the Thomas Christians to the obedience of Rome.

APPENDIX 19 ACTS OF THE SYNOD OF DIAMPER

The Acts of the Synod of Diamper were first printed in 1606 at Coimbra, in Portuguese, and are usually bound up with the *Jornada* of Antony Gouvea, printed in the same year also at Coimbra.

In 1745 J.F. Raulin published at Rome his *Historia Ecclesiae Malabaricae cum Diamperitana Synodo*; Raulin translated the Acts from Portuguese into Latin, added an abridgement of the *Jornada* of Gouvea, and provided also a brief history of the church in the Serra. This translation was printed in 1752 at Lucca by J.D. Mansi, in the Supplement to his Councils, and was reproduced photostatically in the new Mansi, *Nova et amplissima collectio* (Paris, 1902), vol. xxxxi, coll. 1161–1368. A complete English translation was published by Michael Geddes, chancellor of Salisbury, together with a brief account of the doings of Menezes in the Serra, in his *History of the Church of Malabar* (London, 1694). Geddes' translation is reproduced in James Hough, *History of Christianity in India*, vol. II (London, 1839), pp. 515–683.

APPENDIX 20 VALIGNANO'S REPORT

Valignano includes in his report descriptions of all the Jesuit stations from Ormuz to Japan. Of special interest are the notes on the churches in South Travancore and on the Fisher Coast. The former is the most discouraging of

all the areas. 'The people are extremely poor and backward, and disinclined to make any effort towards progress in the knowledge and practice of the faith. Moreover the Fathers have to carry a heavy burden, inasmuch as they are the civil as well as the spiritual rulers of the churches, and are judges in all kinds of cases and causes that arise.' When we pass to the Fisher Coast the situation is entirely different. These are the best churches in the whole of the non-Christian world, with real piety among both men and women. The Fathers should soon be able to hand over all the parishes to Indian labourers; they would then be able to assemble themselves at Punnaikāyal, where they would be able to conduct a seminary out of which there would grow an independent Indian clerisy.⁴⁰

Valignano writes, pp. 286–8, of the difficulties which face the Jesuit on mission in Asia. The Fathers live isolated, sometimes entirely alone or only two together, and this makes very difficult the observance of the rule and the maintenance of the spiritual life. The effects of the climate on body and spirit are such that with even light labour the spirit is exhausted; then it becomes extremely difficult in prayer to maintain the necessary reverence and outward concentration, and it is a great deal more difficult to attain the interior concentration and attention; in consequence the communication and movement of the Spirit is very rare.

One section deals with the difficulty experienced by the Fathers in the work of converting the non-Christians. These are summed up under five heads:

The inhabitants have little moral or spiritual sense. They seem to be deprived of the natural light; they do not recognise their vices or regard them as such.

The faculty of reasoning is little developed in them, and they are moved not so much by reasoning as by purely human considerations.

Those who become Christians fall into contempt and ill-favour in the eyes of those by whom they were formerly honoured.

Workers are far too few, especially workers who have mastered the languages of the peoples; the Lord has not helped us with any miraculous gift of languages.

The bad custom has been established of giving to new Christians a robe as a sign of honour at their baptism. As the number of Christians increases, how will it be possible to clothe all these thousands of persons?

Next follows a section on the difficulty experienced in maintaining the converts in the Christian faith and instructing them (pp. 278–80):

The main difficulty is the lack of understanding among the converts and the persistence of the old superstitions in their minds. More can be

expected of their sons and grandsons than of the present generation. The Fathers have great difficulty in communicating with the local people, and the catechists on whom they rely have little zeal and fervour for the work.

The people find it difficult to lift up their minds above earthly things, and show little concern to make their confession and receive the sacrament; many of them live and die without ever having made their confession. They live in close contact with 'an infinity of Hindus' and in some places with Muslims and Jews as well. If these are able at times to subvert even the Portuguese, how much more such new and feeble Christians?

Each Father may have charge of many churches, and may find it impossible to impart to the faithful more than a few things not well understood. It appears to be a great achievement to keep them even on the level to which they have attained.

The next section, pp. 284–9, deals with the necessity of providing seminaries in which the Jesuits can learn the languages of the local people. It is absolutely necessary that each seminary be in the area in which the language is spoken, since these languages are very difficult and have to be learnt by word of mouth; 'and, if the necessity and constant practice of speaking do not help them, they will never learn anything'.

So we come to the most important section of all – on the necessity of providing seminaries for the training of local and indigenous clergy (pp. 289–95). It is not to be expected that a Christian church without deep interior roots will be able to maintain itself for a long time. The only remedy is to train up a race of indigenous Christians as fast as we can. If it be objected that it is dangerous to ordain men who are still ignorant and subject to many temptations, we may point out that, in spite of many errors, the churches in Ethiopia and on the Malabar coast have managed to keep themselves in life, because they had priests of their own race. How much more will this be the case, if the new churches are under the jurisdiction of catholic bishops?

This bald summary of the work of the great Visitor may give some impression of the acuteness of observation, the broad vision of things, and the constructive intelligence which make of Alexander Valignano one of the great missionary thinkers of all times.

APPENDIX 21 THE 'FLOS SANCTORUM' OF FR HENRIQUES

The *Flos Sanctorum* of Fr Henry Henriques, which was known to have existed but which was believed to have been entirely lost, was discovered in the Vatican library in 1954 by Fr Xavier S. Thani Nāyagam.

The book is introduced by a number of prefaces, and by a good deal of introductory matter in Tamil, including an explanation of a number of terms used by the Father which are either incorrect or not easily intelligible, and a list of technical terms, mostly transliterated from the Portuguese, which are used in the *Flos*.

The writer's own preface is printed in Spanish with an English translation, and the first page is photographically reproduced; the handwriting is small but beautifully neat and clear, and perfectly legible with a magnifying glass (pp. lxix–lxxvii).

Then follows the Tamil text of the work, of which an account has been given in the text of this volume.

For good measure we are given at the end, pp. 741–52, the calculations of Fr C.J. Beschi SJ on 'the Tamil years and months', being Appendix 3 to his Tamil–Latin Dictionary. This is the first time that this interesting text has been printed in the original Latin.

APPENDIX 22 THE COUNCILS OF GOA

One of the decrees of the Council of Trent laid it down that in each area of the church provincial councils were to be held once in every three years.⁴¹ In accordance with this decree five councils were held in Goa in the half century after the conclusion of the Council of Trent.

(1) The first provincial council was held in 1567, under the presidency of the first archbishop of Goa, Gaspar de Leão Pereira, and after his retirement under that of George Themudo OP, bishop of Cochin. The number and variety of the decrees give evidence of the minute care devoted to every aspect of the life of the church.⁴² No less than 115 decrees were passed; a number of these were followed up by action on the part of the governor and passed into law. The council also had before it the Constitutions of the archbishopric of Goa; these as printed by da Silva Rêgo, *Documentação*, vol. x, form a considerable volume of 317 pages.

(2) The second provincial council was convened for the year 1571; but the death of the archbishop, George Themudo promoted from Cochin, on 29 April 1571, brought the plans to a standstill. The council was re-convened by Gaspar Pereira, who had emerged from retirement to take charge of the see for the second time. It met on 12 June 1575. The work of this council was insignificant. It passed only 33 decrees, none of them very important. This may be regarded as a tribute to the work of the first council, which had been so thorough that there was not very much for the second to do.⁴³

(3) The third council, which met on 9 June 1585,⁴⁴ having been convened by Vincent Fonseca OP, archbishop of Goa, was much more important.

Much time was spent on the affairs of the Thomas Christians, the archbishop of Ankamāli, Mar Abraham, being present in person. Considerable attention was directed to the work of evangelisation, and to the care and edification of new converts. But what gave its special significance to this council was its concern for the development of the Indian priesthood, and the principles laid down to govern it.

The Decree, IV.1, which deals with the matter, deserves to be quoted in full:

As in these parts of India there is as yet no seminary whatever, and the need of a seminary being greater here than elsewhere because of the great scarcity of priests coming from Portugal, and because of the need of native priests for the conversion and instruction of the natives, the Synod ordains that in keeping with the dispositions of the said Council of Trent seminaries be established in all the dioceses. And, if it is not possible to do so in each diocese, let at least one common seminary for the whole province be erected in the city of Goa, for the instruction and education of the young men sent by each of the bishops, both sons of the Portuguese and sons of the natives fit (for ordination). As for the number of students to be brought up in that seminary, one half shall be from this archdiocese of Goa, and the other half from the suffragan dioceses. And since in this province there are no funds for the support of the seminaries, the Council requests the king to order the necessary amount to be assigned for the foundation of the said seminary or seminaries, providing them with the necessary income.⁴⁵

This needs some explanation. A number of seminaries did already exist in India, but not one of these was a seminary in the sense intended by the Council of Trent. Each was controlled by a religious order which in many ways was independent of the local bishop. What the prelates wanted was to have seminaries directly and completely under their control, organised with the single aim of training secular priests for service in the parishes and admitting only candidates for the priesthood.

For a variety of reasons the good intentions of the council were not carried into effect. For nearly two centuries the training of priests was almost entirely in the hands of the religious orders; it seems that the first fully diocesan seminary was *Bom Pastor*, opened at Rachol on 4 January 1762.⁴⁶

The prelates, though eager to promote the development of the indigenous ministry, had been led by the experiences of nearly a century to be somewhat cautious as to the means by which this was to be brought about. A further decree demands particular attention:

And because the apostle St Paul speaking of those newly converted to the faith says *non neophitum ne in superbiam elatus* etc [1 Timothy 3: 6: 'He must not be a recent convert, or he may be puffed up with conceit' RSV] . . . and because the experience of this province has shewn the need of such caution, the Council recommends to the prelates the following: not to admit to holy orders those who have been baptized as

adults unless fifteen years have elapsed since their conversion, nor to entrust them with the care of souls before they are thirty years old, at which age they may be ordained, in conformity with the old canons; let those alone be as a rule admitted who come from respectable castes and families, since these are held by the Christians in greater respect. They must be men of good life and good reputation, temperate, chaste and honest, and know well the local language of the country for which they are to be ordained, as well as Latin and cases of conscience, and let them be exercised in the ministry of the conversion of non-Christians and in the care of new Christians.⁴⁷

(4) The fourth council was convened by archbishop Matthew de Medina, and met in the year 1592.

This council, like the second, was parenthetical, and did little except re-enact the decisions of former councils. But it did make one decision that was to have far-reaching consequences in the life of the church:

It was decided that candidates for the priesthood might be ordained on the title of benefice, i.e. for service in a church and parish specified before the ordination took place, or on the title of patrimony, i.e. on assurance that he had sufficient possessions to provide an income on which he could support himself. (The amount required is specified.)

This decree made possible the ordination of a number of young Goans for whom no work could be found, since the number of parishes available was unequal to their numbers.⁴⁸

(5) The fifth and last council in the series was convened by Alexis de Menezes, and met in 1606. Guided by a man of such energy and thoroughness, the council carried out a complete survey of the work of the province and passed no less than 149 decrees.

Two are of sufficient importance to be recorded in some detail: The authorities had discovered that a number of candidates for ordination had made false declarations as to their qualifications under the title of patrimony, having received donations from wealthy friends on the understanding that the donation would be revoked after holy orders had been conferred. The council decreed that those who had received ordination on the basis of such a falsehood should be suspended, at the pleasure of the ordinary, from the exercise of the ministry. The faithful were ordered not to make such donations; if any such donation had been made, there would be no right of revocation; the donation would remain in force, to the loss of the one who had made it.⁴⁹

Another decree dealt with the question of the use of local languages:

in order that churches may be maintained in such manner as is convenient for the good of souls, the instruction of the faithful and the better administration of the sacraments [this Synod] ordains and enjoins strictly that no priest, secular or

regular, be promoted to the rectorship of any church with care of souls, unless he knows the language of his parishioners in which he will have to pass an examination. Those who are at present incumbents and do not know the native languages are granted a period of six months from the date of the publication of the present decrees, for the study of the same. And, if after that they do not show enough knowledge of the same, they shall be considered *ipso facto* suspended, and deprived of all jurisdiction over their parishioners.⁵⁰

It is stated⁵¹ that Menezes was the first archbishop of Goa to entrust parishes to the care of Indian priests. He removed the regulars of the Augustinian order to which he himself belonged, and replaced them by Brāhman priests. (But was Menezes quite such an innovator? It seems clear that Antony Vaz was priest in charge of the parish of Carambolim.) Later records show that the sound policy of Menezes was not maintained in honour. Half a century later (1653) Matthew de Castro, bishop of Chrysopolis, was still making complaint that the parishes were for the most part in the hands of foreign priests who did not know the language, and that Brāhmans were excluded. (See chap. 14, pp. 335–40.)

With the fifth council, the series comes to an end. No further council was held till 1894. The problems it had to face were not the same as those faced by the Fathers in the early years of the seventeenth century.

APPENDIX 23 THE SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF HŪGLĪ

These events are unusually well documented. Frey Sebastian Manrique, in his *Itinerario de las Misiones del India Oriental* (Rome, 1649; Rome 1653², Hakluyt Society's edition, *Travels of Fray Sebastien Manrique 1629–1643*, ed. C.E. Luard and H. Hosten SJ, 2 vols., Oxford, 1927), gives a great deal of information, especially in chaps. 77–81 (vol. II, pp. 299–333) and chap. 65 (vol. II, pp. 205–18).

The account given by Manrique has now been supplemented by the most valuable and contemporary account given by Fr John Cabral SJ who was present throughout the siege and escaped with his life. This, first translated from the Portuguese by Fr L. Besse SJ of the Mission of Madura and published in the *Catholic Herald* of Calcutta in 1918, has now been reproduced in its entirety in Luard and Hosten *Travels* (1927), vol. II, Appendix: 'The fall of Hūglī', pp. 391–422, followed by two further valuable notes.

There is a good account of the siege in J.J.A. Campos, *The Portuguese in Bengal* (Calcutta, 1919), pp. 128–40. An excellent summary is given in MacLagan, *Jesuits* (1932), pp. 99–106, and notes pp. 117–18.

APPENDIX 24 JON ÓLAFSSON

The full title of this work is *The Life of the Icelander Jón Ólafsson, Traveller to India, Written by Himself and completed about 1661 AD with a Continuation by Another Hand, up to his death in 1679*. This work had never been printed in Icelandic, and first became widely known through the translation in Danish published by Sigfus Blondel in 1905/07. Blondel followed this up with the Icelandic *editio princeps* published in Copenhagen in 1908–9.

An English translation was made by Dame Bertha Phillpotts, Mistress of Girton College, Cambridge and a distinguished Scandinavian scholar. Vol. I was published in 1923 by the Hakluyt Society. Vol. II, which deals with Ólafsson's experiences in India, was edited by Sir R.C. Temple (*d.* 1931) and Miss L.A. Anstey and appeared in 1932. The translation, as before, was by Dame Bertha, who in 1931 had married the distinguished astrophysicist Hugh Frank Newall. She died in the following year, before her notable work had appeared from the press.

Ólafsson was nearly seventy when he wrote down his recollections. It is clear that he had not kept a diary, and naturally his memory is at fault in a number of contexts; but his account is extremely vivid, and, where it can be checked, is veracious and reliable.

Ólafsson was a gunner's mate. He volunteered for service in the East, at a time at which it was very difficult to get men to go to India. (King Christian IV had promised amnesty to all criminals, except murderers, adulterers and blasphemers, who undertook this service. Ólafsson, vol. I, p. 221 n. 5.) His ship left Copenhagen on 8 October 1622; he was back in Iceland, after many hardships, just about three years after he had set out. He was a man of considerable intelligence and a keen observer; he tells us in detail what life was really like in a European settlement of the seventeenth century.

He makes it clear that religion played a considerable part in the life of travellers in those days. Notable is his account of the care taken by the Danish authorities for the exact observances of the Christian faith, both on board ship and in the castle of Dansborg at Tranquebar. At a moment of great danger by sea, 'the minister, Master Matthias, lovingly and paternally exhorted us to repentance and contrition for all sins committed, and bade each and all of us set his hope in the precious merits and mediations of our Redeemer and Saviour the Lord Jesus Christ' (vol. II, p. 213). The crew sang the well known Lutheran hymns 'Mit Friede und Freude fahr ich dahin' and 'Wenn wir in höchsten Nöthen sein'.

APPENDIX 25 THE 'PUBLICUM TESTIMONIUM . . . DE MODO
INSTRUENDI NEOPHYTOS'

(Summary of answers given by high-caste converts in the hearing on 14 September 1610 and following days).

- (1) We call ourselves 'pupils of the *Aiyar* (teacher), because in these parts it is customary for pupils of a *Guru* so to style themselves. But our *Guru* did not order us to do so – quite the contrary; he said expressly that we are pupils and disciples of Jesus Christ alone, and for this reason we call ourselves also Christians. In any case we never regarded ourselves as *parangi*.
- (2) The inhabitants of Mathurai regard the *Aiyar* as a man of extraordinary erudition and impeccable conduct. He is here very highly esteemed.
- (3) The spiritual law (*Gñānavedam*), in which the *Aiyar* has instructed us, is here regarded as admirable. Some, who in any case are not competent to judge, call the *Aiyar* an unbeliever, because he rejects their idols, and does not share their ideas about the *Samsāra* (transmigration). In no way, not even by suggestion, has our *Aiyar* maintained that the religion taught by him is different from that of Fr Gonçalo Fernandes or of other Portuguese; on the contrary, our *Aiyar* has taught us exactly the same religion. That is what he himself says.
- (4) The difference between our *Aiyar* and Fr Gonçalo Fernandes does not concern their religion, or the ceremonies of that religion; but only the fact that they belong to different castes.
- (5) Our *Aiyar* has never forbidden us to attend the mass celebrated by Fr Gonçalo and his sermons, nor has he forbidden us to make our confession to that Father. He has never once threatened that, if we did so, he would exclude us from his 'Church of Jesus' as he calls it.
- (6) We are well aware that our *Aiyar* regularly goes to confession to Fr Gonçalo. In the absence of our *Aiyar* we would do the same.
- (7) We know that our *Aiyar* has changed some expressions in the Catechism which is in use on the Fisher Coast. But that has never in the least led us to the idea that for that reason our religion is different from that of Fr Gonçalo. We affirm, rather, that through these alterations in expression, some utterances of our *Aiyar* have become clearer and more intelligible to us. For example, for the holy Trinity we say *Pidā* (Father); *Sudan* (Son) and *Spiritu Santo* (Holy Spirit) – that means three persons in one God.
- (8) Our *Aiyar* has never ordered us to bathe, or to make marks on our bodies with sandal paste. We do not always bathe before going to mass; and, when we do so, this is simply a matter of physical cleanliness, without any superstitious ceremonies.
- (9) As far as we are aware, no Indian 'law' prescribes the use of sandal paste as a religious act. It is used only for adornment. We therefore in no way hold the opinion that this action has some pious merit. This sign is by no means exclusively associated with one sect. Our *Aiyar* himself uses it in his capacity as a 'teacher of the law'; none of us would wear the sign with this significance.

The So-called 'Ezour-Vedam'

- (10) Fathers need not of necessity belong to a higher social status. Nevertheless in our opinion it is unfavourable (to our religion) if they have contact with the lower castes. In our eyes their doing so would be no offence, and would constitute no difference from our religion. We say this because of the prescribed caste rules. For the last nine or ten months our *Aiyar* himself has given up the wearing of the sacred thread (*pūṇṇūl*).
 - (11) Neither from our *Aiyar* nor from anyone else have we come to understand that the 'law' proclaimed by our *Aiyar* is necessarily different from that of the *parangis*. He has never said anything of the kind to us.
 - (12) Responsibility for all our difficulties with the Paravas does not rest with our *Aiyar*, through whom we have become Christians. The cause of them is to be found in the widespread opinion that we ourselves have become *parangis* because the *Aiyar* drinks wine at the mass, and in baptism touches us with saliva.
 - (13) The religious ceremonies which our *Aiyar* observes in the Church and outside it, differ from those of the Hindus.
 - (14) In this country the word *parangi* implies a feeble being on the very lowest social level. We shrink from such men. Our anxiety in relation to the *parangi* is somewhat less since we were baptized, since our *Aiyar* has explained to us that the *parangi* follow the same 'law' and serve God just as we do. For this reason we meet them with greater respect than we did in earlier days.
 - (15) We know who the pope is, and recognise him as the supreme head of the universal Church. The archbishop of the Serra (Cranganore) is our spiritual ruler. Some members of our congregation have received confirmation at his hands. Others desire to do so. When we were baptized we received neither money nor clothing. We became Christians in order to obtain salvation, and for no other reason.
- (The original is in the Jesuit archives in Rome: ARSI Goa 51, ff. 39-50, 51-62, 63-73).

APPENDIX 26 THE SO-CALLED 'EZOUR VEDAM'

This is an alleged translation of the *Yajurveda* which has been falsely ascribed to Nobili. Nobili seems indeed to have declared that he came to proclaim a new *Veda* (*Vedappustakam* is to this day the name under which the Christian Bible passes in the Tamil country). But it is inconceivable that so learned a man could have been responsible for so clumsy a forgery. A French translation of the work was presented to Voltaire in 1761. It was printed in French in 1768 under the title *L'Ezour Vedam ou ancien commentaire du Vedam (l'exposition des opinions religieuses et philosophiques des Indous) traduit du Sanscretam par un Brahme*. A German translation followed in 1769. Voltaire regarded it as genuine, and called it 'the most precious gift for which the West has ever been indebted to the East'. As early as 1782 the German scholar Sonnerat had shewn the work to be a forgery (A.W. Schlegel, *Indische Bibliothek*, vol. II, pp. 50ff). M. Winternitz,

Gesch. der Ind. literatur, vol. I, p. 12 n. 1, recognises the *Ezour-Vedam* as a *pia fraus* but mistakenly attributes it to 'the missionary Robertus de Nobilibus'. (The Eng. trans. vol. I, p. 13 n. differs markedly from the German).

The judgement of Max Müller is accepted by the whole learned world today:

Whether [Nobili] actually composed such a work [a new Veda] we do not know, but it seems quite certain that the notorious *Ezour-Veda* was not his work. This *Ezour* was a poor compilation of Hindu and Christian doctrines mixed up together in the most childish way, and was probably the work of a half-educated native convert at Pondicherry . . . In plain English, the whole work is childish drivel (*Works*, vol. II, pp. 39-40).

See S. Rājāmāṇickam SJ, *The First Oriental Scholar*, pp. 94-6, who mentions also the view put forward by Fr Hosten SJ that the work may have been produced in Bengal (*JIH*, May 1923, p. 138).

APPENDIX 27 ROBERT NOBILI AND HIS WRITINGS

We know today a great deal more about Nobili than was known thirty years ago, largely through the tireless work of the late Fr A. Saulière SJ, and of Fr S. Rājāmāṇickam SJ. Fr Rājāmāṇickam's book *The First Oriental Scholar* (1972), is an excellent summary of the state of research up to that date.

Fr Rājāmāṇickam gives on p. 114 a list of no less than thirty-eight Tamil works which have been attributed to Nobili; and on p. 116 a shorter list of twenty-one, which can be with considerable confidence ascribed to him. By far the most important of these works are:

- (1) *Gnānopadēsa Kāṇḍam* (Spiritual Instruction) a Catechism in four parts.
- (2) *Gnānopadēsam* in simpler form; twenty-six sermons
- (3) *Āttuma Nirṇayam* (Disquisition on the Soul)
- (4) *Dūṣaṇa Dhikkāram* (Refutation of blasphemies)

Also deserving of mention are:

- (5) *Punar Jenma Ākṣepam* (Refutation of Transmigration)
- (6) *Nittya Jīvana Callāpam* (Discourse on Eternal Life)
- (7) *Kaḍavu! Nirṇayam* (Disquisition on God's Nature)

All these are now in print in Tamil.

On pp. 119-39 of his book Fr Rājāmāṇickam gives a useful summary of these all-important works. Furthermore, on pp. 198-220 he gives samples of Nobili's prose, printed in Tamil with rather literal translations. These will

be specially useful to those who know Tamil, but instructive also to those who do not.

It is generally held that no Sanskrit work of Nobili has survived. Fr Rājāmāṇickam would like to make an exception in favour of one work, *Sri Khrīṣṭu Gītā*, of which he gives a Sanskrit text (in transliteration) and translation (pp. 86–90); he refers also to a number of works which may possibly be from the hand of Nobili. Much more study will be required before a reliable judgement on this subject can be made.

Of Latin works three are of capital importance:

- (1) The *Responsio* or 'Apology', to which a number of references are made in the text of this chapter.
- (2) The *Informatio de quibusdam Moribus Nationis Indicae* (*Information on some customs of the Indian People*). This was known to exist, and some quotations had been recognised in works by other writers. But the treatise itself was entirely lost until a copy was discovered in the Jesuit Historical Institute in Rome in 1968. (A second copy has since been found.) This has now been published both in Latin and in English translation by Fr S. Rājāmāṇickam, *Robert de Nobili – Indian Customs* (1972). This document contains the remarkable testimony of 108 learned men in Mathurai to the correctness of Nobili's eight propositions on the status and dignity of the Brāhmans (pp. 117–23).
- (3) *Narratio Fundamentorum quibus Missio Madurensis stabilitur*. This had disappeared from sight until Fr Rājāmāṇickam SJ was fortunate enough to discover two copies, one in Rome, and one in Chantilly, France. This he has now published under the title *Robert de Nobili on Adaptation* (1971). There can be no doubt that this is the statement prepared by Nobili for use at the Goa consultation of 1619. It is signed by Francis Roz SJ, then archbishop of Cranganore; but clearly this harmless stratagem was used because of the intense prejudice against Nobili which was known to exist in the minds of many of those present at the consultation.

APPENDIX 28 THE SANSKRIT GRAMMAR OF FR HENRY ROTH SJ

It was known that Fr Henry Roth SJ had composed a Sanskrit grammar on the basis of six years' study with a Brāhman teacher; there are various references to this in contemporary and later documents. But for more than a century and half the grammar itself had disappeared, and attempts to trace it had all been unsuccessful. Then, by a combination of tireless search and good luck, Professor A. Camps OFM was able, in 1967, to run the manuscript to earth in the National Library in Rome to which the books of

the Roman College of the Jesuits had been transferred.

Full information as to the grammar and two other accompanying documents is now available in three articles published in *ZMR*, 55 (1969):

- A. Camps OFM: 'Fr Heinrich Roth SJ (1620–1668) and the History of his Sanskrit Manuscripts', pp. 185–95.
R. Hauschild: 'Zur Inhalt der drei Handschriften Roth's', pp. 195–202.
B. Zimmel: 'Verzeichnis der Schriften, Briefe und Berichte Roths', pp. 203–5.

According to Roth himself, he had studied Sanskrit for six years, probably between 1654 and 1660. The earlier missionaries to Mogor had concentrated on Persian and the study of Islam. Roth had realised that the great majority of the people were Hindus, and that the key to the higher Hinduism was the Sanskrit language.

In 1662 Roth was ordered to accompany Fr John Grueber SJ on the last leg of his immense journey from Peking to Europe via Lhasa and Agra.⁵² After a period in Europe, during which Roth made contact with Athanasius Kircher SJ and communicated to him the information and the Sanskrit types which Kircher incorporated in his *China Illustrata* (1666), Roth and Grueber set out for the return journey to India. In Skutari, where Grueber had fallen sick, they separated and Roth went on to India alone. By an extraordinary mischance, in the confusion of parting Roth's Sanskrit manuscripts were packed with Grueber's effects; in consequence Roth arrived in India in 1666 without his precious manuscripts, and died there in 1668. In the meantime Grueber had discovered the mistake, and had sent the manuscripts carefully to Rome where they were housed in the library of the Jesuit College.

The grammar is referred to by one George de Sepibus in a work published in 1678: 'Exactissimum opus totius grammaticae Brahmanicae, cujus et rudimenta is primus Europae communicavit'. The grammar, contained in the first manuscript, is an extremely competent piece of work. Roth had had an excellent teacher, from whom he had learnt not only the grammar but also the current nomenclature and grammatical terms. Roth had certainly intended the grammar to be published, and only adverse circumstances had prevented this from being carried out.

The second manuscript, also in the handwriting of Fr Roth, consists of two parts. The first is a carefully executed copy of the *Pañca-tattva-prakāśa* of Venidatta ('Explanation of the Five Elements'), a lexical work composed as it appears in the year 1644. The second is an equally careful copy of the *Vedāntasāra* ('essence of the Veda') of Sadānanda, which was written in 1490. This is an excellent introduction to the Advaita philosophy as

perfected by Śaṅkara. In the margin are Latin annotations, showing that Roth was preparing himself by the study of this text for deeper and fuller study of the unfamiliar world of Indian thought.

Nobili had certainly learned Sanskrit. But he lacked the philological interests of Roth, and, as far as we know, left nothing behind that could be compared with the work of Roth. Roth was undoubtedly a pioneer, undeservedly forgotten, but now restored to the eminence which is his due.

APPENDIX 29 ABRAHAM ROGERIUS

I had long been familiar with the great book of Abraham Rogerius under the title *Gentilismus Reseratus*, from the reference in *CHI*, vol. v, p. 53 (P. Geyl). Geyl gives also a quotation from A.C. Burnell in 1898 'Still perhaps the most complete account of South Indian Hinduism, though by far the earliest', though without the reference, which should be *Indian Antiquary*, 8, p. 98. Burnell was of course unaware of the work of Fr Fenicio, for which see Appendix 31. He gives the correct Dutch title of the work. I had been puzzled not to find the work listed under the Latin title in the catalogue of any of the great libraries in which I had been working. The diligence of Professor W. Caland has solved the mystery.

The Latin title goes back to C.G. Jöchen, *Allgemeine Gelehrten Lexikon*, vol. III (Leipzig, 1751), p. 2182. From this note many have concluded either that a Latin translation of the work had somewhere been published, though no copy of it is known to exist, or that Rogerius had originally written his work in Latin. Both suppositions appear to be groundless; there can be little doubt that Rogerius wrote in Dutch, and that what we have is the work substantially as it came from his hand.

The work is generally known as *De open-deure tot het verborgen Heyden-dom*, which appears on the title-page of the original edition (Leyden, 1651). To this is added the explanatory note 'A true presentation of the life and customs, and also of the religion and worship, of the Brahmans, on the Coast of Coromandel and the adjoining regions.'

A German translation appeared in 1663 as *Abraham Rogers Offne Thür zu dem verborgen Heydenthum* (Nuremberg, 1663). A French edition was published in 1670 at Amsterdam, with the curious supplementary title 'le théâtre de l'idolatrie, ou la porte ouverte pour parvenir a la cognoissance du paganisme caché', with a further note that Rogerius 'a fort exactement recherché tout ce qu'il y avoit de plus curieux'.

I have been unable to find any reference to an English translation.

The excellent edition by Professor W. Caland appeared under the auspices of the Linschoten-Vereeniging (The Hague, 1915). Pages xxi to xxix give a careful account of what was known to western scholars about Hinduism before Rogerius took up his pen.

APPENDIX 30 THE 'HORTUS INDICUS MALABARICUS'

I have had the privilege of using the copy of this splendid work to be found in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Each tree or plant is depicted in beautiful line drawings, several to each specimen, showing both the whole and the various parts. The names are given in Malayālam (I have not in every case been able to trace these in the current Malayālam dictionaries, and the transliterations are not always correct), Latin, Arabic and Sanskrit. Then follows a careful botanical description of each in Latin, with a note of the use, if any, made of each plant by the Indian medical profession. There are also notes in which an attempt is made to link the evidence of the *Hortus* to the contemporary state of botanical knowledge in the West. It has to be remembered that, when the last volume (XII) of the *Hortus* appeared, Linnaeus had not yet been born, and botanical science had hardly emerged from its infancy.

The work is preceded by a number of prefaces, the first by John Casearius, who signs himself *Eccles. in Cochín*; the second by Fr Matthew of St Joseph, discalced Carmelite of the Province of Italy; the third by an Indian Christian, Emanuel Carneiro, who served as interpreter; the fourth by Itti Achuthen, 'Doctor Malabaricus'; the fifth by Ranga Botto, Vināyakan Paṇḍit, and Āyan Bottu, whose letters are printed in Malayālam with Latin translation, and who had helped in the collection of materials; the sixth by Arnold Syen, who noted the plants which had elsewhere been described by others, and as far as possible added Latin names according to the system of John Bauhin the Swiss botanist (Syen died before the second volume was in print).

For us the most important of these prefaces is the first, that by John Casearius. In this he pays compliments to Fr Matthew for his contribution to the work, but explains that, owing to the burdens of his ecclesiastical labours, the Carmelite was not able to contribute what was needed for the completion of the volume; reading between the lines it is easy to see that Fr Matthew, though a great collector and experimental botanist, lacked the general culture and scientific training required in the production of a work on this scale and on this level of excellence. So Casearius was drawn into the work: 'So, in order that the purpose of our noble lord [van Rheeде] might be carried into effect, I found myself stirred up to offer such services as I could . . . not without antecedent protestation, on the ground of my feeble capacities, and that I had not previously been engaged in the study of plants.' But the co-operation of Casearius was of short duration; having prepared the material for the first two volumes, he died before the first volume was in print. He is commemorated in a rather fulsome Latin poem

prefixed to the second volume (1673) by Dr William ten Rhyne of Batavia; his death is ascribed to what seems to have been a combination of pleurisy and dysentery:

Hocque imperfectum rellinquens grande volumen:
Cur non, ut primum, caetera finieras?

Casearius received commemoration in another and unusual way. Ersch and Grubers *Allgemeine Enzyklopädie* (Leipzig, 1836), gives the interesting information that the distinguished botanist Nicolas Joseph Jacquin (1727–1817) out of admiration for the work of Casearius gave his name to a family of plants which he had discovered in the Caribbean (his work was published in Vienna in 1780). For further information about Casearius, I am indebted to Winkler Prins, *Allgemeene Encyclopaedie* (1933⁵), vol. IV s.v.

APPENDIX 31 BALDAEUS AND HIS SOURCES

The recovery of the *Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais*, and correct attribution of it to the Jesuit Fr Fenicio, who was in India from about 1584 onwards, worked in various parts of the Malabar country, and finally died in Cochin in 1632 at the age of 75, reads like a detective story. The detective in this case was Professor Jarl Charpentier of the university of Uppsala, who gave a first account of his discoveries in an article in *BSOS*, 2 (1921–3), pp. 731–54, and more fully in his edition of the *Livro da Seita* (Uppsala, 1933), pp. x to civ.

The hunt starts with the learned Paulinus a S. Bartolomaeo, a Carmelite missionary in Malabar, who in 1792 wrote that a colleague of his own order, Fr Ildephonsus of the Presentation, who had died in 1789, had written a large work on the religion and superstitions of the pagans in India and especially in Malabar. The manuscript of this work had disappeared, but from the quotations given by Paulinus (printed by A.J. de Jong in his edition of the *Afgoderye* of Baldaeus, pp. 211–12) it can now be shewn that Ildephonsus, like so many others, was not an original writer, but did no more than translate into rather barbarous Latin the work of an earlier Portuguese writer whom he nowhere names.

The next witness is a Portuguese, Manuel de Faria y Sousa, who wrote in Spanish a work called *Asia Portuguesa*, published in Lisbon between 1666 and 1675, after the death of the author in 1649. Careful comparison of the section in this work on the gods and ceremonies of the Hindus with the parallel sections in the work of Baldaeus makes it plain that both have used the work of an earlier author but that neither has borrowed from the other (A.J. de Jong, pp. lxxff). Who could this earlier writer be?

In 1922 Charpentier, with the help of Fr G. Schurhammer, found in the British Museum a manuscript with the number Sloane 1820, and the title *Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais. E principalmente os Malavares*. This is not the original manuscript of the work but a copy conflated from two manuscripts, beautifully clear and well preserved. It was at once evident that this was a work of the highest importance, and that it was the common source, so far unknown, of Faria y Sousa, of Ildephonsus and of Baldaeus.

Who was the author? Once again Fr Schurhammer helped by drawing the attention of Charpentier to Fr Fenicio, who was known to have spent many years in Malabar in the early years of the seventeenth century. A number of tenuous clues had still to be followed up, but on p. 748 of the article referred to Charpentier was able to write that 'these extracts from the letters of Fr Fenicio prove beyond any shadow of doubt that he is the author of the manuscript on the religion of Malabar'. He adds, 'Altogether, Fr Fenicio well deserves a place among the many eminent forerunners of the present European knowledge of India.'

It is clear that a number of copies of the work of Fenicio existed in India. There is no evidence as to where Baldaeus had access to a copy. Nor is it known how the copies now in the British Museum came first into the possession of the great collector Sir Hans Sloane, and after his death in 1753 into the possession of the Museum.

The second part of the story is of a rather different character. Dr de Jong had noticed, before 1917, that there was a clear resemblance between all that Baldaeus had written on the incarnations of Viṣṇu, and the treatment of the same subject in the work of Dr Olpert Dapper, entitled *Asia, an exact description of the kingdom of the Great Mogul, and of a great part of the Indies*, which was published in Amsterdam in 1672. Dr Dapper was a medical doctor, with a special interest in geography, on which he had published a number of books. The dates make it clear that Dapper could not have copied from Baldaeus nor Baldaeus from Dapper. The two of them had drawn from a source common to both.

Once again the persistence of Professor Charpentier was rewarded by discovery. In the British Museum he found a manuscript, Sloane 3290, which proved to be the common source of Dapper and Baldaeus. This is a small book in Dutch, entitled *Description of the following figures taken out of the heathen law-book* [work on religion], *which is called Deex autuers* [= *daśa-avatāras*, the ten incarnations]. The work is clearly intended as an introduction to ten Indian drawings, depicting the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu. After further researches Charpentier was able to run to earth the actual drawings described in the manuscript, though these have been considerably altered in preparation for the printed text of Dapper. These are

not the illustrations given in the work of Baldaeus, the source of which remains unknown.

Charpentier's results, as given in *BSOS*, 3 (1923-5), pp. 415-20, may be taken as wholly reliable.

A Dutchman, or possibly a native convert with a good knowledge of Dutch, composed at Surat between the years 1649-57 a work dealing with the ten *avatars* of Viṣṇu, and drawing his materials from written as well as oral sources. The work was meant to be a sort of text-book to a set of drawings representing the ten manifestations of the supreme god. Of this work at least two copies must have existed, one of which fell into the hands of Baldaeus, – probably during his stay in India – who made a most extensive use of it, without, however, mentioning anything about his source.

His sad conclusion is that 'Baldaeus never in any way deserved the reputation for being a conscientious and reliable writer, in which he has for a long time rejoiced.'

APPENDIX 32 ARMENIANS IN INDIA

An interesting addition to the literature of the Armenian community in India is a Russian work, R.A. Abramyan, *Armyanskie Istorniki XVIII Veka ob Indii* (Erevan, 1968) (*Eighteenth Century Armenian Sources on India*). The work is fortunately provided with a summary in English. The greater part of the work consists of translations of two Armenian works, *The History of India*, by T. Khojamall, to which reference is made in our text; and the *Life of Hyder Ali*, by Hakop Simonian.

The aim of the writer can hardly be described as impartial history. 'Armenian sources . . . would alike lay bare, to a great measure, some perversions of historical truth by bourgeois and particularly by English historians who have approached the matter from colonial standpoint' (p. 268). 'The English began ever since not only to oust the Armenians as their rivals in trade but they took to outright persecution; the Armenians were sentenced, thrown into prison, their goods taken away, and their merchant vessels confiscated . . . That is why they would side with the Indian people in fighting the colonisers' (p. 274). But the writer is fain to admit that 'one should not unduly infer that anti-British feeling ran high with all the Armenians and therefore all of them rose up, as one man, against British rule. There were Armenians who were of positively pro-British orientation and defended British interests' (pp. 274-5).

The misprints in the bibliography suggest that the writer is not well acquainted with the English language.

Notes

I THE INDIAN BACKGROUND

- 1 The *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. 1 (Calcutta, 1927), especially the Introduction, pp. 1–24, tells us that 177 languages and 544 dialects are spoken.
- 2 R. Caldwell, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Languages* (London, 1856; 3rd ed. by J.L. Wyatt and T.R. Pillai, London 1913), pp. 61–77.
- 3 The name Munda was adopted by the great philologist Max Müller in 1854. The inaccurate term Kolarian is still sometimes used.
- 4 On Burushaski, see the delightful account in (Mrs) E.O. Lorimer, *Language Hunting in the Karakoram* (London, 1939), pp. 248–63. On attempts to link Burushaski with languages of the Caucasus, see G. Morgenstierne, ‘The Linguistic Stratification of Afghanistan’, *Afghan Studies*, 2 (1979), 23.
- 5 No more than approximate dating of the Indus civilisation is possible; but the convergence of various forms of evidence seems to make impossible any date later than the middle of the third millennium BC for its beginnings. See also F.R. Allchin, ‘Antecedents of the Indus Civilisation’, in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 66 (1981), pp. 135–60.
- 6 The best general account of all this is Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *The Indus Valley Civilisation* (Cambridge, 1968³).
- 7 M. Wheeler, p. 55.
- 8 Percy Brown, *A History of Indian Architecture*, vol. 1, p. 1, quoted in B. Rowland, *Art and Architecture of India* (London, 1977²), p. 32.
- 9 Evidence of trading connections between the Indus valley and ancient Sumer is steadily accumulating. For a recent survey see E.C.L. During Caspars, ‘Sumer, Coastal Arabia and the Indus Valley; . . . Supporting Evidence for a Cultural Linkage’, *JESHO* (May, 1979), 121–35.
- 10 For a careful study of the linguistic question, including a useful survey of all the attempts at decipherment, see J.E. Mitchener, *Studies in the Indus Valley Inscriptions* (Oxford and IBH, 1978). The writer is less pessimistic than some others as to the possibility of decipherment, and thinks that the language is an ancient form of Indo-Āryan speech.
- 11 M. Wheeler, p. 109.
- 12 For a different possibility, see *Ancient India*, 18/19 (1962/3), 7–207.
- 13 A modern comprehensive introduction to the whole Vedic world in the broad

general sense is now available in R. Panikkar and others, *The Vedic Experience: Mantramañjarī* (London, 1979²). This perhaps takes the place of all earlier introductions. Less romantic and more scientific is the work of Jan Gonda, *Vedic Literature* (Wiesbaden, 1975), pp. 1–266; with which may be read J. Gonda, *Change and Continuity in Indian Religion* (The Hague, 1965).

- 14 For translations see Panikkar, pp. 163–70.
- 15 ‘Like bellowing cows the waters flowed in haste; straight downwards to the sea they went’ (*RV.* 1.32). This vivid scene is frequently interpreted of the imprisonment of the waters in the sky; these Indra sets free when he strikes the clouds with his thunderbolt, the lightning. But another and perhaps better interpretation is that which sees *Vṛtra* as the demon of winter, who locks the waters in his iron clasp. The Āryans must have been amazed at the Indian rivers, which are dry in winter, and flow readily in spring when the sun melts the snow far away in the mountains; so different from their experience in their European home, where the rivers are flooded in winter and run dry in summer.
- 16 A.A. Macdonell’s verse translation is given in full in M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature* (Leipzig, 1908–20; Eng. trans. 1927), vol. 1, pp. 85–7.
- 17 M. Winternitz, vol. 1, p. 85 (Eng. trans.).
- 18 *Atharva-veda* IV.16. This is a paraphrase; for a more literal translation see M. Bloomfield, *Hymns of the Atharva-veda*, SBE, 42 (Indian reprint, 1964), p. 88. The *Atharva-veda* as a whole is later than the *RV.*, but it is probable that it contains many ancient elements. Largely composed of charms and spells, it gives clear evidence of the darker side of Āryan religion, and may include, as Winternitz thinks, elements that antedate the arrival of the Āryans in India. The noble lines quoted above actually form part of an imprecation.
- 19 *RV.* v.85:7.
- 20 *RV.* VII.89:5.
- 21 A.B. Keith, *Cambridge History of India*, vol. 1 (1922), p. 156.
- 22 J. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, vol. 1 (1960), pp. 78–9.
- 23 The philosophical hymns have been dealt with in detail by P. Deussen, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. 1, 1 (Leipzig, 1922), pp. 95–158.
- 24 Trans. A.A. Macdonell, *Vedic Reader for Students* (Oxford, 1917), pp. 207–11. It has seemed better to give this somewhat prosaic rendering rather than one of the imaginative paraphrases of which there are many.
- 25 *RV.* III.62:10. On this Monier-Williams correctly remarks ‘this prayer . . . like the Lord’s Prayer among Christians, or like the *Fatiḥah* or opening chapter of the Kurān among Muhammadans, must always among Hindūs take precedence of all other forms of supplication’, *Brahmanism and Hinduism* (London, 1891), p. 17. For a rather different translation see R.H.J. Griffith, *Hymns of the Rg Veda*, vol. 1 (Indian reprint of 1963), with an interesting note on the first English translation of the *Gāyatrī* by Sir W. Jones (1746–94).
- 26 Such as the story of Śuṇaḥśepa, the young man who was in danger of being offered up as a human sacrifice. The story is told in *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* VII.13–18, and in outline in M. Winternitz, vol. 1, pp. 211–16.
- 27 *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* II.2:2.6; IV.3:4.4. There is a complete translation of this,

- the longest and most important of the *Brāhmaṇas* by Julius Eggeling in SBE, 12, 26, 41, 43 and 44. This is what the Brāhmanas claimed: it does not follow that reality corresponded in every detail to the claim. But the influence of the Brāhman priests was certainly very great.
- 28 M. Winternitz, vol. 1, p. 200.
- 29 The term *Upaniṣad* is loosely used, and many later works, more than a hundred in all, have attached themselves to the corpus. It is customary to reckon thirteen or fourteen as principal. The oldest among these are the *Brhadāranyaka*, *Chāndogya*, *Taittirīya*, *Aitareya*, *Kaustiki*, and *Kena*. Important in the second category are the *Kāthaka* and the *Śvetāśvatara*.
- 30 This great passage is found also in *Satapata-Brāhmaṇa* x.6:3.
- 31 See e.g. *Maitrāyaṇa Upaniṣad* 1.2-4.
- 32 *Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad* III.2:13.
- 33 *Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad* IV.4:23-5.
- 34 W. Schubring 'Der Jainismus' in *Die Religionen Indiens*, vol. III (1964), pp. 217-41, an excellent short account. More fully in *The Religion of the Jains* (Calcutta, 1966). Modern research has fixed the period of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra as falling between 550 and 477 BC. This makes him an almost exact contemporary of Gautama the Buddha.
- 35 W. Schubring, in *Die Religionen Indiens* p. 240. We should not forget the service rendered by the Jains in their use of a *prākṛit*, that of Ardha-Māghadī, in place of Sanskrit for the expression of their classical works, and an even more popular form of language for the dissemination of their teachings. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. II, p. 261.
- 36 There are innumerable lives of the Buddha. I always go back with great satisfaction to H. Oldenberg, *Buddha, sein Leben, sein Lehre, seine Gemeinde* (Stuttgart, 1958) which though it originally appeared in 1881, is still regularly reprinted. The English translation of the first edition, which came out in 1882, has been reprinted and is again available. See bibliography. Oldenberg has to be supplemented by E.J. Thomas, *The Life of Buddha as Legend and History* (London, 1927).
- 37 The usual translation of the term *Buddha* as the Enlightened One is not entirely satisfactory; the root *bodh* implies rather the one who is awake when all other men are asleep.
- 38 For an example of a much more critical approach to the Buddhist sources, see David L. Snellgrove, 'Śākyamuni's Final Nirvāṇa', *BSOAS* (1973), 399-411. He quotes R.H. Robinson and W.L. Johnson, *The Buddhist Religion* (1977²), p. 19: 'The quest for the objective Gautama, like that for the historical Jesus, is foredoomed to a measure of failure.'
- 39 *Dialogues of the Buddha*, part II, trans. T.W. and C.A.F. Rhys Davids (London, 1910), p. 113.
- 40 Modern knowledge of Aśoka begins with the decipherment, in 1836, by James Prinsep, of an Aśoka inscription in the Brāhmī script.
- 41 Trans. R. Thapar, *Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas* (OUP, 1973), pp. 40-1, 255. A useful, though not literal, translation, of all the edicts is supplied in this

- work, pp. 250–66. An excellent photographic reproduction of Aśoka's Greek–Aramaic inscription is given opposite p. 260 in R. Thapar, *Aśoka*.
- 42 I do not myself think that there was any direct Buddhist influence on Christian origins, but the possibility cannot be completely excluded. Those who are interested may turn to an elaborate collection of parallels – A.J. Edmunds, *Buddhist and Christian Gospels* (Philadelphia, 1908⁴).
- 43 The census of 1971 gives a figure of 3,874,942, a percentage increase of 17.3 over 1961; the general increase of population in the same period was 24.80.
- 44 Many details are given in W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (CUP, 1938). See esp. chap. 9, pp. 351–408: 'The Greeks and India'. 'Somewhere I have met with the whole-hearted statement that every Greek in India ended by becoming a Buddhist': (p. 391) – but 'there are only five Greeks whose religious predilections are known or can be deduced, and three of these were not Buddhists'.
- 45 See chap. 3, on the decline of Buddhist influence in South India.
- 46 Notably by F. Lorinser, whose metrical version of the *Gītā* appeared at Breslau in 1869. His views have been firmly dealt with by R. Garbe, *Indien und das Christentum* (Tübingen, 1914), pp. 244–7. See also M. Winternitz, vol. 1, p. 431 n. 1. For a judgement on the similar views of E.W. Hopkins, *Religions of India*, see Garbe, p. 210 n. 1. A general discussion of the theme is G.A. van den Bergh van Eysinga, *Indische Einflüsse auf evangelische Erzählungen* (Göttingen, 1904).
- 47 Two different words are used in XVIII.64 and 65. The form 'I love thee' is not used; but I think that this is a matter of Sanskrit idiom rather than of theological significance.
- 48 Detailed references in J. Gonda, *Vedic Ritual: the non-solemn rites* (Leiden–Köln, 1980).
- 49 The government of independent India, to its great credit, has by law abolished 'untouchability'; but the rigidity of the caste system yields only slowly to the winds of change.
- 50 Caution is needed. Some 'Pan-Dravidians' attribute all change in Indian religion to Dravidian influences; this carries the argument too far.
- 51 On Dravidian influences in Sanskrit, see T. Burrow, *The Sanskrit Language* (new ed. London, 1973), pp. 96–8 (consonants), pp. 374–87 (loan words). See also M.B. Emeneau, *Language and Linguistic Areas* (Stanford U.P., 1980), chap. 8 'Dravidian and Indo-Aryan: the Indian Linguistic Area'.
- 52 B. Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India* (ed. of 1977), p. 153. For a valuable study of the chronology of Gandhāra art in the strict sense of the term, see A.D.H. Bivar, 'Hārītī and the Chronology of the Kuṣāṇas', *BSOAS*, 33 (1970), 10–21.
- 53 B. Rowland, p. 153.
- 54 D. Seckel, *The Art of Buddhism* (London, 1964), p. 40.
- 55 For a fine study of the Naṭarāja, see Douglas Barrett, 'The Dancing Siva in Early South Indian Art' in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 62 (1976), pp. 181–203.
- 56 For a very different type of Indian sculpture, see W.G. Archer, *The Vertical*

Man: a study in Primitive Indian Sculpture (London, 1947).

- 57 J. Gonda, *Religionen*, vol. 1, p. 244.
- 58 See the careful discussion of the whole subject in W.D.P. Hill, *The Bhagavadgītā* (OUP, 1928), pp. 1–14.
- 59 The most easily accessible study of the origin and development of the caste-system or systems of India is J.H. Hutton, *Caste in India; its Nature, Functions and Origin*, now in its fourth edition (OUP, 1963). Professor Hutton attaches less importance than I do to *varṇa*, colour, as one of the determining factors in the origin of caste.
- 60 See above, p. 17.
- 61 Both Monier-Williams and Macdonell, in their respective Sanskrit dictionaries, indicate this as the origin of the meaning ‘caste’, which came to be attached to a word of which the original sense is ‘colour’.
- 62 Dilip Chakrabarti, ‘The Beginning of Iron in India’, *Antiquity*, 50, no. 198 (June, 1976), 14–22. On the relation between Āryan and Dravidian civilisation and literature, see G.L. Hart, *The Relations between Tamil and Classical Sanskrit literature* (Wiesbaden, 1976).
- 63 Professor Norvin Hein has reminded me that Tamil came to be written down only through the penetration of influences from the north; as far as we know it had no earlier and purely Dravidian script.
- 64 S. Mahādevan, ‘Tamil–Brahmī Inscriptions of the Sangam Age’ in *Proceedings of the Second International Conference–Seminar of Tamil Studies* (Madras, 1968), pp. 73–106.
- 65 This term, adopted by E.B. Tylor in his famous work *Primitive Culture* (1871) (the first reference given for the word in the *Oxford English Dictionary* is of the year 1866), is not popular today, since his definition of religion as ‘the doctrine of souls and other spiritual beings in general’ (vol. 1, 1891³, p. 23) is regarded as inadequate; his views were influenced by evolutionary speculations as to ‘lower’ and ‘higher’ forms of religion, which are seen today not to have been scientific. But no single term has been found to replace ‘animism’, as a generic term for the religion of simple peoples. Nearly all the religions of this type are without literary tradition.
- 66 A beginning was made in the study of this line of Indian religion by the Lutheran Bartholomew Ziegenbalg in his remarkable work *The Genealogy of the Malabaric Gods*, written before 1716, but not published till 1867 in German (English 1869). There has been a welcome increase in interest in such studies in recent years. A useful introduction is L.S.S. O’Malley, *Popular Hinduism, the Religion of the Masses* (Cambridge, 1935) which has no bibliography, but gives references to most of the books available at the time of publication. A more recent study is H.H. Presler, *Primitive Religions in India. A text-book on the Primitive Religious Type among India’s Tribals* (Bangalore: Indian Theol. Library, 1971).
- 67 This is the subject of Curt Maury, *Folk Origins of Indian Art* (New York and London, 1969), a work which, in spite of its neglect of South India, Dr J.R. Marr calls ‘an excellent survey, and a most valuable gathering together of a

- number of seemingly diverse traditions and trends of popular Hinduism', *BSOAS* (1971/2), 382-4.
- 68 This is suggested by the many remarkable similarities, both in vocabulary and practice, between ancient Indian religion and the earliest forms of the religion of Zarathustra. See R.C. Zaehner, *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism* (London, 1961).
- 69 G.M. Moraes, *A History of Christianity in India* (Bombay, 1964), pp. 38-9. He refers to the work of H.S. Kehimkar, *The History of the Bene-Israel of India*. Mr Kehimkar (1830-1909) had completed this work not later than 1897; but it remained unpublished until disinterred by a Jewish scholar and published at Tel Aviv in 1937. Kehimkar takes the view that the Bene-Israel came to India 'about 175 years before the Christian era' (p. 23).
- 70 Moraes, p. 38.
- 71 The whole question of Jews in India has been dealt with very prudently by J.H. Lord in articles, 'Jews in Cochin (Malabar)' in Hastings *ERE*, vol. VII (1914), pp. 557-9; and 'Bene-Israel' in *ERE*, vol. II (1909), pp. 469-74. Lord's collected essays *The Jews in India and the Far East* (1907) have been reprinted by Greenwood Press, Inc. (1976). On Fr Lord, and his work in Bombay (1882-1924) see W. Ashley-Brown, *On the Bombay Coast and Deccan* (London, 1937), pp. 222-3. The first in modern times to draw the attention of the western world to Jews in India was Claudius Buchanan, whose *Christian Researches in Asia* were a best-seller from 1811 onwards. His speculations on Jews in India did not meet with the favour of the learned world; but his vivid description of his experiences among them still makes good reading.

2 CHRISTIANITY COMES TO INDIA

- 1 The *Acts of Thomas* is most conveniently accessible in M.R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (OUP, 1926²), pp. 364-437.
- 2 Among distinguished scholars who have denied any credibility to the Acts, are R. Garbe, *Indien und das Christentum* (1914, Eng. trans. 1959); A. Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung* (1924⁴, Eng. trans. 1908²); L. de la Vallée Poussin, *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas* (1930). Of these the last, who gives an extensive bibliography, is the most categorical (p. 280).
- 3 There is a fascinating account of Masson in C. Grey, *European adventurers of northern India 1785 to 1849* (Lahore, 1929), pp. 176-210.
- 4 *Narrative of various journeys in Baluchistan, Afghanistan and the Punjab* (1812, reprint of 1974, introd. by Gavin Hambly), pp. xvii-xviii. Masson began to publish his discoveries in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1834. The centenary review of that Society (1885, part II, pp. 30-1), records that 'the first great step in the series of Bactrian numismatic discovery was thus accomplished, and the great object of later investigations became only to complete and extend the structure, of which such broad foundations had been laid'.
- 5 All subsequent accounts are based on the work of E.J. Rapson, summarised in

- CHI, vol. 1, chap. 23, 'The Scythian and Parthian Invaders', pp. 562–87. Attempts have been made to see the name of Gondopharnes in Gaspar, one of the three wise men of the East of Matthew 2, through the Armenian Gathaspar. CHI, vol. 1, p. 579 n. 1.
- 6 See W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (CUP, 1938, 1951²), especially 'The Greeks and India', pp. 351–408. Gondopharnes may have been the last king in India to use Greek lettering on his coins.
 - 7 *India and the Apostle Thomas* (London, 1905).
 - 8 *The Apostle Thomas in North India* (Manchester, 1926).
 - 9 *Die Thomas-Legende und die ältesten historischen Beziehungen des Christentums zum fernen Osten im Lichte der indischen Altertumskunde* (Freiburg i. B., 1912).
 - 10 pp. 12, 13. On this Garbe, p. 135, somewhat caustically remarks 'I cannot find that in the course of his investigations Dahlmann has allowed himself to be guided by the critical spirit which has found expression in these words.'
 - 11 But note that the *Milinda-pañha* can hardly be later than the first century BC.
 - 12 A. Mingana, *The Early Spread of Christianity in India* (Manchester, 1926), p. 18, quoting *St Ephraemi Hymni*, ed. T.J. Lamy (1882–1902), IV:701, 703.
 - 13 There were present four bishops from the western world including Ossius of Cordova, personally commissioned by the emperor Constantine as his watchdog.
 - 14 *Life of Constantine*, Gr. Chr. Schr.: 'Eusebius', vol. 1, p. 80, l. 14. This is also confirmed by the rather unreliable writer Cyzicenus: 'John, a Persian for the churches in the whole of Persia and Great India' (Migne, PG 85:1342) both quoted by Mingana, p. 63.
 - 15 Mingana suggests with considerable probability that this prelate would be the metropolitan of Riwardeshir.
 - 16 Tarn, p. 369, makes the agreeable suggestion that 'he was not a man at all but either a sailors' name like Davy Jones or a personification of the monsoon'.
 - 17 E.H. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India* (London, 1974²), p. 46. The whole question is elaborately discussed by Warmington, pp. 42–51; also by Tarn, pp. 367–72; and by Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers* (London, 1954), pp. 126–30.
 - 18 In the museum at Arezzo there is an excellent display of Arretine pottery. Some of the figurines are of extraordinary delicacy and beauty. One of the main workshops can be dated as having flourished between the years 30 BC and AD 25.
 - 19 Wheeler, p. 129. The discoveries at Arikamedu were first reported in *Ancient India* (July, 1946), 17–124.
 - 20 In a number of Western books, e.g. J.I. Miller, *The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire 29BC to AD641* (Oxford, 1969), p. 143, this is called the 'Coimbatore Gap'.
 - 21 A number of scholars now prefer a date at least a century later than that indicated in the text. See a note by A.K. Irvine in *BSOAS*, 33 (1970), 388; and E.H. Warmington, p. 394a. Warmington holds to the earlier date; as does A. Dihle, *Umstrittene Daten* (Cologne, 1965), who after a careful study of all the

- evidence concludes: 'The writing . . . presupposes that the information to be found in it is derived from an active trade with India. Such trade with India existed in the first and second centuries but not in the third.' Dihle, p. 35.
- 22 For details of the dangers to be encountered, see Arthur C. Clarke, *The Treasure of the Great Reef* (London, 1964), p. 24.
 - 23 The earlier patristic writers – Origen, the Clementine Recognitions, etc. – all connect the work of Thomas with Parthia. It is only in the fourth century, with Ambrose, Augustine and Chrysostom, that India begins to enter into the picture. The references have been conveniently collected in *Lex. f. Theol. u. Kirche* s.v. Thomas. The source on which these later writers depended was almost certainly the *Acts of Thomas*.
 - 24 Made available by W.J. Richards, *The Indian Christians of St Thomas* (London, 1908), pp. 72–7.
 - 25 Clearly, of the Sera, or Chera, king.
 - 26 This seems accurately to reflect the conditions existing in the days when the *Poligārs* ruled, and before the three great kingdoms of the Coḷas, Cheras and Pāṇḍiyans came into existence.
 - 27 The latter village and family for many generations produced the archdeacon, the leading indigenous figure in the ancient church.
 - 28 *The Syrian Church in India* (Edinburgh, 1892), p. 361. No doubt there is an echo here of the seven churches in the Apocalypse of John in the New Testament. Whitehouse gives the names, with notes on each, as (1) Cranganore (Kodungalūr) (2) Quilon (Kollam) (3) Pālūr (4) Pārūr (5) South Pallipūram or Kokamangalum (6) Neranum (7) Nellakul – called also Chael or Shail; *Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land* (London, 1873), pp. 25–42.
 - 29 Mingana, pp. 48–9. Mingana is to be referred to also for other important documents of this type.
 - 30 The difficulty of representing Indian names in the Syriac script is well known. Bishop L.W. Brown, *The Indian Christians of St Thomas* (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 51–4, gives valuable indications about each of these names, with identifications, and some highly interesting legends from later times.
 - 31 The site of Chael has not been certainly identified. There are reasons for thinking that it lay east of Rānni in the tangled mountainous country which separates Kerala from the Tamil-speaking district of Tirunelveli.
 - 32 Sir H. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. II (London and Edinburgh, 1903), pp. 353–5.
 - 33 *Viaggio alle Indie Orientali*, vol. I (Rome, 1796), p. 61. The English translation *A Voyage to the East Indies* (1800), is at this point much abridged and does not correctly represent what Paulinus wrote.
 - 34 The story of the church and tomb at Mylapore has been dealt with at great length and with immense erudition by Fr G. Schurhammer SJ, *Francis Xavier*, vol. III (Eng. trans. Rome, 1980), pp. 566–88.
 - 35 This is obscure. 'Mudaliyar' could be interpreted 'principal person', but it has never been a royal title.
 - 36 The authority for this account is the report verbally delivered by Diogo

- Fernandes at an official hearing in 1533, preserved in the Jesuit archives in Rome: Goa 31: 18–25v. (text A). A copy of the year 1600 (text B), which differs in some details is to be found in the same source, Goa 49: 125–8v. This text has been published in English in *Kerala Soc. Papers*, 2 (1932), pp. 205–24. See Schurhammer, vol. III, pp. 560–1. Reported also in detail by G. Correa, *Lendas da India* (Lisbon, 1858–61), vol. II, pp. 722–6, 788–9; this account is used by A. da Silva Rêgo, *Missões* (Lisbon, 1949), pp. 416, 419–24.
- 37 These bricks are about $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, 8 inches wide and 5 inches thick. B.A. Figueredo in *Voices from the Dust: Archaeological Finds in San Thomé and Mylapore* (Madras, 1952), pp. 21–2, states that ‘these measurements correspond to those of the bricks at Arikamedu’, and Mr A.H. Longhurst agrees that these measurements confirm the antiquity of the bricks, i.e. as being of the first century AD.
- 38 If a span is reckoned at about nine inches (229 mm), this means a depth of nearly twelve feet (3.6 m).
- 39 Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. II, p. 341 tells of the Govy, who are very glad to eat beef, though they dare not kill the animal. They must have belonged to one of the groups later known as untouchable.
- 40 *Marco Polo*, II, p. 355.
- 41 F.E. Keay, *History of the Syrian Church in India* (London, 1951³), p. 31. L.W. Brown remarks that ‘the connection of St Thomas with the peacock . . . is constant, and requires investigation’.
- 42 In a review of F.A. D’Cruz, *St Thomas the Apostle in India* in *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society* (1929), 284–9.
- 43 e.g. *St Thomas Tombs, Skeletons and Bodies* (Poona, 1950); *Not St Thomas, but a Muslim Thomas in South India* (Chenganoor, 1959); and others.
- 44 *Indian Christians*, p. 59.
- 45 The most recent edition of Cosmas, with valuable introduction and notes, is by Wanda Wolska-Conus, *Sources chrétiennes*, nos. 141, 159, 197 (Paris, 1968, 1970, 1973).
- 46 Wolska-Conus, I, p. 17.
- 47 The Greek word is frequently used of *foreigners* residing in a country not their own; it would be specially appropriate if used of Persian merchants resident abroad on their business.
- 48 J.W. McCrindle, *Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes* (London, 1907), translated ἀλλόφυλοι by ‘quite another kind of people’; the error has gone on from one book to another and has misled even the learned Dr Mingana and Bishop Brown. McCrindle had failed to notice that in the Septuagint, the Greek translation of the Old Testament, ἀλλόφυλοι is the regular term used of the Philistines, the idolaters. It has even made its way into the text of the New Testament at Acts 10: 28. It would be impossible for that devout student of the scriptures Cosmas to use the word in any other sense. One modern writer thinks that Cosmas means by the term Buddhists. It seems to me much more likely that he meant *Hindus*, whose idol-worship is almost the first thing that strikes a foreigner about them.

- 49 Kalyan, south of Bombay, is put forward by some as having a rival claim.
- 50 The whole may have been *simhala-dvīpa*, island of lions. Note that this, being an Indo-Āryan name, cannot have been the original local name, which will have been Dravidian. The identity of Taprobane, and other names for Ceylon, are learnedly discussed by Sir J.E. Tennent, *Ceylon*, vol. I (London, 1859³), p. 525 n. 1.
- 51 Excavation has hardly begun in these ancient centres of commerce. Archaeology may have much to reveal that at present is hidden from us.
- 52 R. Garbe, pp. 153–6, expresses strongly the view that, apart from commercial contacts, the severe persecution of Christians by Sassanid rulers in Persia between AD 345 and 415 accounts for the presence of Persian Christians in South India, just as at a later date persecution of Zoroastrians by Muslims explains the presence in Bombay and its neighbourhood of the small Parsi community.
- 53 I myself believe, however, that ‘India’ is the original reading.
- 54 Migne, PG 59: 32.
- 55 R. Garbe, p. 154. Of the five peoples mentioned only the Egyptians (Copts) had, as far as we know, Bible translations in their own languages at the time at which Chrysostom was preaching.
- 56 *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, series 3, no. 413 (1903), pp. 41–55.
- 57 *JRAS* (1904), 399–405. In 1936 a distinguished Indian historian, B.A. Saletore, came forward (*Ancient Kaṇṇāṭaka*, vol. I (Poona), pp. 584–97) with a fascinating interpretation of all the sections of the farce written in an Indian language; this he identifies as ancient Kanarese. Only an expert Kanarese scholar could determine the probability or correctness of his interpretations. But they certainly make good sense.
- 58 Oration 32:40, quoted by J. Kennedy in *JRAS* (1902), 377–87: ‘Buddhist Gnosticism and the System of Basilides’, esp. pp. 385–7. See also *JRAS* (1907), 933–5: ‘Krishna, Christianity, and the Gujars’.
- 59 *Historia Ecclesiastica* 5:10. Much the same account is given by Jerome (*de Viris Illustr.* 36, Migne, PL 23, col. 651), who elsewhere states that he went ‘ut Christus apud Brachmanos praedicaret’ (Ep. 74 ad Magnum). Note further that Jerome, like Eusebius, writes *Hebraeis litteris*, not *sermone*; if this Gospel ever existed, it was probably in Aramaic, written in Hebrew letters.
- 60 The title of an excellent book by J.N. Ogilvie (London, 1915), who accepts the Indian mission of Pantaenus, as does J. Gwynn in a valuable and well-informed article in *DCB*, vol. IV, s.v.
- 61 Those who are interested may follow up the tedious exchanges between Burnell and the Rev. R. Collins in the columns of the *Ind. Antiquary*, 4 (1875), 153–5, 311–14; 5 (1876), 25–6. The matter is dealt with briefly by F.E. Keay, pp. 14–15.
- 62 Mingana, p. 10, quoting from the *Chronique de Seert, Patrol. Orient.*, vol. IV, pp. 236, 292.
- 63 We possess Philostorgius only in fragmentary form, and are mainly indebted to the summary provided by Photius. Gibbon remarks of him that ‘the credibility

of Philostorgius is lessened, in the eyes of the orthodox, by his Arianism; and, in those of rational critics, by his passion, his prejudice, and his ignorance', *Decline and Fall*, chap. 21.

- 64 Richards, pp. 83–8. I have shortened the account as given by Richards.
- 65 Mingana, p. 45.
- 66 This account has been printed in Malayālam by T.K. Joseph, *Malabar Christians and their Ancient Documents* (Trivandrum, 1929), Appendix II, pp. ii–iv. I do not know whether any English translation is in print.
- 67 G.U. Pope, *Tiruvāṣagam* (Oxford, 1900), pp. xxx–xxxii, lxvii–lxxii, gives a rather full account of the legendary encounter of Māṇickavāṣagar with Buddhist sages. It is possible that some memories of these stories have affected the Malayālam traditions.
- 68 So L.W. Brown, *Indian Christians*, p. 77. Is 1837 a misprint for 1873?
- 69 The clearest account of this curiously complicated story, here much simplified, is given in L.W. Brown, pp. 76–9, with reference to Malayālam documents; and among western writers especially to T. Whitehouse, *Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land* (London: William Brown, 1873), pp. 49–54.
- 70 Mingana, p. 32. The letter is given in Syriac with Latin translation by S. Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes inter Sedem Apostolicam* (Rome, 1902), pp. 579–80. His Latin differs in some respects from the English of Mingana; for Kaleh he reads 'Colon (quae Chilao dicitur)'. Giamil is concerned at every point to show the dependence of all Eastern churches, including the Indian, on Rome.
- 71 Naturally there is disagreement. Mingana argued in agreement with Sir J.E. Tennent (*Ceylon*, vol. I (1859³), pp. 582–606) that Kaleh is to be found in Ceylon (cf. Galle). H. Cordier argues in favour of Singapore or Malacca, a view that has failed to find general acceptance.
- 72 London (1861), vol. II, p. 66. Note the reference not only to Thomas but also to Bartholomew.
- 73 Translated by Mingana, pp. 42–8.
- 74 Mingana, pp. 66, 76.
- 75 The story of these plates and of the interpretation of them is so complex that it must be reserved for an Appendix, pp. 388–90.
- 76 This has been published in the *Kerala Society's Papers*, Series 4, pp. 180–2.
- 77 This plate has been translated and annotated by A.C. Burnell in *Ind. Antiquary*, 3 (November, 1874), 333–4.
- 78 More will be found about the controversies as to the date of this copper-plate in chap. 4, pp. 70f.
- 79 Excellent reproductions of the copper-plates are to be found in S.G. Pothan, *The Syrian Christians of Kerala* (Bombay, 1963), between pp. 32 and 33. For translation, see Appendix I.
- 80 Summary in T.K. Joseph, *Malabar Christians* (Trivandrum, 1929), p. 34.
- 81 T.K. Joseph, p. 35, comments on the Maṇigrāmakkār: 'i.e., the authorised leaders of the indigenous Christians of Quilon who had been there when Sabrison came'.
- 82 For these signatures, see L.W. Brown, pp. 87–9.
- 83 For further details on the crosses, see F.E. Keay, pp. 25–6. He notes that, on the

smaller cross in the church at Kottayam, there is an upper panel, with on each side of the cross the figure of a peacock. The connection of the peacock with the legend of St Thomas has already been noted. See p. 33.

- 84 I owe this fact to Dr A.C. Burnell, *Ind. Antiquary*, 3 (November, 1874), 313. Unfortunately he gives no reference and I have not pursued the matter through the countless folios of Baronius. The whole article, 'Pahlavi Inscriptions in South India', is worth consulting. The inquiring reader will find in Appendix IV a fairly satisfactory reconstruction of the Tamil text as put forth by the shrewd Brāhman, and a translation; and may for his edification compare it with the more reliable translation which appears in the text of this chapter.
- 85 Norrisian Professor of Divinity in the university of Cambridge, who had deciphered the Kufic signatures of witnesses on the ancient copper-plate referred to above.
- 86 And published in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, of which Burkitt was editor, in 1929, pp. 237-44.
- 87 Hardly the cross itself; the transportation of so massive an object would be unlikely though not impossible. And excellent granite is available in many parts of South India.

3 FROM MEDIEVAL TO MODERN

- 1 Well depicted in R. Thapar, *Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas* (OUP, 1973²).
- 2 The dates are not quite certain – accession 380 or 376; death between 413 and 415.
- 3 This date has been questioned, but seems to be accepted by the great majority of scholars.
- 4 On Bāṇa and the *Harṣacarita*, see conveniently A.B. Keith, *Classical Sanskrit literature* (Calcutta, 1947⁵), pp. 58-61, 75-9.
- 5 S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World* (London, 1884), pp. xviii-xx, and 210-23. And see R.C. Majumdar, 'Harsha-varḍana and his Time', in *History and Culture*, 3 (1954), pp. 96-123. The most recent study based on all the available materials is D. Devahuti, *Harsha – a political study* (Oxford, 1970).
- 6 K.M. Munshi, *History and Culture*, 3 (1954), p. xviii.
- 7 A.B. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature* (Oxford, 1928), p. xvii. See also pp. 8-14, esp. p. 13: 'Its vitality as the learned speech of the educated classes was unimpaired, and it was victorious even in fields which were at first hostile to it.' He refers to the interesting discussion recorded in *JRAS* (1904), 453-87.
- 8 Keith describes this method by the curious term 'emboxment'. The Oxford English Dictionary has the verb 'embox' but not the noun 'emboxment'.
- 9 A subject dealt with fully and competently by A. Berriedale Keith, *The Sanskrit Drama* (Oxford, 1959).
- 10 The translation by Sir William Jones was reprinted in Calcutta in 1874. A verse translation was published in 1855, in a *de luxe* edition, by M. Monier-Williams, at that time professor in the college of Haileybury.
- 11 A.K. Coomaramswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (London, 1927),

- p. 90 n. 5. Coomaramswamy and others have noted that some of the greatest artistic triumphs in this period fall within the Buddhist tradition, and that here religious feeling expresses itself more largely than in the Hindu world of that time. Another critic remarks of some of these Buddhist figures that they 'are mild and gentle, and yet they are sustained by a real spirituality, and a will to help and enlighten, inspired by a mind which has understood the basic evils of the world and feels endless compassion for the miseries of all living beings', H. Goetz, *India: Five Thousand Years of Indian Art* (London, 1964), p. 108.
- 12 Goetz, p. 108. I have not found any evidence of an influence in India of the great artistic tradition which was growing up in the Byzantine world at the same time.
- 13 Of these six systems – *Nyāya* (analysis), *Vaiśeṣika* (particular characteristics), *Sāṃkhya* (enumeration), *Yoga* (application), *Mīmāṃsa* (inquiring), *Vedānta* (end of the *Vedas*), only the last two can be considered specifically metaphysical, concerned with ultimate questions.
- 14 AD 788 is the exact date given by the learned V.S. Ghatge in Hastings *ERE*, vol. XI, S.V. Śaṅkarāchārya. But note that a number of scholars in recent times have been inclined to assign a rather earlier date to Śaṅkara, placing the date of his birth in the seventh century, and his activity about 700; see P. Hacker, *Orient. Literaturzeitung*, 59 (1964), pp. 235–6.
- 15 There are innumerable studies of Śaṅkara, and he naturally occupies a central position in almost all studies of Indian philosophy. The best short exposition known to me is that by S. Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 406–94.
- 16 Dasgupta, p. 438.
- 17 Dasgupta, pp. 487–90.
- 18 Dasgupta, p. 492.
- 19 This pseudo-Dionysius, as he is now generally called, had, of course, nothing to do with the first century convert of Paul in Athens (Acts 17: 34), though the great authority enjoyed by his works throughout the middle ages was due to this mistaken identification. On the diffusion of Neoplatonic thought, see A.H. Armstrong (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy* (CUP, 1967).
- 20 A number of Indian Christian writers have pointed out that, by all accounts, Śaṅkarāchārya was born in Malabar, an area in which the church of the Thomas Christians was well established. So intelligent a young man could hardly have avoided making contact with Christian teachers, and so absorbing through them some of the ideas of Greek Christian philosophy. This view is put forward and strongly supported by, among others, Fr G.A. Anathil, *The Theological Formation* (Poona, 1966), p. 10: 'That he never mentioned a word about Christianity, where he could have found the highest wisdom he was seeking for, is one of the mysteries of India.' This rests upon pious imagination rather than on any evidence or probability.
- 21 Details in *CAH*, vol. XII (1939), p. 271 n. 4. And see Appendix 3.
- 22 *Vita*, chap. 3; see *Plotini Opera*, ed. P. Henry and H.R. Schwyzer, vol. 1 (1951), p. 4. At the time of this adventure Plotinus was thirty-nine years old.

- 23 It is noteworthy, however, that the *Patristic Greek Lexicon* does not give a single instance of the use of the term *gymnosophistae* from any Christian writer of the first six centuries.
- 24 Renan, *Marc-Aurèle* (Paris, 1882³), p. 495.
- 25 *CAH*, vol. XII, p. 613.
- 26 Professor A.H. Armstrong, p. 221, notes that at some points the images of Plotinus 'take us right outside the range of the classical Hellenic imagination into the sort of imaginative world inhabited by the great artists of India'. But his judicious summing up is likely to commend itself to students both of Greek and Indian philosophy: 'his thought is entirely explainable as a personal development of Greek philosophy, without any need to postulate Oriental influences', pp. 200–1; but note especially p. 201 n. 1, and the suggestion that 'a comparison between them by someone properly equipped by nature and training to understand both might be very fruitful'.
- 27 A study of *The Decline of Buddhism in India* has been written by R.C. Mitra (Visva-Bharati, 1954), chap. 9, 'Buddhism in South India', pp. 103–24, is specially relevant to the present study; Dr Mitra gives valuable quotations, from inscriptions as well as from literary sources, and ends his survey, p. 124, with the judgement that 'the causes of the decline are to be sought more from within than from without'.
- 28 K.V. Zvelebil, *Tamil Literature* (Wiesbaden, 1974), p. 141: 'the date \pm 550 AD seems thus to be the best available date at the moment'. The chronology of Tamil literature is notoriously uncertain. I am glad to find that, at almost every point, Zvelebil confirms the dating at which I had independently arrived.
- 29 Beal, pp. 228–30.
- 30 On the rise of the *Mahāyāna* form of Buddhism in South India, see Appendix 4.
- 31 V.A. Smith, *Early History of India* (Oxford, 1924), p. 474, quoting E. Hultzsch, *Ind. Antiquary*, 18, 240.
- 32 G.U. Pope, *Naladiyār* (Oxford, 1893), p. xii. The dating of the three great Tamil romances still presents many difficulties. I judge the *Cīvācāntāmaṇi* by reason of its superior artistry and more complex metrical schemes to be later than the *Cilappatikāram* and the *Maṇimēkalai*. K.C. Zvelebil places it as late as the tenth century (p. 136), for which he advances strong but not entirely convincing arguments.
- 33 V.A. Smith, p. 475, provides the information that the sculptures of a temple at Tiruvattur in Arcot district record the executions in grisly detail. There is thus archaeological confirmation of the truth of the tradition.
- 34 For calculation of the dates, see F. Kingsbury and G.E. Phillips, *Hymns of the Tamil Saivite Saints* (Mysore, 1921), p. 29. Much depends on the synchronisation of these saints with the battle of Vādāpi in AD 642, one of the certainly established dates in South Indian history. See also *History and Culture*, 3 (1954), p. 240; and, for further details Appendix 5.
- 35 Brief mention should here be made of the great outreach of Hinduism into the world of South-east Asia, which was expanding throughout the period now under review. The best authority is G. Coedès, *Les états hindouisés d'Indochine*

et d'Indonésie (Paris, 1964²); Eng. trans. *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia* (Honolulu, 1968).

- 36 In so far as this great work manifests any religious tendency it seems to belong to the Jain tradition. Dr Pope, *The 'Sacred' Kurral* (London, 1886), pp. v–vi, denies that this can be so. But this view is supported by later writers, e.g. K.V. Zvelebil who writes 'The ethics of Tirukkural is a reflection of the Jain moral code, and its theology, if we can speak at all of any, reflects rather more the Jain doctrines than anything else' (p. 119).
- 37 Dr T.M.P. Mahādevan assigns Sambantar to the first half of the seventh century AD. He quotes from him the stanza, 'O, you who get disturbed by listening to the foolish teachings of the Jains and the Bauddhas, come; by adoring the feet of the Lord of Nallūrperumāṇam (Śiva), *mokṣa* (release) will become easy of attainment.' History and Culture, 3 (1954), p. 432. The whole section, pp. 426–35, is worth consulting. Appar can also be placed with some confidence in the first half of the seventh century.
- 38 11:5:39–41, quoted by M. Dhavamony, *Love of God according to Śaiva Siddhānta* (Oxford, 1971), p. 101.
- 39 *Padma-purāṇa*, 'Uttarakhaṇḍa' 189:51.
- 40 See J. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, vol. 1, pp. 85–9.
- 41 K.N. Sivarāja Pillai, *The Chronology of the Early Tamils* (Madras, 1932), Appendix 1 'The Date of Mānickavāsagar', has put forward convincingly the arguments for assigning this writer to the ninth century. He writes 'The literary form of the Tiruvāsagam, its highly polished and pellucid diction, its numerous felicities of thought and expression, its marvellously developed prosodic forms and rhetorical turns, and above all the sense of artistry which runs throughout is more than sufficient to establish its later origin than the Devāram hymns', p. 220.
- 42 Fr Dhavamony has chosen rather the term *anbu*, love, as the central point for his notable exposition of the Śaivite *bhakti* movement. This he is fully entitled to do; both words are good and expressive Dravidian words.
- 43 *India's Religion of Grace and Christianity Compared and Contrasted* (Eng. trans. London, 1930).
- 44 J.B. Carman's *The Theology of Rāmānuja* (Yale, 1974), is a notable achievement in sympathetic understanding and exposition.
- 45 *Die Religionen Indiens*, vol. II (1963), p. 133.
- 46 The most elaborate study of Śaiva-Siddhānta yet made is K. Sivarama, *Śaivism in Philosophical Perspective* (1973). 688 pages are devoted to the study.
- 47 This is briefly stated in *Tiruvarudpayan* VII.5: 'If they become one, both disappear; if they remain two, there is no fruition; therefore there is union and non-union.' Commentary: 'The condition of such souls must be a compound of duality and non-duality, mingled not merged.' (Trans. G.U. Pope, *Tiruvāṇṇam*, p. lvii.) The thirteen classics of the Śaiva-Siddhānta philosophy have been dealt with by Fr M. Dhavamony in *The Love of God* (1971). They may be dated with some confidence between AD 1150 and 1350.
- 48 G.U. Pope, *The 'Sacred' Kurral* (1886), pp. ii, iii. There is a strong movement among contemporary Tamil Christians to claim for the *Tirukkural* a Christian

origin, or at least profound Christian influence upon it. The arguments adduced have not so far proved convincing.

- 49 For the chronology of the *Śaiva-Siddhānta* classics, see note 47.
- 50 Of the powerful Māppila or Moplah community of the west coast of India, the Census report of 1881 remarked that 'among some of them there may be a strain of Arab blood from some early generation, but the mothers throughout have been Dravidian, and the class has been maintained in number by wholesale adult conversion'.
- 51 A number of earlier raids, both by sea and by land, have been recorded; but these hardly amounted to more than frontier incursions. *History and Culture*, 3 (1954), pp. 167–70.
- 52 Strictly only the 'people of a Book' are eligible to be admitted as *dhimmi*s; traditionally the category includes Jews, Christians, Magians and Sabaeans, but not of course Hindus. See also *CHI*, vol. III, pp. 3 and 4.
- 53 *Tārīkh Yamīnī* in Sir H.M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *The History of India by its own historians*, vol. II (London, 1869), pp. 22, 24. On p. 217 of the same work, we find a similar testimony to the work of a later conqueror, Muhammad Ghori: 'he purged by his sword the land of Hind from the filth of infidelity and vice, and freed the whole of that country from the thorn of God-plurality, and the impurity of idol-worship, and by his royal vigour and intrepidity, left not one temple standing'.
- 54 Vividly described in K.M. Munshi, *Somnath: the Shrine Eternal* (1951), pp. 24–8.
- 55 Sir Wolseley Haig in *CHI*, vol. III, p. 89.
- 56 For studies of conversion to Islam, see N. Levtzion (ed.), *Conversion to Islam* (New York and London, 1981); and review of this book in *BSOAS* (1981), pp. 162–3.
- 57 *History of India* (1839; 1921⁹), p. 305.
- 58 W. Logan in his admirable *Malabar* (2 vols., Madras, 1887); see also E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* (7 vols., Madras, 1909), vol. IV, p. 459.
- 59 For a highly competent survey, presenting a rather different point of view, see R. Thapar, *A History of India*, vol. I (1966), pp. 289–320.
- 60 So F.E. Keay, *Kabir and his Followers*, p. 109. Keay is inclined to accept the idea of Christian influence on Kabir, pp. 169–72.
- 61 For a recent, but not wholly satisfactory study of Gurū Nānak, see W.H. Mcleod, *Gurū Nānak and the Sikh Religion* (Oxford, 1968). See also a review of this work by S.C.J. Weightman in *BSOAS*, 33 (1970), pp. 412–13.
- 62 Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa (1304–77) was in India, Ceylon and South-east Asia from 1333 to 1347. His reports are generally recognised to be accurate, though defaced in places by the extravagances of editorial insertions. There is an English translation of the *Rehla* of Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa by M. Husein, in Gaekwad's Oriental Series, 122 (Baroda, 1953).
- 63 For a valuable study of the Muslims in South-west India, see Geneviève Bouchon: 'Les Musulmans du Kerala à l'époque de la découverte portugaise' in *Mare Luso-Indicum*, 2 (1972/3), pp. 3–59. Reference may also be made to K.V. Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut* (Calicut, 1938).

4 CHRISTIANS IN THE INDIAN MIDDLE AGE

- 1 The one exception is a visit by an Indian prelate named John, who is alleged to have reached Rome in AD 1122, and to have reported a miracle which occurred in India annually on the feast of St Thomas. See E. Tisserant, *Eastern Christianity in India* (London, 1957), p. 19; and *Analecta Bollandiana*, 66 (1948), pp. 231–75: P. Devos SJ, 'Le miracle posthume de S. Thomas L'Apôtre'. Fr Devos thinks that the story of the miracle may well have arisen in India rather than at Edessa, and that the mysterious visitor may have been Indian, but probably neither patriarch nor archbishop.
- 2 See Yule–Cordier, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, vol. I (London, 1915), pp. 74–80; esp. p. 75 n. 2.
- 3 R.H. Major (ed.), *India in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1857), p. xv.
- 4 For the abortive and disastrous raid of Reynald of Châtillon in the Red Sea in 1182, see S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. II (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 436–7.
- 5 This account was disinterred from an immense work by Gian Francesco Pagnini del Ventura (4 vols., 1765–6) and printed by Sir Henry Yule in vol. III of *Cathay and the Way Thither* (1914), pp. 137–73.
- 6 This is not of course, the Thāna in India, to which reference will be made later in this chapter.
- 7 Yule, *Cathay*, vol. III, p. 152.
- 8 Yule, *Cathay*, vol. III, pp. 152–3.
- 9 R.H. Major, p. lxxvii.
- 10 See the account of this plate, with photographic reproduction, text and translation in *Epigraphia Indica*, 4 (1896–7), pp. 290–7.
- 11 See *Ind. Antiquary*, 3 (1924), pp. 185–96, 219–29, 244–51, reprinted as *Dissertations on the Copper Plates in the possession of the St Thomas Christians* (Bombay, 1925).
- 12 *Epigraphia Indica* (1900–01), p. 83. Note by E. Kielhorn, who gives the date as AD 1320.
- 13 *Epigraphia Indica*, 4, p. 294.
- 14 A complete translation of the letters will be found in Yule, *Cathay*, vol. III (1914), pp. 45–70. For a new study of medieval travellers, see I. de Rachewitz, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khan* (London, 1971) described by a reviewer in *Bibl. Miss.* (1973), p. 175 as 'reliable scientific and exhaustive'. This work deals with India only incidentally, and adds little to what was already known from other sources.
- 15 *Cathay*, vol. III, p. 45.
- 16 English translation by H. Yule for the Hakluyt Society, Series I (London, 1863).
- 17 *Cathay*, vol. III, p. 76.
- 18 Not certainly identifiable, but perhaps Sufāla near Thāna. See a lengthy note in *Cathay*, vol. II, p. 76 n. 3.
- 19 This name has caused great confusion. Naturally many western writers have supposed this to be Colombo in Ceylon, but this is quite impossible. Almost

certainly we are to think of Quilon (Malayalam Kollam) in Kerala, which we know to have been a Christian centre from early times and one of the landfalls for seamen from the Roman Empire. See Yule, *Mirabilia*, pp. xii–xvii; his arguments in favour of Quilon seem to me conclusive. H.H. Rama Varma, the first Prince of Travancore, states that in an inscription published in *Ind. Antiquary*, 2, p. 360, Kollam appears in Sanskrit as Kolambe. If the identification has been correctly made, this would give us an explanation of the variant spelling. But how did this form come to be adopted by the medieval travellers from the west?

- 20 Yule, *Cathay*, vol. II, p. 80, and n. 1. Repeated in *Mirabilia*, p. 23. To whom is Jordanus referring – to Nestorian Christians, to Hindus, or even to Muslims? A number of peoples, notably the Karens in Burma, have had prophecies of the coming of white men from far away.
- 21 This allegation must be due, I think, to a misunderstanding, of the kind that so easily arises when interpreters do not know much of the language in which they are expected to communicate.
- 22 Yule, *Mirabilia*, p. 23.
- 23 *Mirabilia*, p. 24.
- 24 *Cathay*, vol. III, p. 80.
- 25 *Mirabilia*, p. vii. The letter bears the odd superscription: *Universis Christianis commorantibus in Molephatam*. This last word I am unable to interpret. It may be that it is due to a mishearing or misreading of Mylapore.
- 26 Sir Henry Yule has devoted a whole volume, vol. II (1913), of *Cathay and the Way Thither*, to this entertaining and not wholly unreliable writer.
- 27 The affirmations of Odoric and Fr William are given in full in *Cathay*, vol. II, pp. 266–7. William states that he has taken all things down ‘just as aforementioned Friar Odoric the Bohemian uttered them . . . Nor did he trouble himself to adorn the matter with difficult Latin and conceits of style, but just as the other told his story, so Friar William wrote it, so that all may the more easily understand what is told herein.’ Friar William has told the truth; his Latin is a good deal less than Ciceronian.
- 28 A vivid account of these doings has been given by John Foster, ‘The Four Martyrs of Thana, 1321’, *IRM*, 45 (1956), 204–8. His account is based on a visit to the actual scene of the martyrdom.
- 29 On 10 July 1894 the Holy See sanctioned the cult of the Martyrs of Thāna. *Cathay*, vol. II, p. 126 n. 1; and see A.E. Medlycott, *India and the Apostle Thomas*, p. 91 n. 2.
- 30 *Cathay*, vol. II, pp. 134–6.
- 31 *Cathay*, vol. II, pp. 141–2.
- 32 On the reputation and reliability of Marco Polo, see *Cathay*, vol. I, p. 165.
- 33 Yule–Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. II (1903), p. 331. This brief notice has given rise to endless perplexities. The term Maabar was later confused with Malabar. But Malabar is to the west of Cape Comorin, and the area visited by Marco Polo was indubitably to the east of the Cape. The confusion lasted for a very long time.
- 34 See *Marco Polo*, vol. II, pp. 332–7.

- 35 This is the view taken by Sir Henry Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. II, p. 335.
- 36 *Marco Polo*, vol. II, p. 353.
- 37 *Marco Polo*, vol. II, p. 336.
- 38 *Marco Polo*, vol. II, p. 377 n. 1.
- 39 *Marco Polo*, vol. II, p. 376.
- 40 *Marco Polo*, vol. II, p. 375.
- 41 *Marco Polo*, vol. II, pp. 411–12, Polo seems in point of fact to have confused Madagascar with Mogadishu. The matter is dealt with at length by A.C. Moule in *BSOAS*, 19 (1957), pp. 397–8. He comes down firmly on the side of Mogadishu (Polo may have been written something like ‘Mogdasio’), and his argumentation seems to me convincing. But this confusion does not really affect the point at issue – Polo’s reckonings of distance are often of the nature of hit and miss.
- 42 There is a story of a ship, about the year 1420, being carried away in a westerly and south-westerly direction for forty days, without seeing anything but sky and sea, during which they made to the best of their judgement 2,000 miles. They were fortunate in that they were able to beat their way back to safety in seventy days. *Marco Polo*, vol. II, p. 417 n. 5. The authority for this story is the great map of Fra Mauro (1459).
- 43 *Marco Polo*, vol. II, p. 412. See also p. 415 n. 4.
- 44 I am indebted for this information, and for further startling details of disaster to ships in modern times, to N. Mostert, *Supership* (Penguin ed. 1976), pp. 230–7.
- 45 *Cathay*, vol. III, p. 201.
- 46 *Cathay*, vol. III, pp. 177–268. Full details regarding the strange history of Marignolli’s work are given in this source.
- 47 *Cathay*, vol. III, pp. 216–18.
- 48 It is possible that this is the pillar of which the Dutch *predikant* Philip Baldaeus wrote: ‘Upon the rocks near the sea-shore of Coulam stands a stone pillar erected there, as the inhabitants report, by St Thomas. I saw the pillar in 1662.’ The pillar has since disappeared.
- 49 *Cathay*, vol. III, pp. 257–8.
- 50 *Cathay*, vol. III, p. 258 n. 1.
- 51 R.H. Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century*, gives a complete English translation of the text, with a convenient summary in the Introduction, pp. lix–lxvii.
- 52 R.H. Major, p. 20. *Nepos* in Latin means grandson; *nipote* (Italian) can mean grandson or nephew, more often the latter. In a matrilineal society it is usually the sister’s son who inherits. On polyandry among the Nāyars, see E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, vol. V (1909), pp. 307–13. Herbert Wigram, *A Commentary on Malabar Law* (1882), is quoted as saying ‘Polyandry may now be said to be dead.’ Thurston, p. 313.
- 53 Major, *The Travels of Nicolò Conti*, p. 7.
- 54 Poggio (Major, p. 33), tells us that, while he was preparing his record of Nicolò’s conversation, ‘there arrived another person from Upper India towards the north’, who told him that ‘there is a kingdom twenty days journey from Cathay, of which the king and all the inhabitants are Christians, but heretics, being said

to be Nestorians'. The unnamed person does not seem to have been a very credible informant, and his information, such as it was, cannot have referred to what we call India today.

- 55 For details see Major, pp. lxxiv–lxxx, and Nikitin, pp. 1–30.
- 56 Major, p. lxxv.
- 57 Major, p. lxxviii.
- 58 Sergei Hackel, in an article 'Apostate or Pioneer? Nikitin and his dialogue in India 1469–1472' in *Eastern Churches Review*, 8 (1976), pp. 162–73, discusses in some detail the experiences of Nikitin in India. See Appendix 7, pp. 397–8.
- 59 Major, pp. lxxx–lxxxii and Hieronimo, p. 5.
- 60 Major, 'Journey of Abd-er-Razzak', in *The Travels of Nicolò Conti*, p. 41.
- 61 For details see chapter 15, pp. 384ff.
- 62 Major, 'Journey of Abd-er-Razzak', pp. 1–49.
- 63 In the same year 1487 Bartholomew Dias had set out on the voyage which led him round the Cape of Good Hope and some distance up the coast of southern Africa. C.R. Boxer discusses the reasons for the delay in following up this discovery; Vasco da Gama did not set sail till July 1497. See *The Portuguese Sea-borne Empire* (London, 1969), pp. 33–7.
- 64 Major, p. lxxxvi.
- 65 The adventures of Covilham have been recorded by the Conde de Ficalho in a volume entitled *Viagens de Pedro da Covilã* (Lisbon, 1898).

5 EUROPE AND ASIA; CONTACT AND CONFLICT

- 1 *CMedH*, vol. VIII (1936), p. 521.
- 2 For an excellent account of the development of new types of ships and of seamanship which made ocean travel possible, see J.H. Parry, *The Age of Reconnaissance* (London, 1963), pp. 53–100. The illustrations in this work are as valuable as the text.
- 3 *The First Voyage of Vasco da Gama 1497–1499* (1898), pp. 5 and 51.
- 4 A rich and ample account of all these developments is to be found in Parry, pp. 100–13.
- 5 On the very real dangers to be encountered in the rounding of Cape Bojador, see C.R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Sea-borne Empire* (London, 1969), p. 26.
- 6 R.H. Major, *Prince Henry the Navigator* (London, 1868), pp. 99–101, based on Dr Pertz: 'Der älteste Versuch zur Entdeckung des Seeweges nach Ostindien', a report presented to the Royal Academy of Sciences of Munich on 28 March 1859, from the public annals of the city of Genoa.
- 7 For details, see J. Ure, *Prince Henry the Navigator* (London, 1977), pp. 68–71.
- 8 This is what happened in 1500 to Pedro Alvares Cabral, who inadvertently made the first European landing on the coast of Brazil.
- 9 R.S. Whiteway, in *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India 1457–1550* (London, 1899), pp. 7–8, gives a minutely accurate account of all these exactions. A great deal of light has been thrown on the whole of this subject in J. Innes Miller, *The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire 29BC to AD641* (Oxford, 1969).

- 10 Translation with valuable notes and studies by E.G. Ravenstein, published by the Hakluyt Society in 1898. Valuable also is the translation of *The Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama, according to Correa* (Hakluyt Society, 1869), by Lord Stanley of Alderley, 'with numerous foot-notes indicating the instances in which Correa differs from Barros, Goes, Castanheda and other historians, and from the poetical account of the voyage presented in the *Lusiadas* of Camões'.
- 11 The explorers had met a number of the inhabitants at various points along the coast of South Africa. From the descriptions given, these seem to have been Bushmen or Hottentots. Friendly relationships were established with them; the Portuguese appreciated especially the fat cattle which they were able to purchase from them.
- 12 This is almost certainly a mistake, arising from the strange idea that anyone in the East who was not a Muslim would be a Christian. The Thomas Christians were great traders and merchants; but I have found nothing in the sources to suggest that they had ships of their own. They stayed at home and let others venture on the seas.
- 13 This is the form in which the title occurs in almost all our sources. The *New CMH*, vol. II, p. 594 n. 1 connects it with the sea; 'The title samuri derived from Malayalam *tāmāтури* or *tāmūri*, meaning sea-king.' This cannot be said to be certain.
- 14 *The First Voyage*, p. 48.
- 15 Two of those frequently referred to were the Alexandrian Jew turned Christian, Gaspar, who appears from time to time in the records as 'Gaspar de las Indias'; and Monçaide, a 'Moor', who was believed to have been born in Seville but captured by Muslims at the age of five. He accompanied da Gama on his return voyage to Spain where he was baptised. See *The First Voyage*, Appendix E, pp. 179–80: 'Muster Roll of Vasco da Gama's Fleet'.
- 16 *The First Voyage*, pp. 52–5.
- 17 Damião de Goes, *Chronica do felicissimo rey Dom Manoel*, Chap. 40. The address *Maria, Maria* suggests that the sailors had entered a shrine of Māriamma, the goddess of smallpox; but it is unlikely that twice-born attendants wearing the sacred thread would be found in a shrine of that kind.
- 18 For a list of products of India brought to Europe see F.C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, vol. I (New York, 1894, 1966²), pp. 73–4.
- 19 Danvers gives the number as fifty-three (vol. I, p. 70). Danvers also gives a quite horrifying account of atrocities practised by Vasco da Gama on his second voyage of 1502 (p. 85).
- 20 See Appendix 8, for the instructions of the king of Portugal on warfare with the Muslims. It is to be noted, however, that in a recent study of the period Geneviève Bouchon rejects the picture of Portuguese brutality given by almost all English writers on the subject, and roundly asserts that the Portuguese did no more than adopt the customs of warfare which were current in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. 'Les Musulmans de Kérala à l'époque de la découverte portugaise', in *Mare Luso-Indicum*, 2 (1972), pp. 3–59. The writer notes the distinction drawn by the Portuguese between the Muslims from Mecca and the Moplahs long indigenised in India. See also p. 153.

- 21 S.F. Dale, *Islamic Society on the South-Asian Frontier* (Oxford, 1980), contains a good account of the social structure of Kerala, of the specific situation of the (Muslim) Māpillas, and of their relations with the Portuguese in the sixteenth century and after.
- 22 It should be noted that Albuquerque's predecessor as governor, Don Francisco de Almeida, held a diametrically opposite point of view. See *New CMH*, vol. II, p. 600.
- 23 It is stated that, in 1510, no less than 450 women of this type were baptised and married to Portuguese men. Danvers, vol. I, p. 217.
- 24 From an early date there were in Goa many slaves brought over from Moçambique; but the Portuguese seem to have used the term 'Negress', improperly, also of the dark-skinned Dravidian women. C.R. Boxer, *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire 1415-1825* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 64-5 and p. 65 n. 1.
- 25 *New CMH*, vol. II, p. 600.
- 26 As the British were later to discover, opium fulfils exactly all the requirements.
- 27 Reliable reports indicate that Vijayanagar had taken as many as 1,500 Arabian cavalry horses in a single year, all imported through Goa. *New CMH*, vol. III, p. 540.
- 28 Danvers, vol. I, p. 331. As this is based on Albuquerque's own account, it is possible that it is a little less than impartial.
- 29 Claudius Buchanan, *Christian Researches in Asia* (Cambridge, 1811), p. 133.
- 30 For a 'List of Viceroys, Governors, etc of Portuguese India' see Danvers, Appendix B (vol. II, pp. 487-92). Appendix C 'Heroes of the Epic Period' (pp. 493-527), and Appendix D 'Names of Places' (pp. 528-36), with Portuguese and modern spelling, will also be found useful.
- 31 Quoted, though in paraphrase rather than translation, in C.R. Boxer, *Race Relations*, p. 61, from da Silva Rêgo, *Doc.* (Lisbon, 1948-58), vol. VII, p. 37.
- 32 See C. Mercês de Melo, *The Recruitment and Formation of the Native Clergy in India* (Lisbon, 1955), p. 247 n. 1.
- 33 In an interesting note, C.R. Boxer points out that the term should properly be used only of the inhabitants of Canara, who are for the most part Dravidian in race and speech, whereas the inhabitants of Goa 'geographically are Konkani-Marathi, ethnically are Indo-Aryan, and glotologically are Indo-European', *Race Relations*, pp. 84-5. First in rank came the Brāhmins, then the Chardos, perhaps Kṣatriyas; below them the Sūdras, cultivators of the soil, next the Curumbins, of poor or menial status, and finally the Farazes, who did the most menial tasks of all. In each case the forms used in Portuguese works are given.
- 34 A useful summary of the 'Rules and Customs of the Village Headmen and cultivators of the Island of Goa' is to be found in R.S. Whiteway, pp. 218-20.
- 35 Whiteway, p. 172.
- 36 'A light galley; a vessel propelled by both sails and oars' (OED).
- 37 On *The Memoirs of Babur*, see Bibliography.
- 38 E. Denison Ross in *CHI*, vol. IV, p. 20.
- 39 The rulers referred to are the Lodīs in Delhi; Muhammad Muzaffar in Gujarāt;

the Bahmanis in the Deccan; Mahmūd Khaljī in Malwa; Nusrat Shāh in Bengal; and the two Hindus, the king of Vijayanagar, and Rānā Sanga in Chitor. *CHI*, vol. IV, p. 9.

- 40 The extent of the role played by artillery in the decisive battle of Panipat is a matter of some controversy; it seems that it was at least considerable. This is the view taken by Dr R.C. Majumdar, editor of *The History and Culture of the Indian People* (vol. VII, pp. 41–3), as against the author of the chapter on Babur, Dr S. Roy (pp. 25–40).
- 41 *The Memoirs of Babur* (1922), p. 474.
- 42 *Memoirs*, pp. 518–19.
- 43 *Memoirs*, pp. 519–20.
- 44 Mountstuart Elphinstone, *The History of India* (1911⁹), p. 429.
- 45 The map in Sewell's *Forgotten Empire* (London, 1900) shows the kingdom as covering the whole of India south of the Tungabhadra and Kistna rivers, and as far as Cape Comorin. But this is hardly accurate; the power of Vijayanagar was never felt in the extreme south of the country, though claims to dominion in that area were no doubt made.
- 46 Part of the value of Sewell's book lies in the fact that he has given a complete English translation of the narrations, based on personal experiences, of Dominic Pires (1520–2) and of Ferdinand Nuniz (1535–7). Both of these give evidence of the extent of religious toleration observed in Vijayanagar.
- 47 R. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire: (Vijayanagar) A Contribution to the History of India* (London: Swan & Co, 1900; now available in the reprint of 1972, I.U.P., Shannon).
- 48 'Akbar had great faith in his own powers of discerning character, and he appears to have acted uniformly on his own judgment. In the same way there were no rules regarding promotion; an officer might be advanced or degraded or dismissed at the emperor's pleasure.' W.H. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar* (London: Macmillan, 1920), p. 69.
- 49 Professor H. Blochmann made a careful translation from Persian of a large part of the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, one of our chief sources for the reign of Akbar, and unique in the minute detail in which it records the administration of his empire. This was published in Calcutta in 1873. Blochmann was prevented by his death in 1878 from completing the work; the remaining volumes were contributed by Colonel H.S. Jarrett.
- 50 Moreland, p. 70.
- 51 This seems not to have been the case in the Indian systems of administration which preceded those of the Mughuls.
- 52 Quoted, without reference, by Moreland, p. 268.
- 53 *Early Travels in India*, ed. Sir W. Foster (Oxford, 1921), p. 184.
- 54 S. Roy in *History and Culture*, 8 (1974), pp. 113–14.
- 55 Some years later, before his faith in Islam finally faded out, Akbar did form a quickly abandoned plan to make the pilgrimage to Mecca.
- 56 Quoted in *CHI*, vol. IV, p. 105. This is the writer whom Prof. Blochmann politely describes: 'the charge of flattery and even of wilful concealment of facts

- damaging to the reputation of his master is absolutely unfounded . . . We shall find that while he praises, he does so infinitely less, and with much more dignity and grace, than any other Indian historian or poet', *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, vol. 1 (1873), p. vi.
- 57 Akbar would probably have agreed with the view expressed by Sultan Bahādur of Gujarāt that 'wars by sea are merchants' affairs, and of no concern to the prestige of kings', M.N. Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat* (Berkeley, 1976), p. 91. 'It is clear that the Portuguese did not press their demands to a degree which would have provoked concerted and sustained opposition.' S. Digby, *BSOAS*, 11, 2 (1977), 409 (a review of Pearson's book, as above). See also careful criticisms of this work by G. Bouchon: 'Pour une histoire du Gujarāt du XV^e au XVII^e Siecle', in *Mare Luso-Indicum*, 4 (1980), pp. 150-4. John Fryer tells us that Aurungzīb 'styles the Christians Lions of the Sea; saying that God has allotted that Unstable Element for their Rule'. *East India and Persia*, vol. 1 (Reprint, London, 1909-15), p. 302.
- 58 Newbery had already made an adventurous journey in which he reached the Portuguese fort of Ormuz at the mouth of the Persian Gulf.
- 59 'Her husband's to Aleppo gone, master of the *Tyger*.' Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, Act 1 Scene iii. The narrative of Ralph Fitch has been admirably edited and annotated by Sir W. Foster, *Early Travels in India 1583-1619* (1921), pp. 1-47.
- 60 Linschoten's *Voyages*, vol. 11 (Hakluyt Society edition), pp. 158-67, gives further most interesting details of the sojourn of the Englishmen in Goa.
- 61 Details in Foster, pp. 6-7.
- 62 *CHI*, vol. v (1929), p. 29.
- 63 Read 'impediment'. The English translator is not always accurate. See *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies*, ed. A.C. Burnell (1885), an excellent and careful edition of a classic by a great scholar. The quotation is from vol. 1, p. 112.
- 64 Linschoten's information was not quite accurate. By the date of the publication of the volume, the Portuguese were already in Java.
- 65 Barker's account of this first voyage is to be found in *The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster Kt to the East Indies*, ed. Clements R. Markham (1877), pp. 1-24.
- 66 *The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster Kt*, p. 57.
- 67 The circumstances surrounding the granting of the Charter are well set out in J. Bruce, *Annals of the Honourable East India Company*, vol. 1 (London, 1810), pp. 109-51.

6 BEGINNINGS OF MISSION

- 1 The full text of all these documents will be found well set forth in *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum* (4 vols., Lisbon, 1866-73). For the declaration of Martin V, see *Bull.*, vol. 1, pp. 9-10. See also Appendices 9-13.
- 2 The pope seems to have shared the illusion that there were Christian countries in the East. See A. Jann, *Die katholischen Missionen in Indien, China and Japan* (Paderborn, 1915), pp. 37-8.

- 3 The Latin text is given in Jann, pp. 39–40.
- 4 A further confirmation of all the privileges accorded to the Portuguese crown was declared by Pope Leo X in the bull *Dum fidei constantiam* of 7 June 1514, and in a further declaration on 3 November of the same year.
- 5 A. da Silva Rêgo, *Missiões* (Lisbon, 1949), p. 273, tells us that de Sousa was later vicar general, and a constant companion of da Gama on his later voyages. The other two were, according to Gaspar Correa, *Lendas* (Lisbon, 1858–61), vol. 1, p. 394, Fr Rodrigo, who was left behind at Cochin, and Fr John de Rosario, who died at Ormuz on his way to Persia as ambassador.
- 6 The letter is printed, in Portuguese, in da Silva Rêgo, *Documentação*, vol. 1 (Lisbon, 1947), pp. 74–5. The situation was of course complicated by the fact that the Muslims, of whom there were quite a number in the neighbourhood of Cochin, do eat beef; the Christians were not the first to commit the crime, which has been the cause of endless riots through the centuries in India.
- 7 This suggests that the Thomas Christians had at that time no priests. But this does not seem to have been the case. It seems more likely that these Christians had maintained the very ancient custom that only the bishop baptised; in periods when there was no bishop no baptisms would take place. A Western priest was, of course, not bound by this rule.
- 8 So M. Müllbauer, *Geschichte der katholischen Missionen in Ostindien* (Freiburg i. B., 1852), p. 48. See *Bull.*, vol. 1, 57 for the brief of Alexander VI *Cum sicut majestatis* of 26 March 1500.
- 9 See da Silva Rêgo, *Missiões*, p. 259.
- 10 Letter dated 10 January 1522; SR, *Doc.*, vol. 1, pp. 436–49.
- 11 Great obscurity still clings to the whole subject. For various views, see the article of Fr B.M. Biermann OP, 'Der erste Bischof in Ost-Indien: Fray Duarte Nunes OP', *NZM*, 9 (1953), 81–90. Fr Biermann is of the opinion that there were in reality only two bishops of the ring – Duarte Nunes (1520–4) and Fernando Vaqueiro OFM (1531–5). The latter is credited with having been the first bishop to ordain Indians to the priesthood. Biermann is prepared to admit the possibility that there may have been a third bishop, D. Martinho, mentioned by Correa, about 1523. Fr A. Meersman OFM ('The First Latin Bishops of the Portuguese period in India', *NZM*, 20 (1964), 179–83) is prepared to recognise only two bishops, Nunes and Vaqueiro. He inclines to identify Don Martinho, perhaps correctly, with Duarte Nunes. The addition of a fourth name to the list seems to be due only to misunderstanding.
- 12 SR, *Doc.*, vol. 1, pp. 452–3, letter of 12 January 1522.
- 13 SR, *Doc.*, vol. II, pp. 19–24, letter of 28 December 1523.
- 14 SR, *Doc.*, vol. 1, p. 440, letter of 10 January 1522.
- 15 Note that the bishop never signs his name; he concludes his letters only with his title 'Dumensis'. This has contributed not a little to the difficulty of identifying him with certainty. His personal name appears to have been Andrew Torquemada.
- 16 SR, *Doc.*, vol. 1, pp. 453, 459–62. We are astonished here as in many other contexts at the almost excessive care which was taken even in the remotest

- regions to make sure that everything was done and recorded in regular and proper order.
- 17 This is not the San Tomé (Mylapore) in India, which was constituted a diocese on 6 January 1606.
 - 18 Not all of these appointments were made, partly because of the lack of adequate personnel, partly because even the generous revenues of the diocese would not extend so far.
 - 19 The Act of the consecration of Albuquerque may be found in SR, *Doc.*, vol. II, pp. 262–4.
 - 20 On his early years see S. Bivia OFM, 'El primer obispo de la India Frey Juan Albuquerque', in *Misiones Franciscanas*, 39 (1955), 130–6.
 - 21 *Lex. f. Theologie u. Kirche* s.v. gives the date of his birth as 1478. There is a useful section on Albuquerque in A. Meersman OFM, *The Friars' Mission* (Karachi, 1943), pp. 144–7, where two letters of Francis Xavier relating to the bishop are printed in full (in Eng. trans.). Albuquerque received from his clergy the somewhat backhanded compliment that the fact that he was a Spaniard did not mean that he was rough! Correa, *Lendas*, vol. IV, p. 10.
 - 22 Correa, *Lendas*, vol. IV, pp. 88–9, for the ceremonies attendant on his installation.
 - 23 One of the first tasks that Albuquerque had to attend to was to ensure that the parish priest of St Catherine's did not become dean of the cathedral, a post for which he was massively unsuited. Amusing details of the measure of his incompetence are given in the account in SR, *Doc.*, vol. II, pp. 269–90.
 - 24 SR, *Doc.*, vol. I, pp. 232–9. The women belonged to an interesting variety of castes, including Brāhmans.
 - 25 SR, *Missiões*, p. 117.
 - 26 SR, *Doc.*, vol. I, pp. 228–31; letter of 20 December 1514.
 - 27 A full account of Henry, who became bishop of Ceuta on 30 January 1506, is given by Fr F. Felix Lopes OFM in *Studia*, 37 (Lisbon, 1973), 7–119.
 - 28 Letter of Albuquerque, 22 December 1522, printed in SR, *Doc.*, vol. I, p. 118.
 - 29 Letter of the governor Martin Affonso de Sousa to the king, 23 December 1542, printed in SR, *Doc.*, vol. II, p. 217.
 - 30 A. Houlder SJ, *Der einheimische Klerus in den Heidenländern* (Freiburg. i. B., 1909), p. 57.
 - 31 Francis Gonzago OFM, *De Origine Seraphicae Religionis Franciscanae* (Rome, 1587), p. 1204.
 - 32 SR, *Doc.*, vol. I, p. 121.
 - 33 *Missiões*, pp. 240–2.
 - 34 C.R. Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East* (1948), p. 217. There was more charitable activity, though perhaps not so well organised, in the colonies of other powers than Boxer has allowed for. There is a full-scale history of the *Misericórdia* – J.F. Ferreira-Martins, *Historia da Misericórdia da Goa* (2 vols., Nova Goa, 1910–12).
 - 35 Our chief authority for these events is Gaspar Correa, *Lendas*, vol. II, pp. 537–8. Ordinarily the secular clergy alone would have had the right to administer the sacraments in the city.

- 36 SR, *Doc.*, vol. II, pp. 213–15, letter of 8 November 1532.
- 37 On the admission of *mestiços*, see A. Meersman OFM, *The Ancient Franciscan Provinces in India 1500–1835* (Bangalore, 1971), pp. 37–40. Note that under Pope Gregory XIII (1572–85) it was laid down that descendants of Muslims were not to be ordained, unless their families had been Christians for four generations.
- 38 The text reads *Bryvia*, which da Silva Rêgo interprets, probably correctly, as ‘Bible’.
- 39 SR, *Doc.*, vol. I, pp. 336–9.
- 40 The name of this admirable man keeps cropping up in connection with every good work, usually in highly laudatory terms. For instance in a letter of 1 January 1543, relating to the unification of the hospital with the *Misericórdia*, it is stated that ‘Cosme Anes, secretary to the treasury, undertook the responsibility for this work, and with great care and labour brought it all to a state of perfection’, SR, *Doc.*, vol. II, pp. 325–6.
- 41 SR, *Doc.*, vol. II, pp. 306–8. The word rendered ‘protector’ is almost illegible in the text. Da Silva Rêgo suggests that it should perhaps be read *provedor*, provider. Confraternities played an important part in the development of Christianity in Goa. For a full study, see the work of L. da Rocha, *As Confrarias de Goa (Séculos XVI–XX)* (Lisbon, 1973), largely based on da Silva Rêgo, *Documentação* and J. Wicki SJ, *Documenta Indica*. The author is critical of the confraternities, especially of their exclusivism, sometimes local, but often based, in the Indian confraternities, on caste distinction.
- 42 SR, *Missiões*, p. 253.
- 43 Some doubt exists as to the part played by the Franciscans. Paulo de Trindade, *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, vol. I (Lisbon, 1962–7), p. 266 affirms that they continued teaching until they were able to hand over the work to the Jesuits. It is not certain that he was right. The same Paulo gave the first lecture, on 13 July 1618, at the newly founded Franciscan College of St Bonaventure in Goa.
- 44 SR, *Doc.*, vol. I, pp. 240–3. Letter dated 20 December 1514.
- 45 Is this an error for Tiyas, an alternative name for the caste more generally known as Izhavas? ‘Macuas’ is the incorrect form, generally used by Portuguese, for Mukkuvas, the fisher caste of the west coast.
- 46 SR, *Doc.*, vol. II, pp. 14–17.
- 47 *ICHR*, 3 (1969), 103–14.
- 48 Barros, *de Asia*, vol. I, 9, 1, p. 303.
- 49 *ICHR*, 3, 111.
- 50 See da Silva Rêgo, *Missiões*, p. 160 n. 114, with a long quotation from Gaspar Correa, *Lendas*, vol. II, pp. 930–1, in which details of the case are given.
- 51 *Missiões*, p. 515.
- 52 *Missiões*, p. 514.
- 53 For Portuguese attempts to suppress the Konkani language, see A.K. Priolkar *The Printing Press in India* (Bombay, 1958), pp. 141–238.
- 54 For details see A. Meersman OFM, pp. 78–88.
- 55 This system was eventually brought to an end by the vicar general, and a fixed salary was assigned to the watchful dragon, in place of the income from the fines.

- 56 SR, *Doc.*, vol. 1, p. 341.
- 57 A way out was in some places sought by providing a list of sins written up in large letters. The penitent would then point to that or those of which he or she admitted guilt – hardly a satisfactory method of making or hearing confessions.
- 58 SR, *Doc.*, vol. 1, p. 340.
- 59 SR, *Doc.*, vol. 1, p. 343. Correct information about the Izhavas is given in the *Book of Duarte Barbosa*, vol. II (1921), pp. 58–9, with notes. See the full account given in E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of southern India*, vol. II (Madras, 1909), pp. 392–417, s.v. *Izhavas*; and also L.K. Ananta Krishna Iyer, 'The Cochin Castes and Tribes', vol. I (1909), pp. 277–342. A useful contemporary study is C.K. Pullapilly, 'The Izhavas of Kerala and their Historic Struggle for Acceptance in the Hindu Society', in *Religion and Social Conflict in South Asia*, ed. B.L. Smith (Leiden, 1976), pp. 24–46.
- 60 SR, *Doc.*, vol. 1, p. 178. Letter of 1 January 1513.
- 61 This work, which was published in English translation by the Hakluyt Society in 1944, appears from internal evidence to have been written before the death of Albuquerque on 16 December 1515.
- 62 *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires*, vol. I (London: Hakluyt Society, 1944), pp. 58–9. Pires was sent to China as ambassador, and seems to have died there about 1540. His book is circumstantial and seems to be reliable.
- 63 And also produced endless perplexities for the historian. In a great many cases it is hard to be sure whether the person referred to is Portuguese or *mestiço* or pure Indian. See an interesting study by Fr G. Schurhammer SJ, on 'Doppelgänger in the Portuguese East', in *Gesammelte Studien*, 'Orientalia' (1963), pp. 121–47.
- 64 See A. D'Costa SJ, *The Christianisation of the Goa Islands 1510–1567* (Bombay, 1965), p. 29.
- 65 The list given by A.K. Priolkar, in *The Goa Inquisition* (Bombay, 1961), pp. 69–70, from the work of Francis Paes, gives considerably more than a hundred; but some of these were in territories which in 1543 had not yet been acquired by Portugal.
- 66 SR, *Doc.*, vol. II, p. 343.
- 67 *Lendas*, vol. IV.1.290, quoted by A. D'Costa, p. 31 and n. 13, who accepts the account as reliable, though raising a number of problems. We have many accounts of the destruction of temples by Hindus who had become Christians; I do not recall any evidence as to Hindus who continued to be Hindus having carried out such destruction.
- 68 DI, I, p. 45.
- 69 Printed at length in SR, *Doc.*, vol. II, pp. 293–305, together with a further narrative explaining some of the legal difficulties. See also a detailed and accurate study by A. D'Costa SJ, 'The demolition of the temples in the Islands of Goa in 1540 and the disposal of the temple lands', *NZM*, 18 (1962), 161–76.
- 70 There is a full and fascinating study of 'Crisna' in S.S. Pissurlenca, *Arquivo Historico do Estado da India*, vol. II, 'Agentes da Diplomacia Portuguesa na India' (Bastora-Goa, 1952), pp. 1–21. See also A.L. Priolkar, *Inquisition*, p. 71; and DI, I, pp. 792–3.
- 71 Castello-Branco seems to have been making use of the fiction according to

which the *khushi-vrat*, the sum paid in past times to the Hindu rulers, was a voluntary contribution on the part of the subjects.

- 72 The various coinages current in the sixteenth century are a subject of great perplexity to the modern reader. A good account of them is given by R.S. Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India* (London, 1899), p. 69. See also A. D'Costa, pp. 32-3. It is hardly possible even to suggest what the value of this sum might be in modern terms; but clearly it was considerable in those days.
- 73 SR, *Doc.*, vol. II, p. 301.
- 74 SR, *Doc.*, vol. II, p. 300.
- 75 Details in A. D'Costa, pp. 32-3; and in the article referred to in n. 69 above, p. 175. In March 1569 King Sebastian issued a decree relating to the temple lands of Salsette and Bardez, in which he states that 'the first and chief purpose of the income and properties of the temples . . . ought to be the spiritual good of the inhabitants of those places, whose ancestors donated them'.

7 THE JESUITS AND THE INDIAN CHURCH

- 1 'The New Orders', in *New CMH*, vol. II, pp. 275-300. This excellent study contains everything necessary for an understanding of the background of the first Jesuit mission in India.
- 2 The rather puzzling name is derived from the Latin form of the name Chiete, the bishop of which, Gian Pietro Caraffa, later Pope Paul IV, was one of the founders of the order. This 'restless, fiery, yet learned bishop' (Evennett, p. 286) resigned his bishopric on the formation of the Order of Theatines in 1524.
- 3 Evennett, p. 286.
- 4 Evennett, p. 297.
- 5 Evennett, p. 294.
- 6 Fr G. Schurhammer SJ mentions that, in the Roman archives of the society, the Goa letters alone fill forty-five volumes.
- 7 For John Polanco's twenty reasons for writing good and careful letters, see *Monumenta Ignatiana*, Series Prima, I (Madrid, 1903-11), pp. 536-41; and also J. Correia-Afonso SJ, *Jesuit Letters and Indian History* (Bombay, 1969²) pp. 3-4.
- 8 *Documenta Indica*, 2 ed. J. Wicki SJ, p. 489. This annual letter actually fills forty-six pages of print, DI, 2, pp. 445-91.
- 9 The early years of Xavier are comprehensively treated in G. Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, vol. I (Eng. trans. 1973).
- 10 *Monumenta Xaveriana* (Madrid, 1899-1912), vol. II, p. 896. For further evidence as to the language spoken by Xavier, see Appendix 15.
- 11 J. Brodrick, *St Francis Xavier* (London, 1952), p. 43 n. 1.
- 12 The actual terms of the bull appointing him are 'Apostolic Nuncio to the islands of the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, as well as to the provinces and places of India this side of the Ganges, and beyond the promontory called the Cape of Good Hope.'
- 13 *Historia del principio y progreso de la Compañia de Jesús en las Indias Orientales 1542-64*, ed. J. Wicki SJ (Rome, 1944), pp. 3-264.

- 14 *Historia*, p. 18.
- 15 Ships could not ordinarily leave Goa during the south-west monsoon; this explains the interval of more than four months between his arrival and the writing of the letter.
- 16 Forty in 1548; exactly how many there were in 1542 our authorities do not seem to relate.
- 17 *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii Aliaque eius Scripta*, ed. G. Schurhammer SJ and J. Wicki SJ (Rome, 1944-5), vol. I, pp. 121-2.
- 18 G. Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, vol. II (Eng. trans. Rome, 1977), pp. 154-6, based on Teixeira, p. 842: *EX*, vol. II, p. 455. Xavier always insisted on this attitude of respect for the bishop, and this helped to ease relationships between bishops and Jesuits, which in other areas were not always so cordial.
- 19 G. Schurhammer, vol. II (Eng. trans.) p. 157 n. 35, basing himself on Correa, *Lendas* (Lisbon, 1858-61), vol. IV, p. 290, states firmly that Vaz was a layman and not a priest. This is surprising, but Schurhammer is not often mistaken in his affirmations.
- 20 In a document of the year 1560, it is stated that the population includes 'Chaldaeans, Hebrews, Greeks, Armenians, Janissaries, Russians, Arabs, Persians, Moors, Jews, Brahmans, Yogis, Sannyasis, Fartakis, Nubians, Khorassanians, Moguls, Gujaratis, Dekhanis, Canarim, Kanarese, Malabarais, Singhalese, Malays, Peguans, Bengalis, Kaffirs, Japanese, Chinese, Malucos, Pathans, Makassars and many others', DI, 4, pp. 837-8.
- 21 Letter of 20 September 1542 to the brethren at Rome; *EX*, vol. I, p. 126. Note that all these patients would be wholly or in part Portuguese, and therefore able to understand what Xavier had to say to them.
- 22 *Mon. Xav.*, vol. II, pp. 812ff.
- 23 The not always reverent pen of Fr Brodrick has in this case perhaps found the right phrase: 'the combined muffin-man and Pied Piper'.
- 24 A detailed account of all this is in Schurhammer, vol. II (Eng. trans.), pp. 218-24.
- 25 'Without any mention of God', says DI, 3, p. 336.
- 26 Schurhammer, vol. II (Eng. trans.), pp. 226-9. This is a composite account but probably not far from the truth.
- 27 *EX*, vol. I, pp. 132-3.
- 28 *EX*, vol. I, p. 134. In 'Zum Humanismus im Portugiesisch-Indien des 16 Jahrhunderts' (originally in *Anal. Gregoriana*, 70 (1954), 193-246, now reprinted in *Missionskirche im Orient* (1976), 49-81), Fr J. Wicki SJ has given something like a continuous history of the college of St Paul till nearly the end of the sixteenth century.
- 29 I have generally used the more familiar term, and hope that this may not be found offensive by readers who are members of that community.
- 30 *EX*, vol. I, pp. 126-7, letter of 20 September 1542. It is commonly said that Xavier's helpers, Gaspar and Emmanuel, and one unnamed, were Paravas from Tuticorin, and Ep. 19 (*EX*, vol. I, p. 147) does suggest this. But almost certainly they were Malayalis from the neighbourhood of Cochin. This is borne out by Ep. 45 of 18 December 1544, in which Xavier states that the

bishop has ordained Manuel and Gaspar (to the priesthood) 'who are in Cochin, in order to bring forth fruit there'. If Xavier had had reasonably well educated Tamil helpers he should not have experienced as much difficulty as he did in translating creed and prayers into Tamil, and the results should have been better. There is no reference in the documents to the young men having found friends and relations in the places which they visited.

- 31 The Tamil word means literally 'trees tied together', and this is just what they are; they do not try to keep the sea out, but let it in and out again.
- 32 A modern study of the Pearl Fishery is S. Arunachalam, *History of the Pearl Fishery on the Tamil Coast* (Annamalai Nagar, 1952).
- 33 Fr Brodrick, p. 122, refers to the absurd report sent by Michael Vaz to the pope to the effect that half a million new Christians had been added to the church. He estimates the number at 20,000. I think that this is still too high. But no accurate figures can be expected from the contemporary records.
- 34 The Franciscans claimed that they had visited the Paravas and instructed them, but this claim does not seem to be supported by any evidence. All these complicated events have been worked out in detail by Schurhammer, 'Die Bekehrung der Parava, 1535-1537', first published in *AHSI*, 4 (1935) and reprinted in 'Orientalia' (1963), pp. 215-54.
- 35 *EX*, vol. 1, p. 148.
- 36 Only in part. Much of this valuable soil is carried far out to sea.
- 37 The palmyra (*Borassus flabelliformis*; the English name is a corruption of the Tamil *panaimaram*) is not a palm, though it looks rather like one. Though not beautiful, every part of this remarkable tree can be turned to the service of the human race. Among other things, it produces the sweet juice from which most of the local sugar is made, but which when allowed to ferment threatens the sobriety of the local inhabitants.
- 38 At one point Fr Brodrick, p. 220, depicts the saint on one of his journeys as staggering painfully over the burning sandhills. I fancy Fr Schurhammer derived a little malicious pleasure from pointing out that Xavier, like any sensible person, actually went by boat.
- 39 *EX*, vol. 1, pp. 147-8, letter of 28 October 1542. Xavier is here summarising what took place on a number of visits. Some of the boys may have picked up a few words of Portuguese; but the difficulty of communication remained immense during the whole period of his ministry on the Coast.
- 40 Letter of 15 January 1544, *EX*, vol. 1, pp. 162-4.
- 41 *EX*, vol. 1, p. 166.
- 42 *EX*, vol. 1, pp. 164-5.
- 43 This great temple, like that of Herod, has been forty and six years in building, or rather rebuilding; I do not know whether it is even now completed. See Schurhammer, vol. II (Eng. trans.), pp. 296-7.
- 44 *EX*, vol. 1, pp. 170-1.
- 45 Presumably Sanskrit; but Xavier does not give a name to this esoteric form of speech.
- 46 See Schurhammer, vol. II (Eng. trans.), pp. 344-6, where extensive references to the sources on which his account is based are supplied.

- 47 *EX*, vol. 1, p. 245.
- 48 *DI*, 1, p. 138; and see n. 35 for an important reference. Xavier conceived a great affection for his feckless namesake and brother. In the course of a year he wrote to him no less than twenty-six letters, some trivial, others containing information of the greatest value; these enable us to follow in close detail the events of the perplexing year 1544. Mansilhas died in Cochin in 1565. At that time he handed the letters over to the Jesuits, and copies of them have been preserved, though the originals seem to have been destroyed when the Dutch captured Cochin in 1663. Eventually, Mansilhas had to be dismissed from the Society of Jesus for disobedience – he had been ordered to go to the Moluccas, but had failed to obey the order. See *EX*, vol. 11, p. 79, and Schurhammer, vol. III (Eng. trans.), p. 286 with nn. 18 and 21. Schurhammer remarks that ‘though he had been dismissed by Xavier in the year 1548, he remained deeply attached to the society, and on his deathbed wished to be cared for by Fathers of the society only’, *EX*, vol. 1, p. 179. See Schurhammer, vol. 11 (Eng. trans.), p. 427 n. 17.
- 49 The Portuguese name gives no clue as to his origin. Schurhammer states that he was of Malabar and came probably from Cochin, vol. 11 (Eng. trans.), p. 402 n. 179. Coelho remains a rather dim figure.
- 50 Sacristans is perhaps a rather grand term for the *kanakkappillaimār*, as at that time there were no churches on the Coast, except one church built in Tuticorin for the Portuguese. The first stone church on the Coast was almost certainly the chapel erected at Manappādu in 1582. In 1591 the *nāyak* of Mathurai, in token of his desire for peace, agreed to permit the building of stone churches. See Schurhammer, vol. 11 (Eng. trans.), pp. 341–2, and nn. 431–3, quoting a letter of Fr Peter Martins, now in the archives of the Society in Rome. This permission took effect. A report of the year 1644 speaks of twenty churches in villages of the Paravas.
- 51 The correct form is *paṭṭankatti*, one on whom dignity has been conferred. Xavier several times uses the Portuguese term *meirinho*, bailiff. I do not think that the translation given by Schurhammer, *Polizist*, is defensible.
- 52 ‘Inquitriberim and Beteperumal, Chēra and Pāṇḍiya kings in Southern India 1544’, in *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society* (1930), 1–40; reprinted in ‘*Orientalia*’ (1963), pp. 263–89. See also *EX*, vol. 1, pp. 181–3, for useful information as to the various forms of Indian names found in the contemporary sources. Xavier used the form ‘Beterbemal’ for Beteperumal.
- 53 These *badagas* clearly have nothing but the name in common with the people called Badagas who live in the Nilgiri hills, the story of the evangelisation of whom will come before us much later in our narrative.
- 54 Letter to Francis Mansilhas of 30 June 1544, *EX*, vol. 1, p. 209.
- 55 *EX*, vol. 1, pp. 236–8.
- 56 Paul Vaz, a young Portuguese who had spent some months with Xavier, gives a fuller account: ‘He found such favour with the king that this man had it proclaimed in all his realm that all should obey his brother the great Padre as they would obey the king himself, and that all in the kingdom who wished to become Christians had his permission to do so.’ From a letter of Fr Martin da

- Santa Cruz of 22 October 1545, in *Epistolae Mixtae*, vol. I, p. 231. See Schurhammer, vol. II (Eng. trans.), pp. 462–3 n. 249. For Paul Vaz, see vol. II, p. 451 n. 166. This is not one of our most reliable sources, the writer only repeating at secondhand what he has heard.
- 57 *EX*, vol. I, pp. 273–4. Valuable information as to the social organisation of the Paravas, and the use made of it by the missionaries for their own purposes in S. Kaufmann, 'Popular Christianity, Caste and Hindu Society in South India' (Cambridge, unpublished dissertation, 1980).
- 58 *The Portuguese Sea-borne Empire, 1415–1525* (1969), pp. 76–7.
- 59 Schurhammer, vol. II (Eng. trans.), p. 641.
- 60 *EX*, vol. I, pp. 285–6. Artiaga confirms this from experience: 'he [Xavier] went constantly from place to place, visiting the flock, always on foot, and often barefoot', *Mon. Xav.*, vol. II, p. 378.
- 61 *EX*, vol. I, p. 287. Who are these priests from Malabar? Schurhammer identifies them with Fr Coelho, Emmanuel and Garcia, and a fourth who may be named Ferdinand (*EX*, vol. II, p. 443). But it seems unlikely that Mansilhas, himself so recently ordained priest, would be given authority over these others; I think the reference is probably to young priests from the seminary at Cranganore, sent out to work with limited training and a great need of supervision.
- 62 According to Schurhammer, vol. II (Eng. trans.), p. 602, he reported that he had never been in a place where he found such good people, and where he had been able to work so fruitfully. For this God would certainly bless the city.
- 63 Letter of 27 January 1545, *EX*, vol. I, p. 277. This is an early reference to the unhealthiness of the place in which the college was situated.
- 64 *DI*, I, pp. 32–4. Xavier, to whom obedience was as the breath of life, was deeply troubled by this insubordinate spirit. On 10 May 1546 he wrote affectionately to Paul, urging him to submit to those who had authority over him, 'for it is a very dangerous thing for a man to follow his own will contrary to that which he has been commanded, and believe me, my brother Master Paul, that in not acting according to what they told you to do, the miss is greater than the hit', *EX*, vol. I, pp. 342–3.
- 65 Briefly in Brodrick, pp. 286–7, based on Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado* (1710), pp. 425–35.
- 66 *DI*, I, pp. 135–6. Letter of 5 November 1546, with Fr Wicki's notes on editions of these works available in 1546. A separate study of Lancilotto is: A. Aurati, *Nicolao Lancilotto; un gesuita urbinato del secolo XVI in India, benemerito della cultura* (Urbino, 1974). This tribute from one son of Urbino to another deals mainly with the information about Japan gathered by Lancilotto during his residence in India, and adds little to what we already knew of his life and work in India.
- 67 *DI*, I, pp. 30*–31*; 44*–51*.
- 68 He was born in, or about the year 1532.
- 69 *DI*, I, pp. 792–3. The name is here spelt Luqu; in *DI*, I, p. 326 Loquu. His Hindu name appears to have been Lakshman.

- 70 In point of fact the governor did order his release.
- 71 Wicki gives the date as 11 or 18 November; but the above date, given by Schurhammer, seems on the whole the more probable. See DI, 2, pp. 399–401. See also DI, 1, pp. 325–7; and Priolkar, *Inquisition* (Bombay, 1961), pp. 72–3.
- 72 In 1548, 912 Hindus had been baptised in Goa itself, with 200 children of Portuguese and 500 children of converts. From the time of the baptism of Loku the number steadily increased.
- 73 SR, *Doc.*, vol. III, pp. 284–314. These documents afford an excellent example of the prolixity of Portuguese documents of this period, and of a cumbrousness of procedure which did more to hinder than to expedite the progress of business.
- 74 The two important points were the tuft of hair and the sacred thread, which the rājā wore as the mark of his membership of a twice-born caste. Presumably he claimed to be a Kṣatriya.
- 75 For a letter from him (20 January 1549) see SR, *Doc.*, vol. IV, pp. 240–7. Soares has special words of commendation for the Franciscans.
- 76 Some objected, among them according to one report Antony Gomes; but, as Fr Schurhammer points out, Gomes was not at that time in Goa; vol. II.iii, p. 429 n. 25.
- 77 DI, 1, pp. 536–48. Letter of the bishop of Goa.
- 78 This letter is summarised in Schurhammer, vol. II. iii, pp. 484–7 (Eng. trans. not yet available). It is confirmed by a letter of 31 December 1551 from Diogo Bermudez, vicar general of the Dominicans, to the bishop of the island of San Thomé; he had warned the Portuguese that no credence was to be given to the professions of the rājā. Schurhammer, vol. II.iii, pp. 488–90.
- 79 Among the thirty-three Jesuits who were in India in the time of Xavier, I have identified seven who were dismissed or left the society of their own free will. Mortality was also rather high. At least three died by violence, generally at the hands of pirates; and three others of disease, after only a short ministry.
- 80 EX, vol. II, pp. 29–30; and DI, 1, pp. 44*–45*.
- 81 On one side at least he was of Jewish origin. The statement, found in some works, that he was a *mestiço*, rests on no evidence whatever. On attitudes to New Christians, see J. Wicki SJ, 'Die "Cristãos Novos" in der indischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu von Ignatius bis Acquaviva', *AHSI*, 46 (1977), 342–61. Such Christians were generally ill-thought of, and Valignano was specially hostile to them. But no New Christian, once admitted to the society, was ever expelled from it on grounds of race or origin.
- 82 All this is reported in a letter dated 2 November 1549 from Punnaikayal. DI, 1, pp. 584–5.
- 83 Letter of Fr H. Henriques, Cochin, 12 January 1551; DI, 2, pp. 159–60. Henriques adds that the Hindus were much amazed and confused to see a man of so much knowledge and of such good life become a Christian; and the new Christians were much encouraged by the event.
- 84 Ramesvaram is in the extreme north of the area in which the Jesuits were working. The fisher folk of the area are known as Karaiyār, coast dwellers, and

- not as Paravas. The date of the death of Criminali cannot be exactly determined. Schurhammer, vol. II.iii, pp. 384–90, has discussed all these events in great detail. He also discusses the propriety of using the term ‘martyr’ of one who died in such circumstances, p. 389 n. 33.
- 85 DI, I, pp. 439–40. There is an interesting parallel in the attempts of William (later Cardinal) Allen, twenty years later, to get some kind of order into the life of ‘the pack of unruly convert students foisted on him’ in the seminary at Douai. The result was a ‘curious mixture of acute boredom . . . tight discipline, ebullient revolt, intense religiosity and illness’. For Douai read Goa and it is all there. See J.C.H. Aveling, *The Handle and the Axe* (London, 1976), pp. 53–9.
- 86 See the long letter of Gomes in DI, I, pp. 409–26.
- 87 DI, 2, pp. 170–1.
- 88 After some delay he was compelled to re-admit Indians; but greater care was taken in the selection, and the Indian pupils were housed in a separate building.
- 89 The details are given in Schurhammer, vol. II.iii, p. 559 and n. 24, drawn from Bernardo Gomes de Brito, *Historia Tragico-Maritima* (1904–9), vol. I, pp. 47–9, 61–5.
- 90 Gago died in Goa on 9 January 1583, ‘old and very tired’.
- 91 In one of his last letters, written on 12 November 1552, Xavier writes ‘I have dismissed Fferreira (*sic*) from the society, because he is not [suited] for it’; but adds that he may be helped to join either the Franciscans or the Dominicans, *EX*, vol. II, pp. 510–11.
- 92 On this, see a fascinating account by Schurhammer, vol. II (Eng. trans.), p. 225 n. 193. Xavier’s copy was in the Professed House in Madrid, and was apparently seen by Fr Schurhammer himself, but was destroyed during the civil war in 1931.
- 93 *EX*, vol. II, p. 504.
- 94 *EX*, vol. II, pp. 7–8. Letter to Ignatius of 12 January 1549.
- 95 *EX*, vol. I, pp. 406–7.
- 96 Letter of 16 May 1546, *EX*, vol. I, pp. 346–7.
- 97 This is a summary of a number of utterances on the subject.
- 98 In the superb edition of the letters by Fr G. Schurhammer SJ and Fr J. Wicki SJ, there is a touching section *De Summa Epistolarum Efficacia* (*EX*, vol. I, pp. 15*–18*), which opens with the story that, when King John III of Portugal received them, he kissed them, and before reading them placed them reverently on his head.
- 99 On the earlier history, see B. Biermann OP, ‘Die ersten Dominikaner in Ost-Indien (1503–1548)’, *NZM*, 26 (1936), 171–92. There is considerable divergence among the authorities as to the number sent to India in 1548. It seems likely that six Dominicans were sent, and that the addition of three lay brothers brought the number up to nine.
- 100 Quoted by Schurhammer, vol. II.ii, pp. 349–50.
- 101 There were in fact in Goa four priests and five lay brothers, not counting some

- who were destined for Socotra and for the Moluccas, and some the admission of whom by Antony Gomes had not as yet been approved by Xavier. *EX*, vol. II, p. 23 and n. 2.
- 102 DI, 2, pp. 6*-9*. Teixeira's *Life of Xavier* (Spanish version) is printed in *Mon. Xav.*, vol. II, pp. 815-919.
- 103 The experiment does not seem to have been on the whole a success and was not repeated. Interesting details in J. Wicki, *Die Mitbrüder Franz Xavers in Indien . . . 1545-1552* (Beckenried, 1947), pp. 15-16.
- 104 DI, 1, pp. 29-30, 55-6, 151, 221-2.
- 105 Permission had been given for this; but the scrupulous soul of Fr Henriques was troubled by it, as is seen in a letter to Ignatius of 31 December 1556. DI, 3, p. 600.
- 106 He did hold visitations in Cochin and Mylapore – communication between Goa and Cochin by boat was frequent and fairly easy, though no travel in those days was comfortable. Meersman, *Provinces* (Bangalore, 1971), p. 423.
- 107 This permission was given, to vicars only, by the Brief *Cum sicut carissimi* of 25 October 1546.
- 108 DI, 2, p. 127. Lancilotto suggests the same prohibition in relation to ordinations. See also n. 15; it seems that on the Fisher Coast in the time of Xavier Christians were not admitted to holy communion, on the ground that it was very difficult to express in Tamil the mystery of the Eucharist.
- 109 The bull of Pope Paul III, *Licet debitum* of 18 October 1549, which refers to *locis remotissimis* and covers cases of irregularity not directly contrary to divine law, was generally held to be adequate to the requirements of the Indian situation. See DI, 3, p. 241 and n. 27. Also DI, 2, p. 311.
- 110 The college of St Paul in Goa was an exception.
- 111 See chap. 6, p. 116.
- 112 Details in J. Wicki SJ, *Die Mitbrüder*, p. 22.
- 113 *Die Mitbrüder*, p. 23.
- 114 The Portuguese text of both catechisms is to be found in *EX*, vol. I, pp. 106-16, 339-67.
- 115 Lancilotto writes in a letter of 6 January 1551 that Henriques has translated the *Doutrina* into Tamil; but this seems to be a mistake – Henriques says no more than that he had translated the prayers; *EX*, vol. II, pp. 584-5.

8 AKBAR AND THE JESUITS

- 1 Sri Ram Sharma, *The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors* (Bombay, 1972³), p. 36 n. 47, quotes *Maktūbāt-u-Mullā Ahmad*, vol. 1, part 3, 84, to the effect that 'the main object of levying jizya on them [the Hindus] is their humiliation. God established [the custom of realising] jizya for their dishonour. The object is their humiliation and the [establishment of] prestige and dignity of the Muslims.'
- 2 This privilege was later extended to Christians, and made possible the building of churches at Lahore and Agra.

- 3 Quoted by R. Krishnamurti, *Akbar, the Religious Aspect* (Baroda, 1961), p. 69 from *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, vol. III, p. 386. As Akbar was born in 1542, the reference is to the year 1562, six years after his accession to the throne.
- 4 *AA*, vol. III, pp. 346–7.
- 5 *CHI*, vol. III, p. 119, and in a slightly different version in V.A. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul* (Oxford, 1917), pp. 158–9. Smith, p. 160 n. 1, notes the suggestion that Akbar may have had an epileptic fit, and quotes du Jarric (Bordeaux, 1608–14), vol. II, p. 498: 'Natura erat melancholicus, et epileptico subjectus morbo', but adds 'I have not found elsewhere the statement that he was epileptic.'
- 6 *CHI*, vol. III, p. 121.
- 7 A full translation in R. Krishnamurti, pp. 31, 32 n. 1. The original in *Badā'ūnī*, vol. II, pp. 297–9.
- 8 But note the judgement of one writer expert in this field:
The Decree certainly modified the theory of kingship accepted in an Islamic state, according to which the political administration was hedged in by the Sadr, the Qazi and general body of Ulamā who practically dictated to the monarch as to what should and should not be done according to their reading of the Law. A great change was brought about, when Akbar placed himself above the contending theologians and was made the highest court of appeal in a field which had been the preserve of the theologians (R. Krishnamurti, p. 35).
- 9 *Badā'ūnī*, vol. II, p. 211.
- 10 *Badā'ūnī*, vol. II, p. 184, and see Sir Jeevanjee Jamshedjee Modi, *Parsis at the Court of Akbar* (1903), p. 183.
- 11 S.R. Sharma, p. 18 and p. 50 n. 41.
- 12 Sir H.M. Elliott, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, vol. II (1875), p. 190. The whole passage is worth reading.
- 13 All that is known of Henry de Távora, bishop of Cochin 1567–78, archbishop of Goa 1578–81, has been collected by J. Wicki SJ in *NZM*, 24 (1968), 111–21.
- 14 Probably Antony Vaz and Peter Dias, who had been sent to Bengal in 1576 at the request of the bishop of Cochin.
- 15 Letter of Fr Antony Monserrate SJ to the Jesuit General, dated 26 October 1579. *DI*, II, p. 649.
- 16 *DI*, II, p. 596. Letter of Fr Pereira to Henry of Távora, archbishop of Goa.
- 17 Pires was an Armenian Christian who accompanied both the second and third Jesuit missions to the Mughul court.
- 18 The original of the *firman* has not been found. I have translated (and shortened) from the Portuguese text as given in *DI*, II, pp. 648–9, which seems to correspond fairly closely to the style of the original. See another text in *DI*, II, pp. 428–9.
- 19 Letter of Fr A. Monserrate, 26 October 1579, in *DI*, II, p. 651. There is an amusing account of the visit in a letter, 15 January 1580, of Matthew Ricci SJ, at that time still in India, to his friend Fr Manuel de Góis SJ, *DI*, II, pp. 835–40.

Notes to Chapter 8

- 20 Sir Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* (London, 1932), p. 24, but without giving any reference.
- 21 By this time Henry de Távora was archbishop of Goa; Matthew de Medina had arrived as bishop of Cochin.
- 22 DI, II, pp. 679–82. SR, *Doc.*, vol. XII, pp. 455–7.
- 23 Letter of 8 January 1578. DI, II, pp. 143–5.
- 24 After capture by the Muslims and long imprisonment in Sana, he was able to return to Goa in 1596, and died in Salsette in 1600.
- 25 DI, II, p. 711. The other evidences do not seem quite to bear out Wicki's remark.
- 26 The Polyglot of the Old Testament contains, spread over two pages, the Hebrew, the Latin Vulgate, the Septuagint, a literal Latin translation of the Septuagint; and the Targum of Onkelos in Aramaic, with a Latin translation, at the foot of the pages. See *Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. III (1963), pp. 54–5. The Bodleian Library has a copy of this Polyglot.
- 27 The New Testament is printed in the fifth volume, in Greek, Latin and Syriac, and repeated with a slightly different text in the seventh. Maclagan notes, p. 191 n. 4, that this work 'was subsequently returned by Akbar to the Fathers, and it had a curious history, being said to have been in the hands of Catholics in Lucknow until the time of the mutiny of 1857'. Persons alive in 1894 had actually seen the book.
- 28 J.S. Hoyland and S.N. Banerjee, *Commentary of Father Monserrate SJ on his journey to the Court of Akbar* (Oxford, 1922), pp. i, ii; but no reference is given for the quotation.
- 29 Maclagan gives, p. 27, a list of the princes who had been baptised – the king of the Maldive islands, more than one king in Ceylon, and a near relative of the king of Bijāpur. See also Chap. 6, pp. 153–4 of this book.
- 30 Hoyland and Banerjee, pp. 3–27, trace the course of the journey with minute fidelity, and valuable notes on the places visited.
- 31 SR, *Doc.*, vol. XII, p. 655, from a document in the national archives in Lisbon.
- 32 Monserrate, pp. 49–50.
- 33 Du Jarric, *Thesaurus* (Cologne, 1615), vol. II, p. 507. I have translated rather literally from the Latin. It seems almost certain that du Jarric misread *Latinum* as *Lusitanum*. The Latin translation of the Koran, made in the thirteenth century at the instance of Peter the Venerable, had been printed by Bibliander, with the support of Martin Luther, at Basel in 1543. An Italian translation from the Latin had appeared at Venice in 1547. Monserrate, p. 28, clearly implies that what the Fathers had was the Latin translation. There is no evidence for the existence of a Portuguese version of the Koran at that date.
- 34 Du Jarric, *Thesaurus*, vol. II, p. 507.
- 35 So du Jarric, vol. II, p. 510. The Jesuits called the boy Pahari. The reference is to Prince Murād, born 8 June 1570.
- 36 Monserrate, p. 53.
- 37 SR, *Doc.*, vol. XII, p. 660.
- 38 SR, *Doc.*, vol. XII, p. 663: 'the present was truly regal both in quantity and in quality'.

- 39 Monserrate, pp. 61–2.
- 40 Monserrate, p. 45.
- 41 DI, II, p. 79. Letter of 10 September 1580. (This letter is preserved in an Italian translation.) The Fathers seem to have been less than prudent in their use of Christian terms in public, sometimes even going so far as to attack the character of the Prophet Muhammad himself. Akbar seems to have felt it wise to caution them; the fathers agreed to accept his advice ‘not because we are afraid of them for ourselves, but because we want to obey you’, Monserrate, p. 38.
- 42 Monserrate, pp. 118–19.
- 43 Monserrate, p. 120.
- 44 Bartoli’s work *Missione al gran Mogor del p. Ridolfo Aquaviva della Compagnia de Gesù* was published at Rome in 1663. V.A. Smith is of the opinion that Bartoli’s account of what happened is the best available (Smith, p. 211).
- 45 Quoted in full in V.A. Smith, pp. 211–12. See Count von Noer, *The Emperor Akbar* (reprint of 1973) pp. 296–7, for a valuable bibliography of accounts of Akbar and his religious reforms, including H.H. Wilson’s ‘Account of the Religious Innovations of Akbar’, *Works*, vol. II (1862), pp. 379–400. This pioneer essay was first published in Calcutta in 1824.
- 46 *Ā’in-i-Akbarī* 77. Trans. H. Blochmann, vol. 1, p. 166. Blochmann adds a valuable note on the ‘Religious Ideas of Akbar’, pp. 167–83; this is one of the main sources on which other writers on the subject have drawn.
- 47 S.R. Sharma, p. 53; V.A. Smith, p. 219.
- 48 Krishnamurti, p. 111.
- 49 C.H. Payne, *Akbar and the Jesuits* (London, 1926), pp. 37–8.
- 50 The prolix letter which he addressed at this time to the *Riwa-i-Farang* (ruler of Europe) or as others have it to the *Dānāyan-i-Farang* (scholars of Europe) will be found in English translation in *Ind. Antiquary* (April, 1887), 135–7. A lengthy extract is given in Hoyland and Banerjee, pp. ix–xi.
- 51 The proposed embassy never sailed, so for the time being Monserrate remained in India.
- 52 DI, 12, pp. 582–5. Letter of 25 April 1582 (in Italian). See also *JASB*, 65 (1896), 55; and Maclagan, p. 38, quoting from Bartoli, *Missione*, p. 218; Maclagan gives the five reasons in detail.
- 53 Monserrate, pp. 192–3.
- 54 *Firmān* of February 1583, quoted in *JASB*, 65 (1896), p. 59. The original is in the British Museum, *Additional MSS* 9854, fol. 4.
- 55 Quoted by Maclagan, p. 40.
- 56 Payne and Maclagan both think that it is almost certain that Grimon was the same as the Padre Farmeliun referred to in *Akbar-Nāma*, vol. III, p. 873 (Maclagan pp. 46 and 48 n. 1): ‘owing to his majesty’s appreciation he received high honour . . . His majesty made over some quick-witted and intellectual persons to be instructed by him, in order that the translation of Greek books might be carried out, and varieties of knowledge acquired.’
- 57 Both letters are given *in extenso* by du Jarric, and included in C.H. Payne, pp. 46–9. Payne’s account is mainly derived from du Jarric.

- 58 Much obscurity rests on the termination of the mission and its cause. Payne, referring to the provincial's letter for 1572, thinks that the cause may have been the hostility of the *belli ductores*, the warlike nobles, who made access to the emperor almost impossible (p. 231 n. 11). Maclagan quotes the great history of the Society of Jesus, part v, vol. II (Jouvençy), p. 451, as indicating that the decision may have been taken through fear of a general revolt in the empire at that time.
- 59 Pioneer work on Xavier was carried out by Fr H. Heras and published in a series of articles between 1914 and 1927, listed in Camps pp. xvi, xvii. The *biography* by Fr A.S. Hernandez SJ, *Jeronimo Javier SJ* (Pamplona, 1958), is very full and based on extensive research. For the *work* of Xavier we shall turn rather to A. Camps OFM, *Jerome Xavier SJ and the Muslims of the Mogul Empire* (Schönebeck-Beckenried, 1957). Hernandez and Camps admirably supplement one another, and give us as complete an account as we could wish of a great missionary.
- 60 Du Jarric, quoted in Payne, pp. 51–2.
- 61 *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India 1615–19*, ed. Sir W. Foster (1926), p. 275 n. 2.
- 62 An account of this journey is given in chap. 13.
- 63 Letter of 20 August 1595; Camps, p. 181 n. 2.
- 64 Letter of 1 December 1600 to the general; Camps, p. 182. Also *JASB*, 23 (1927), 70.
- 65 See Camps p. 183; Spanish original in n. 1.
- 66 The Fathers deemed it prudent not to proceed too rapidly with the building of a church, although it is reported in one source (Peruschi) that no mosque and no copy of the Koran still existed in Lahore. The church in Lahore was built and opened in 1597.
- 67 Du Jarric, quoted by Payne, pp. 69–70.
- 68 *JASB*, 23 (1927), 203–16. Trans. by Fr H. Hosten SJ from *Chrono-Historia de la Compañia de Jesus en la provincia de Toledo* (1710).
- 69 Letter of 1 August 1599, printed in *Nova Relatio* (1601); see Maclagan, p. 57.
- 70 This impression is strengthened by the note of the Rev. Edward Terry, who was in India 1616–19: 'For the language of this empire, I mean the vulgar, it is called Industan; a smooth tongue and easy to be pronounced, and they write as we to the right hand.' *Early Travels in India* (1921), p. 309. Urdu is of course written, like Persian, from right to left. A valuable note on the use of the vernacular by the Jesuits in Maclagan pp. 193–4, and 200–2.
- 71 Letter of Xavier, 6 September 1604. The main effort was still directed to Persian. The nickname by which Fr Pinheiro was known, the Mogul, seems to have been due to his excellence in the Persian language. Camps, p. 185.
- 72 Letter of Xavier, 1599, printed in John Hay SJ, *de Rebus Japonicis Indicis* (Antwerp, 1605), pp. 863–78. (Copy in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.) See esp. p. 870. In this valuable work pp. 656 to 912 deal with affairs in India.
- 73 *Fuente de Vida* fol. 189v quoted by Camps, p. 131.
- 74 *F de V.* fols. 181–2. Camps, p. 127.
- 75 An abridged form of the Persian translation also exists; at least four copies are

- to be found in libraries in Europe. The work was known to Professor Samuel Lee of Cambridge, who in 1824 published some parts of it in his *Controversial Tracts on Christianity and Muhammedanism*, pp. v–xli. For most English readers this has been the first introduction to the work of Xavier. See Appendix 17 p. 404.
- 76 Camps, p. 93.
- 77 His sceptical attitude is probably intended to represent that of Akbar.
- 78 Camps, pp. 167–8.
- 79 This belongs to a considerably later date. The letter is of 4 December 1615, published (in English) by H. Hosten SJ in *JASB*, 23 (1927), 125.
- 80 Payne, p. 135, and see p. 264 n. 5.
- 81 The only circumstance that casts doubt on the narrative is that a Syrian prelate would be more likely to have Syriac rather than Persian Gospels. But this is not conclusive. For the confused details see Payne, pp. 26–30; Maclagan, pp. 213–15; Camps, pp. 26–9.
- 82 Du Jarric, vol. II, p. 513. R. Gulbenkian: ‘The Translation of the Four Gospels into Persian’, *NZM*, 36 (1980/3), 186–218 (1980/4), 267–88; *NZM*, 37 (1981), 35–58 has worked out with immense learning the origin and history of the translations available to Xavier. Regrettably, considerations of space make it impossible to do more than refer to this notable addition to knowledge.
- 83 His actual words are ‘Depois tomamos de proposito de cotejar, [e] emendar o Parsio, conforme a nossa vulgata, q’na verdade tinha muitos erros dos escrivãos’ (Maclagan, p. 221 n. 87). This presumably means that it was the Persian and not the Vulgate which was full of errors.
- 84 Camps, pp. 194–5, remarks: ‘This points to the fact that the copies of the Holy Scriptures were destined to serve as auxiliary books to the missionaries for the preparation of their sermons and instructions.’
- 85 Maclagan, p. 268. The influx of artillerymen, many of whom could cast cannon as well as fire them, a vitally important factor in Indian history, seems to have begun in the seventeenth rather than in the sixteenth century. S. Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, vol. I, p. 265 asserts that the prince Dārā Shukoh, in his campaign against his brother Aurungzib in 1658, had over 200 European artillerymen in his army.
- 86 The Armenians had been since the fifth century Monophysites, together with the Copts, the Ethiopians and the Syrians. During the seventeenth century the Thomas Christians entered into the Monophysite fellowship.
- 87 Payne, p. 135.
- 88 Payne, pp. 173–6; see also pp. 251–8. There is still much controversy about the siege and capture of Asirgarh (Syr.).
- 89 Payne, pp. 175–6.
- 90 One of the most interesting chapters in Maclagan’s classic work is that entitled ‘The Mission and Mogul Painting’, pp. 222–67.
- 91 Payne, pp. 160–72. Payne notes, p. 271 n. 5, that there was no actual church in Agra at that time; the picture was displayed in a room in the Fathers’ house, which had been converted into a chapel. This narrative is derived from Part II, chap. 6 of the *Relaçam* of Fr Guerreiro (Lisbon, 1605).

- 92 Camps, p. 227, and see also pp. 218–19.
- 93 *JASB*, 65 (1896), 89.
- 94 *JASB*, 65 (1896), 79 and see Maclagan, pp. 281–2.
- 95 *JASB*, 65 (1896), 72; and see Maclagan, pp. 281–2.
- 96 *JASB*, 65 (1896), 79. See also Camps, p. 238.
- 97 Maclagan, pp. 274, 304.
- 98 Payne, p. 266, remarks ‘I cannot explain this word.’ Neither can I. This narrative is taken almost exactly from Guerreiro, *Relaçam*, part I, chaps. 8 and 9. Payne suggests that the name might be Baladeva or Baldeo; this is possible but not certain.
- 99 Payne, pp. 137–51.
- 100 *JASB*, NS. 23 (1927), 67–8 trans. J. Hosten SJ (I have slightly modernised style and spelling). The letter was printed in Rome in 1602.
- 101 Payne, pp. 203–4.
- 102 Payne, pp. 204–5. ‘There is little doubt that he was past speech, and could make no response to the exhortations of those who surrounded his bed.’ Sir Wolseley Haig in *CHI*, vol. IV, p. 153.
- 103 Professor H. Blochmann, a good authority, states, *Ā’in-i-Akbarī*, vol. I, p. 212, that the story is most untrustworthy.
- 104 Letter of 4 December 1615, in *JASB*, NS 23 (1927), 125.
- 105 Payne, pp. 205–8, drawing on *Relaçam*, part IV, book 3, chap. 4. See also *CHI*, vol. IV, pp. 154–5.
- 106 *MASB*, 3, p. 640. *Deformior fit* means, I think, ‘loses his dignity’, and not as translated in the text.

9 ROME AND THE THOMAS CHRISTIANS

- 1 The Serra, the mountain, was the convenient name by which the Portuguese regularly referred to the hilly country scattered over which the greater part of the Thomas Christians lived.
- 2 Fr A.M. Mundadan CMI, *The Thomas Christians under Mar Jacob 1498–1552* (Bangalore, 1967), p. 62 rightly recognises this to be a mistake; the text should read Kodungalur = Cranganore.
- 3 ‘Navigatione verso l’India orientali scritta per Thomé Lopes Portuguese’ (1503) in G.B. Ramusio, *Delle Navigationi e Viaggi* (Venice, 1550), pp. 143–56.
- 4 For a good summary of these various accounts, see Mundadan, pp. 61–6.
- 5 Gouvea, *Jornada* (Coimbra, 1606), p. 22; (Glen) Book I, chaps. 15 and 19. The reference seems to be to the Villarvattam family of which at least one member seems to have been converted to Christianity. So G. Woodcock, *Kerala: A Portrait of the Malabar Coast* (London, 1967), p. 115. See also L.W. Brown, p. 13 and n. 5.
- 6 To the contrary T.K. Joseph, *Malabar Christians and their Ancient Documents* (1929), pp. 8–9 with details.
- 7 The authority for this statement is Francis de Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado*, vol. I, part II, cod. 11, p. 17. K.M. Panikkar, *Malabar and the Portuguese* (1929), pp. 5–8, notes that only the rulers of Cannanore and of Vēnād (the area from Quilon

- to Cape Comorin), and the zamorin of Calicut, could be called kings. Under them were the minor chieftains of Tānor, Cranganore, Cochin, Mangāt, Idapalli, Vadakkankur (often called Pimenta, the pepper country), Procād, Kāyankulam and Quilon. But that is not the end of the story: 'The effective power in the land was in the hands of the Kaimāls and Kartavas, independent nobles, who maintained armies of their own, and owed allegiance sometimes to more than one sovereign.'
- 8 According to tradition, Thomas Knaya, or Knayil, had two wives; the first of them received his northern estates, the second his southern estates; from these two wives are descended respectively the northists and the southists. See a clear statement in G. Milne Rae, *The Syrian Church in India* (Edinburgh, 1892), pp. 163–4.
 - 9 Text in Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 3, p. 590; trans. A. Mingana, *The Early Spread*, in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 10 (July, 1926), pp. 36–8.
 - 10 The Portuguese called all eastern Christians indiscriminately Armenians, perhaps through confusion of the Syrian 'Arameans'=Syrians, and this has caused endless confusion.
 - 11 *Paesi novamente ritrovati et Novo Mondo da Alberto Vesputio Florentino intitulado*, reprinted in *Vespucci Reprints, Texts and Studies VI* (Princeton, 1916). W. Germann was aware of the existence of this book but had not seen it. See also the article of Fr G. Schurhammer: 'The Malabar Church and Rome before the Coming of the Portuguese' (*Kerala Society Papers*, 2 (1933), pp. 291–306, reprinted in 'Orientalia', pp. 351–63).
 - 12 Though Joseph is unlikely to have known the fact, this custom was followed by the Coptic church in Egypt through the centuries, the making of wine being strictly prohibited in Egypt, a Muslim country. The pleasant clear syrup produced by the process described above is wine within the meaning of the act – if left exposed to the air, it will begin to ferment within twenty-four hours.
 - 13 Mundadan, p. 70.
 - 14 *Commentaries of Afonso Dalboquerque*, vol. 1 (1875), pp. 14–15.
 - 15 Not, as Mundadan, p. 75, 'as there was not the memory of baptism among them'. C.H. Turner, in his chapter on 'The Organization of the Church', in *Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 1 (1911), pp. 143–82, has outlined in masterly fashion the development of the threefold ministry, and the gradual limitation of the powers and duties of the bishop.
 - 16 There is scattered evidence for this. G.M. Anathil SVD, *The Theological Formation of the Clergy in India* (Poona, 1966), p. 5, states: 'In some cases their priestly powers have been severely restricted (e.g. it seems that at times they were not even allowed to baptize children without previous authorization from the Syrian prelates).' He refers to M. Mathias (Mundadan), 'The St Thomas Christians of Malabar under Mar Jacob' (unpublished dissertation, Rome, 1960), pp. 314–17. But there is a misunderstanding here. There was no restriction of privilege, but the denial of an *extension* of privilege such as had taken place in a number of other churches.
 - 17 In his *Information about the Serra (Relação da Serra)* written in 1604 and quoted

in G. Schurhammer, 'Orientalia' (Lisbon, 1963), p. 347, Roz adds that many have left Cranganore, because the Fathers were forcing them to eat fish and drink wine in Lent, contrary to their rule.

- 18 'Orientalia', p. 345. Pires is not altogether a satisfactory witness, being almost as arrogant as Penteado and almost as self-satisfied.
- 19 The letter is published in full in 'Orientalia', pp. 308–12. Schurhammer gives both the Portuguese text and an English translation. I have taken the liberty of modifying the English of the translation. This letter suggests that, as noted above, the custom of the Thomas Christians may have been that the bishops alone baptised.
- 20 'Orientalia', p. 344.
- 21 da Silva Rêgo, *Missiões* (Lisbon, 1949), p. 397.
- 22 An attractive account of the 'Malpanate' (Malpān = 'one learned in the Syriac language') is given by G.M. Anathil SVD, pp. 4–11. He refers to DI, 3, p. 804 (Report on the work of Fr M. Carneiro in the Serra, 1557):

The first place visited was the Kingdom of Angamalle, where these Christians have their University (*sic*); for there is in that area a *cattanār* who takes rank as a Father among them; they hold him in high esteem because of his age and learning. He has now been engaged for fifty years in teaching the Scriptures, and he has many disciples throughout the whole of Malabar. He teaches the Scriptures in the Syriac language, starting with the alphabet.

Fr Wicki, p. 804 n. 6, raises the question whether this venerable man was a Syrian who had come to India from Mesopotamia in 1503 in the train of Mar Jacob.
- 23 Vincent was not from the same Franciscan province as those in Cochin, and so was not likely to be looked on with favour by them.
- 24 Xavier (letter of 2 February 1549, *EX*, vol. II, p. 74) says a hundred, *facile centum*, but this seems to be an exaggeration.
- 25 The curriculum is outlined in Mundadan, pp. 139–40.
- 26 All the pupils were Thomas Christians. Of the writers of the period, only Polanco, *Cronica*, vol. I, p. 457, suggests that there were also Portuguese boys. This seems to be a mistake; Portuguese boys would naturally be sent to Goa.
- 27 Letter of 20 January 1545, *EX*, vol. I, p. 254.
- 28 J. Wicki SJ, *Der Einheimische Klerus* (1950), *NZM* Suppl. II, p. 88. This article of Fr Wicki, with the accompanying documents, is a treasure-house of information on all the colleges and seminaries in India.
- 29 Francis Roz, who knew the situation very well reported that, up to the time of writing (1604), not a single one of those trained in the college of St James had worked in the Serra (*Relação*, f. 93, quoted by Mundadan p. 142). Antony Gouvea gives the reason:

They would not let any of those who had been educated in the college in the Latin rite celebrate in their churches, much less reside in them; nor did they allow them to do anything as regards change of rite, and they did not treat them otherwise than the other Latin priests, whom they welcomed as guests and allowed to celebrate when they went to their churches (*Jornada* 6v–7: 31).

- 30 *EX*, vol. II, p. 62.
- 31 At this period clergy of the Latin rite seem to have given communion without hesitation to Thomas Christians. Only one authority states that Mar Jacob said mass according to the Latin rite – Manuel de Varga SJ, in the Jesuit *Annual letter* for 1601. Not too much reliance can be placed on a letter written fifty years after the events referred to. *EX*, vol. II, p. 63 n. 9.
- 32 There has been an immense amount of discussion about the plates of Mar Jacob. It has been thought that they may be somewhere in Portugal, but search has not so far been rewarded. Fr Schurhammer inclines to the view that they do exist, that they are in fact identical with the Tevalakara plates, and these in turn with the Quilon Tarisa plates II, described and in part deciphered in the Travancore Archaeological Series, 2 (Trivandrum, 1920), pp. 70–85, and belonging to the time of King Sthānu Ravi (ninth century). ‘*Orientalia*’, p. 348 n. 60. See Appendix I pp. 388–90.
- 33 Fr Schurhammer argues in favour of this view, quoting J.C. Panjikāran, *The Syrian Church in Malabar* (Trichinopoly, 1914), p. 27.
- 34 A full and clear account of these complicated events is given by G. Beltrami, *La Chiesa caldea nel secolo dell’Unione* (Rome, 1933), pp. 3–59.
- 35 We have an interesting letter of Fr Antony to the king of Portugal dated 20 November 1557; Portuguese text in Beltrami, pp. 40–3; Eng. trans. by Fr H. Heras in *Examiner* of 19 February 1938. See also Ferrolī, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, vol. I (Bangalore, 1939), pp. 158–61. King John III had actually died on 11 June 1557.
- 36 He was intending to return to Rome, but was prevented by the fever which carried him off.
- 37 See a letter of Mar Elias to Cardinal Caraffa, dated 1580, in SR, *Doc.*, vol. XII, pp. 716–21, from *Bullarium*, vol. II, pp. 239–41.
- 38 This means confirmation as a rite separate from baptism, with which it is combined in the forms of the Eastern churches.
- 39 Melchior Carneiro was forty years old at the time of his arrival in India, and had already been nominated by the pope for consecration as bishop of Nicaea and coadjutor to the patriarch of Ethiopia. Like the patriarch, he never succeeded in reaching Ethiopia; in 1568, by order of the pope, he moved to Macao, and remained there till his death in 1583.
- 40 This bishop is referred to in a long letter of Br Luis Fróis, dated 30 November 1557, and printed in DI, 3, pp. 700–30 and in SR, *Doc.*, vol. VI, pp. 527–57, but no name is given. Ferrolī identifies him with Mar Joseph (vol. I, pp. 154–6), Gonçalves (lib. 7: 36) with Mar Abraham. It seems certain that both are wrong. The rival patriarch in Mesopotamia had not been idle; it is almost certain that he had consecrated a bishop for the Serra, and had managed to smuggle him into forbidden territory.
- 41 Ferrolī, I, pp. 154–6, gives an enthusiastic account of the mission of Carneiro.
- 42 John Nunes Barreto, appointed patriarch of Ethiopia in 1556, spent six years in Goa, highly respected by all for his goodness and humility, and died there in 1562, never having reached the country of which he had been appointed Latin patriarch.

- 43 It was thought that three bishops would be present in Goa, thus making up the canonical number for the consecration; but two of those expected did not arrive until 1559, and the consecration was in consequence delayed until 1560. At a later date Rome agreed to waive the canonical rule, and to recognise that consecrations could in case of necessity be carried out by a single bishop.
- 44 At this point L.W. Brown, *Indian Christians* (Cambridge, 1956), p. 22 n. 2, is surely correct. Ferroli and other Roman Catholic historians think that Abraham was sent to the Serra *originally* by Ebed Jesu. But, if this were so, the rest of the story would be unintelligible. The consecration of Mar Abraham, after his reconciliation with Ebed Jesu, was his *second* consecration, the first by the independent patriarch having been judged by the pro-Roman authorities to have been invalid. See Ferroli, vol. 1, pp. 162–3.
- 45 The Council was held in 1575. First decree of the third session, *Bullarium App.*, vol. 1, p. 43.
- 46 Letter of 2 January 1576, SR, *Doc.*, vol. XII, p. 321.
- 47 SR, *Doc.*, vol. XII, p. 341.
- 48 SR, *Doc.*, vol. XII, pp. 318–20.
- 49 Brief of the pope to George de Christo, dated 4 March 1580, Beltrami, p. 196, from *Arch. Brev. Apost.* 47, f. 203. It seems that the pope was uncertain whether the archdeacon had actually received episcopal consecration before the despatching of his brief. The brief uses the form *Palurensis*, and addresses George as ‘*episcopo seu electo Palurensi*’.
- 50 The names are given by L.W. Brown, p. 54, as Pakalomaṛṇam and Sāṅkarapuri.
- 51 The pope seems to have defended the teaching of Syriac on the ground that ‘the variety of rites is one of the ornaments of the church, who is like a Queen, clad in varied garments’ (Ferroli, vol. 1, p. 170, who gives no reference for the quotation).
- 52 Mar Simon was eventually caught by the Portuguese and despatched to Lisbon, where he died in 1599.
- 53 The Goa authorities were wrong. In any case their objection was wholly irrelevant to ordinations carried out in an Eastern church.
- 54 Juvencio, *Hist. Soc. Jesu*, part V, vol. II (Paris, 1710), p. 472 gives these more elaborately under ten heads. Two interesting additions are that at times he makes other priests celebrate the mass, he himself saying only the words of consecration, and that he calls Catholics beasts and heretics. See also Beltrami, pp. 114–15, for a letter of the Jesuit, Abraham of St George (of Maronite origin, b. 1563), to the Jesuit general dated 15 December 1593, where the complaints are given under ten headings. See also A. Rabbath SJ, *Documents inédits . . . du Christianisme en Orient*, vol. I (1973²), pp. 321–30.
- 55 Du Jarric states that he was reconciled to the church and died in 1595. Gouvea is probably to be trusted as to the date, and may well be right in stating that Mar Abraham died ‘in schism’.
- 56 Angel Santos Hernández SJ, *Missionalia Hispanica*, vol. V (1948), p. 347.
- 57 The details of his early life are given by M. Müllbauer, *Missionen*, p. 364. Materials for a biography have been provided by Carlo Alonso OSA, ‘Documentação inédita para uma biografia de Fr Aleijo de Menezes OSA

- Arzobispo de Goa 1595–1612', *Analecta Augustiniana*, 27 (1964), 263–333. See Appendix 18 pp. 405–6.
- 58 M. Geddes, *History of the Church of Malabar* (London, 1694), p. 45.
- 59 Geddes, p. 50. A fuller and very vivid account in Gouvea, *Jornada* f. 14d.
- 60 Angel Santos Hernández SJ, *Missionalia Hispanica*, vol. v, pp. 353–4, gives a complete list of the points on which the archdeacon was required to submit.
- 61 The whole letter is given in Latin by Beltrami, pp. 263–7; as is also a letter of 23 December 1601 from the people of Ankamāli to the pope, written in Latin, but signed in archaic Malayālam script (facsimile in Beltrami, pp. 267–9).
- 62 This name appears in all the Portuguese records as Diamper. As the synod held there has passed into history as the synod of Diamper (not Dampier as in *New CMH*, vol. III, pp. 549, 569), we shall from now on use the form familiar in the West.
- 63 By Latins the archdeacon apparently meant students trained in the seminary at Vaippikkotta.
- 64 Gouvea, *Jornada* f. 38d and 39a.
- 65 Gouvea writes '*de lingua Caldea et Suriaca*', which Glen makes more specific '*la langue Chaldéenne et Syriaque, qui sont les deux langues dont ils usent en leurs divins offices*' (p. 197). Chaldaean and Syriac are not two separate languages; the differences between them are mainly in pronunciation. A. Rabbath, p. 326.
- 66 There is some doubt as to the exact date; I think that Gouvea is here reliable, f. 57b.
- 67 There had been yet another ordination, on Easter Eve at Kaṭutturutti, but the number ordained on that occasion does not seem to be given. Hough, vol. 1, p. 410, states that the candidates were very numerous but gives no particulars.
- 68 Gouvea, *Jornada* f. 58b and c. What makes the conduct of Menezes all the more reprehensible is that there were too many rather than too few priests in the Serra; there was no work for many of the young men whom he ordained.
- 69 Glen, p. 239. (French trans. of *Jornada* (Antwerp, 1609).)
- 70 Glen, pp. 251, 254.
- 71 The document convening the synod is given in full in Geddes, pp. 89–96.
- 72 It is clear that a majority of the *cattanārs* present was made up of those recently ordained by Menezes, who were most unlikely at any point to oppose him.
- 73 There is some doubt as to the exact number of lay people present. Ferroli, vol. 1, p. 185, gives the number as 671. Probably the exact number varied from session to session.
- 74 The profession and oath are given in full by Geddes, pp. 107–16.
- 75 Reading through the decrees is a tedious labour. They are given in full in Portuguese in Gouvea, *Jornada* and in English in Geddes, pp. 89–443. A Latin translation is to be found in the work of J.F. Raulinus, *Historia Ecclesiae Malabaricae* (Rome, 1745). See Appendix 19 p. 406.
- 76 Cardinal E. Tisserant has provided a good and clear day to day account of the proceedings in *Eastern Christianity in India*, pp. 56–68. There is also a good account, with comments, in Ferroli, vol. 1, pp. 181–204.

- 77 W. Germann, *Die Kirche Der Thomas Christen* (Gütersloh, 1877), pp. 414–15.
- 78 This is the view maintained by E.C. Ratcliff, but questioned by some other authorities; see references in *ODCC* s.v. 'Liturgy of Addai and Mari'.
- 79 The magisterial articles of Dom Connolly appeared in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, 15 (1914), pp. 396–425, 569–89, with a note by E. Bishop, pp. 589–93. A Latin translation of the rite as revised by Menezes, is to be found in an Appendix to the French translation of Gouvea: Glen, *La Messe des anciens chrétiens dicts de S. Thomas* (Brussels, 1609), pp. 77–123.
- 80 Printed in *Eastern Christianity* (in Latin) p. 72; to this is added a remarkably full and accurate statement about the diocese of Ankamāli, including the remark that 'the archiepiscopal authority is generally exercised through the archdeacon'.
- 81 The fullest account of Roz so far is that by Angel Santos Hernández SJ, 'Francisco Ros, SJ, Arzobispo de Cranganor, primer Obispo Jesuita de la India (1557–1624)' in *Missionalia Hispanica*, vol. v (1948), pp. 325–93; vol. vi (1949), pp. 79–142. Authorities vary between the spellings Ros and Roz.
- 82 From two letters of 1593 and 1597, quoted by A.S. Hernández, pp. 371–2, it appears that Roz was of the opinion that a good *Chaldaean* Catholic bishop, perhaps a Maronite, should be appointed, and that the archdeacon might be given him as coadjutor. ARSI GOA 14: f. 175 and f. 357.
- 83 The letter of Clement VIII, dated 15 January 1600, is printed by Beltrami in *Chiesa*, pp. 256–7 from the *Arch. Brev. Apost.*, vol. 291 f. 146. See also f. 152. It seems that the apostolic see was not very well informed about the see of Ankamāli, if it supposed that it had dignitaries or canons. For the royal documents authorising the appointment and the consecration, see C.C. de Nazareth, *Mitras*, vol. 11, pp. 36–7.
- 84 Jann, *Die Kath. Missionen*, p. 170 and n. 2. See also Gouvea (Glen) p. 116.
- 85 Menezes reached Goa on 6 November 1599, having been absent from his see for nearly a year.
- 86 It may be noted that Menezes had an auxiliary bishop, Domingos da Trindade Torrado OSA (consecrated 7 February 1605), to whom he handed over the government of the diocese. Torrado held this post until his death on 30 December 1612.
- 87 Spain and Portugal were united at that time under one crown.
- 88 Geddes, p. 74, quotes from the *Asia Portuguesa* of Manuel de Faria, vol. III, the statement that Menezes after his return to Spain 'lost all the glory that he had acquired in the opinion of the world'. Geddes adds that the cause of this 'I have not been able to learn'. Nor have I. I have found no reference in any other source to a tragic conclusion to the career of Menezes. Hough, *A History of Christianity in India*, vol. II (London, 1834–45), p. 210, quotes the story, but gives no other authority.
- 89 *Dict. Théol. Cath.*, vol. XIV, col. 3115, art. *Syro-Malabare Eglise*, a comprehensive article with good bibliography. See also *Eastern Christianity in India*, pp. 56–64 and Appendix, pp. 163–74.
- 90 The champions on the opposing sides are Fr G. Magno de Antão, *De Synodi*

Diamperitanae Natura et Decretis (Goa, 1952), who defends the legitimacy and authority of the synod, and Fr Jonas Thaliath TOCD, *The Synod of Diamper* (Orient. Chr. Analecta, 152 (Rome, 1958)), who gravely impugns it on a variety of grounds.

- 91 Full details are given in Thaliath, pp. 86–7, who also quotes, p. 93, a letter of Francis Roz written about the time of the death of Mar Abraham, warmly commending the archdeacon, who may be considered as a possible coadjutor, since ‘the people seem unwilling to accept a bishop of the Latin rite’.
- 92 Quoted by Thaliath, p. 130, from ARSI Goa 15, f. 155–6. This is confirmed by other letters quoted by Thaliath, pp. 133 and 136.
- 93 This may well have been the case. To translate such a mass of material into Malayalam, a language which at that time had no long tradition of Christian expression, would have been a task scarcely possible of accomplishment in the few weeks that elapsed between the first planning of the synod and its opening session.
- 94 Tisserant states explicitly that ‘the Acts of the Synod of Diamper were never officially approved’. *Eastern Christianity*, p. 66, and the important n. 2 on the same page.
- 95 Thaliath, p. 146.
- 96 Reference is made also to the papal brief *Divinam Dei* of May 1601, as constituting full approval of what the synod had decreed.
- 97 For a later stage in the dispute about Diamper, see *ICHR*, 1 (1967), A.M. Mundadan CMI: ‘The Invalidity of the Synod of Diamper’, pp. 9–22. V.C. Samuel, A. da Silva Rêgo, A.M. Mundadan CMI: ‘The Synod of Diamper as an Ecumenical Problem’, pp. 23–8. Da Silva Rêgo seems to be almost the only scholar of repute who maintains the full validity of the synod of Diamper.

10 LIGHTS AND SHADOWS

- 1 DI, 4, p. 665, letter of 13 November 1560.
- 2 DI, 4, p. 730.
- 3 DI, 4, pp. 746–51. The difficulty of reading these ancient documents is illustrated by the fact that the good doctor writes the word *cirurgião*, surgeon, as *sorsigiam*, on which Fr Wicki comments sagely, ‘Haec vox saepe in documentis mire scribitur’.
- 4 DI, 6, p. 120.
- 5 DI, 5, p. 604.
- 6 DI, 4, pp. 336–7, and also 650–1. We owe this vivid picture to the vigorous pen of Br Luis Fróis.
- 7 DI, 2, pp. 380–1.
- 8 We can now read, in DI, 3, pp. 733–46 the original account by Luis Fróis of these events; but they are recorded also by many of the earlier historians; du Jarric for example, gives a good deal of space to the story in his *Thesaurus* (Cologne, 1615), vol. II.
- 9 We are told by Sebastian Gonçalves, book 8, chap. 2, that she married George

Toscano, the brother of Maria Toscana, who became captain of Cranganore, and that some years later she died in childbirth. See also F.C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India* (London, 1894), vol. II, p. 26.

- 10 DI, 3, p. 720.
- 11 DI, 3, pp. 721-2.
- 12 All these passages are quoted, mainly from Diogo de Couto, *Da Asia*, by A. d'Costa SJ, *The Christianization of the Goa Islands 1510-1567* (1965), pp. 53-4. See also DI, 4, p. 718.
- 13 It was he who was reported as having said 'Go on borrowing in my name until I am thrown into prison for these debts. For I am resolved to spend even 100,000 cruzados on the Christians, as long as there is any money in the royal treasury.' DI, 4, p. 606.
- 14 SR, *Doc.*, vol. IV, pp. 450-61.
- 15 The name seems to have been invented at the end of the century by Francis Paes, an official of the treasury in Goa, who in 1595 wrote an account of the sources of revenue. But Fr A. d'Costa is justified in using this as the title of chapters 3 and 4 of his book cited above.
- 16 DI, 6, pp. 681-3. See also d'Costa, p. 13.
- 17 It is most unlikely that any Hindu would have expressed himself exactly in this fashion. This is a warning of the element of distortion which is to be found in all the Jesuit records.
- 18 DI, 6, p. 658. Luis Fróis was dependent for his information on Andrew Vaz, the first of the pupils of the college of St Paul to be ordained to the priesthood.
- 19 These have been collected by the great scholar J.H. Cunha Rivara in his *Archiva Portuguez Oriental* Fasc. IV to VI (Goa, 1865-75), and have been conveniently summarised in A.K. Priolkar, *The Goa Inquisition* (Bombay, 1961), pp. 114-49.
- 20 Priolkar remarks that it was unlikely that any Hindu wife would take advantage of this provision.
- 21 Full text in Priolkar, p. 127.
- 22 *Bull. App.*, vol. I, p. 47. See also d'Costa, pp. 120-5.
- 23 For a description of the *Holt* festival, see B. Walker, *Hindu World* (London, 1968), vol. I, p. 354.
- 24 It is to be noted that these measures could be carried out only in actual Portuguese possessions, and not in such places as Cochin, where the Portuguese existed by permission of the local ruler.
- 25 Priolkar, p. 116. DI, 4, pp. 201-5.
- 26 DI, 4, p. 650.
- 27 DI, 4, p. 734. The number thirty is given on p. 825, but on p. 650 the number is given as forty. The really sinister fact is that the list of those to be expelled was to be drawn up by the archbishop, the provincial of the Society of Jesus, the vicar general, and the guardian of the convent of St Francis, a most dangerous involvement of the church in the affairs of the state.
- 28 Priolkar, pp. 116-17.
- 29 DI, 5, pp. 193-4.

- 30 DI, 5, pp. 194–6 (abridged).
- 31 *BSOAS*, 29 (1966), 400 (critical review of A. d'Costa SJ, *Christianization*).
- 32 *Lendas de India*, vol. IV (Lisbon, 1864), pp. 292–4. See also A. Baião, *A Inquisição da Goa* (Lisbon, 1949), vol. 1, pp. 262–3.
- 33 DI, 4, pp. 285–6.
- 34 See chapter 7, p. 160.
- 35 DI, 4, pp. 229–30.
- 36 *Historia . . . de la Compañia de Jesus*, ed. J. Wicki SJ (Rome, 1944), pp. 343–4.
- 37 This is the form of the name given by A. Baião, vol. 1, p. 35. Elsewhere Pereira.
- 38 Priolkar, pp. 31–4; he states that 'there is reason to think that the records were deliberately burnt'. Information has had to be laboriously collected from such correspondence as has survived, from references in the archives of Goa, and from stray references in the Jesuit letters and similar sources. This has been scientifically carried out by A. Baião, *A Inquisição de Goa* (2 vols.; vol. II, Coimbra, 1930; vol. I, Lisbon, 1945); more popularly by A. Priolkar, *The Goa Inquisition* (1961).
- 39 A. Baião, vol. 1, p. 293.
- 40 A. d'Costa, pp. 196–7. There was, however, a particularly bad period of terror under Bartolomew da Fonseca. In 1575 eighteen persons suffered the death penalty, two as Lutherans, the remainder as Judaisers; in 1578, sixteen, all for 'the Jewish heresy'. But from 1590 to 1597 no sentence of death was passed. J.L. de Azevedo, *Historia dos Cristãos Novos Portugueses* (Lisbon, 1975), pp. 231–2.
- 41 C.R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Sea-borne Empire* (London, 1969), p. 270. S. de Madariaga, *The Rise of the Spanish-American Empire* (London, 1947) gives a similar defence of the Inquisition, with statistics.
- 42 K.M. Panikkar, *Asia and Western Dominance* (1954), p. 385.
- 43 A number of these are listed in H. Heras SJ, *The Conversion Policy of the Jesuits in India* (1933), pp. 71ff.
- 44 'Bohlen in his *Alte Indien* and Noen in his *Kaiser Akbar* supposed that Akbar was influenced by reports which had reached him of the cruelties of the Inquisition at Goa, but Sir Edward points out that there is nothing in the records to show that Akbar had heard of the Inquisition.' C.C. Davies in *BSOS*, 7 (1933–5), 230. (Review of E. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*.)
- 45 C.R. Boxer, p. 270.
- 46 A.K. Priolkar, p. 189.
- 47 A. Baião, vol. 1, p. 415. By far the fullest account of the proceedings of the Inquisition in Goa is that to be found in the narrative of the Frenchman Dr Dellon, who was in the hands of the Inquisition for nearly four years, from 24 August 1673 to 30 June 1677. Attempts to show that this detailed account is a forgery have met with no success. Dellon's work was published in French at Paris in 1684. An English translation, somewhat abridged, appeared in 1812. This is easily accessible to readers today, as it is included in A.K. Priolkar's *Goa Inquisition*. An extensive summary is available in J. Hough, *History of Christianity in India* (London, 1834–45), vol. 1, pp. 712–37.

- 48 Reference may be made to J. Wicki SJ, 'Die unmittelbarer Auswirkungen des Konzils von Trient auf Indien' in *Arch. Hist. Pontificiae*, 1 (Rome, 1963), pp. 241–60. The decrees of Trent introduced a number of difficulties in missionary areas; some of these were straightened out by actions of Popes Pius V (1566–72) and Gregory XIII (1572–85).
- 49 On George Themudo, see two articles by J. Wicki SJ, in *NZM*, 21 (1968), 172–83, and 243–51.
- 50 Letter of George Themudo of June 1568. He was by that date archbishop of Goa, since Dom Gaspar had resigned and withdrawn to a monastery; from which later he was to emerge to undertake once again the direction of the province from which he had withdrawn. The decrees of the council are printed in full in da Silva Rêgo, *Documentação* (Lisbon, 1948–58), vol. x (1953), pp. 334–413. The decrees were originally drawn up in Latin, but it is not clear whether any copy of the originals exists.
- 51 Those who presented themselves as catechumens were generally expected to receive food from the Portuguese as a sign that they had crossed the Rubicon and were sincere in their desire to follow the Christian law.
- 52 DI, 7, pp. 608–9. Letter of Fr Organtinus Gneccchi-Soldo to brethren in Rome, 25 December 1568.
- 53 DI, 7, pp. 637–9.
- 54 This document actually exists in three forms. The first was written hurriedly in Malacca in 1577; the third carefully revised in Goa in 1583. One version was printed by da Silva Rêgo in *Doc.*, vol. xi, pp. 470–638. The other two texts are to be found in DI, 13, pp. 1–134, and 135–319. As far as I know, no historian writing in English has previously made use of these documents; it seems right to accord a certain amount of space to them. Fr Wicki gives us also a useful account of Valignano's work as provincial of India (DI, 13, pp. 2*–5*).
- 55 DI, 9, p. 481.
- 56 The first life, by Fr Francis Peres SJ was written in 1579. See J. Wicki SJ, 'Das neuentdeckte Xaveriusleben', *AHSI*, 34 (1965), 36–78. (The complete Portuguese text is given.) The other early life, by Fr John Lucena, has recently been reprinted (2 vols., Lisbon, 1960).
- 57 Valignano was not the first Visitor in the East. That position had been held before him, with less than unqualified success, by Fr Gonçalo Alvares, of whom Fr Wicki has given a lengthy account in *NZM* (1977), 268–88. The relations between Visitors and provincials and other more permanent authorities were bound to be difficult; and much tact and consideration, which were not always forthcoming, were needed on both sides.
- 58 There is an extensive literature on Valignano. See DI, 11, pp. 18*–20* for Wicki's summary and for bibliographical information. See especially J.F. Schütte SJ, *Valignano's Missionsgrundsätze für Japan 1573–1582* (Rome, 1951–8), vol. 1.
- 59 For further details, see Appendix 20 pp. 407–8.
- 60 Six places each had been allocated to the following areas or races: Tamilnādu, Kerala, Kanara, Gujarāt, Bengal, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, Ethiopia, Moçambique, Madagascar. It is not to be supposed that all these places were taken up at all times.

- 61 DI, 4, p. 193.
- 62 The details relating to Peter Luis have been collected by Fr Wicki SJ in an article in *NZM*, 6 (1950), 115–26: ‘Pedro Luis Brahmane und erster indische Jesuit (ca 1532–1596)’. Full bibliography and references are given.
- 63 DI, 4, p. 857; cf. *EX*, vol. II, 8, §6, n. 9, for the views of Xavier, and of Ignatius Loyola, on the admission of Indians to the Society.
- 64 Not all judgements on him were equally favourable. Wicki prints one such less favourable judgement by Fr Francis Cabral SJ, from the year 1594. (*NZM*, 6, p. 125.) For another Indian Jesuit, Diogo da Gama, resident in Portugal, see DI, 8, p. 18. The provincial wrote of him in 1570 that ‘there is great discontent about him . . . I have often been inclined to think that he is not intended for our society’.
- 65 DI, 4, pp. 334–6. See also DI, 4, p. 339.
- 66 The reference is to the *Mahābhārata*, which exists in eighteen books.
- 67 There was much discussion then and later as to the morality of this action. The Jesuits did not accept as readily as is often supposed the principle that the end justifies the means.
- 68 Fr Wicki notes that one of these texts has been preserved in Goa and another in Evora. DI, 4, p. 339.
- 69 See DI, 4, pp. 801–9, and esp. p. 802 n. 37, where the misunderstandings relating to the Gīta are indicated.
- 70 Fr d’Costa says that ‘he must have been the son of a Portuguese settler’, p. 188. Wicki conjectures that the reference may be to Fr Augustine, an Indian secular priest mentioned by Xavier in connection with Choraó, *EX*, vol. II, pp. 398–9.
- 71 A. d’Costa SJ, pp. 188–9, with references.
- 72 *Bull.* Appendix II, p. 71.
- 73 The learning of Fr G. Schurhammer has discovered that there were two Englishmen at the siege of Diu in 1546; these survived when many were killed by the explosion of a mine; ‘Orientalia’ (Lisbon, 1963), pp. 367–8. The arrival of ‘Tomás Estephano’ in Goa is noted in a letter of Fr A. Monserrate of 21 October 1579. DI, 11, p. 644. The article of Fr G. Schurhammer, ‘Thomas Stephens (1549–1619)’ (‘Orientalia’, pp. 367–76) is an invaluable source of information. A further article ‘Der Maratha-dichter Thomas Stephens SI: Neue Dokumente’, originally published in *AHSI*, 26 (1957), 67–82, and reprinted in ‘Orientalia’, pp. 377–91 adds to our stock of knowledge.
- 74 DI, 11, pp. 682–90. The original seems not to have survived. The letter was printed in R. Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, vol. 1.2, and by J. Courtney Locke, *The First Englishmen in India* (1930), pp. 19–30. Locke says that the ‘wine of the Palme tree’ is the toddy drawn from the palmyra, *borassus flabelliformis*.
- 75 Everyone, including even Fr Schurhammer, seems to have mistranslated this. The meaning is perfectly clear: in Konkani, as in most other Indian languages, the vowels are combined with the consonants in a single sign. ‘The letters and syllables have their value’ (Schurhammer, p. 371) is just nonsense.
- 76 The letter is published in Schurhammer, ‘Orientalia’, pp. 381–6.
- 77 ‘Orientalia’, p. 372.

- 78 Full accounts are given by Fr G. Goldie, *The First Christian Mission to the Great Mogul* (Dublin, 1897); his account is based mainly on de Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado*. In the process for canonisation of the martyrs set on foot by Alexis de Menezes in 1600 eye-witnesses supplied very full details of the occurrence.
- 79 After endless delays the beatification of the five martyrs was pronounced by Pope Leo XIII on 16 April 1893. It is to be regretted that the faithful Indian Christians who died at the same time are not similarly mentioned.
- 80 Details in G. Goldie SJ, p. 151. The account by A. Valignano SJ in a letter dated 'Goa, 8 December 1583', is given in full in DI, 12, pp. 917-32. Valignano made use of an account written by Fr Gomes Vaz. (DI, 12, p. 917 n. 4.)
- 81 For the beginnings of Christian literature in Tamil, and printed in Tamil characters, see below pp. 243-5.
- 82 It is possible that a manual in Konkant had been printed before the arrival of Stephens in India. The Jesuits had a printing press from 1556 onwards. But, if such a manual ever existed, no copy of it is known either in type or in manuscript. It is known through a single chance allusion in a letter, referred to by M. Saldanha, *Doutrina Cristão em lingua Concani* (Lisbon, 1945), pp. 8-9. The title page of the *Doutrina* as printed in 1622 reads (in English translation) 'Christian Doctrine in the Bramana-Canarim language, arranged in the manner of a dialogue for the instruction of the young. Composed by Thomas Stephens [Thomas Estevão] of the Society of Jesus, native of London. IHS. Printed in the College at Rachol of the Society of Jesus, in the year 1622.' See Saldanha, p. 26; facsimile on p. 55.
- 83 The term *Bramana-Canarim* has suggested to many that Stephens wrote in Hindustani and Canarese; but this is a misunderstanding. Canarese is a Dravidian language, akin to Tamil and Malayalam; Konkant is an Indo-European language, and bears no resemblance to the southern languages. It is closely related to Marāthī.
- 84 'The *Doutrina* of Stephens is written, not in Canarese, the language of Canara, but in the Konkant of Goa, just as his *Purāṇa* is composed in Marāthī and not in Hindustani, nor in Konkant, nor in Canarese, as has so often been said.' M. Saldanha, p. 33. Stephens himself makes this perfectly clear in a laudatory stanza prefixed to the poem:

As Jasmine rarest is 'mong flowers
As musk o'er scents in fragrance towers
E'en so ornate Marāthī's powers
Beyond all tongues can reach.

Trans. printed in Ferrolī, vol. 1, p. 454.

A more correct and less ornate translation is:

As the peacock among the birds of the air,
As the *Kalpataru* among the trees of the wood,
So among all languages excels the Marāthī speech.

- 85 The *Purāṇa* was printed three times in the seventeenth century – 1616, 1649, 1654. It is now available, in Roman script, in the excellent edition of Joseph L.

- Saldanha (Mangalore, 1907). At last the wish of Stephens has been fulfilled. The *Purāṇa* has appeared, carefully transcribed into the Devanāgarī script: *Kristu purana: Marathi text ed. and transcribed in Devanagari character by Santaram Bandelu; with life of Fr Stevens, and commendatory note by the Bishop of Poona* (Poona, 1956).
- 86 The Father was the Italian Michael Ruggieri (Rogerio), who in 1579 writes regretfully that, after making a good start in Tamil, he has been called away by holy obedience to join the mission to China, where he was destined to labour for some years with Fr Matthew Ricci. He hoped that 'the Fathers to whom God has given the capacity to learn the language should stay here for a long time', DI, 11, p. 573.
- 87 The number of Jesuits in India was increasing rapidly throughout the period under review. In 1581 there were 144, in 1582 153, priests. An increasing number of these were Italians and Spaniards; one had been born as far away as Honduras in America. The Portuguese were still in the majority but the Portuguese monopoly had been broken.
- 88 In letters of the period the Paravas are often referred to as docile. This is not the first epithet that leaps to the mind in connection with this rugged and hardy people. But they had, and have, a great regard for those set over them in the Lord. Perhaps the close alliance between the church and the Portuguese power helped to keep them in the way of righteousness.
- 89 The best account of the Fisher Coast in this period is L. Besse SJ, *La Mission du Maduré* (Tiruchirāpalli, 1914), pp. 371-479.
- 90 DI, 11, pp. 73-115.
- 91 DI, 11, p. 817. See also DI, 11, p. 803 n. 1. J. Wicki SJ has written on 'The Confraternity of Charity of Fr Henry Henriques', giving details of the rules of the confraternity, in *ICHR*, 1, 3-8.
- 92 In 1548 Henriques wrote that at his first contact with the language he found it so difficult that he gave it up. But later with the help of God he was able to work out a method for learning it, DI, 1, pp. 285-9. He complains of the unsatisfactoriness of interpreters - 'the Father says one thing, but in a great many cases they say something else' (p. 287).
- 93 DI, 7, p. 174.
- 94 Xavier S. Thani Nāyagam, in *Tamil Culture*, 3 (1954), 220. We now have a careful and very well documented article, 'Father Henriques' Grammar of Spoken Tamil, 1548', by Jeanne H. Hein, in *ICHR*, 11, 1 (1977), 127-57. Mrs Hein promises a volume in which the full text of the *Arte* will be made available, with much further information on Henriques and his work.
- 95 Fr G. Schurhammer SJ (with G.W. Cottrell) has given a characteristically full and clear account of both these works, together with excellent photographic reproductions in a paper, 'The First Printing in Indic Characters', first published in the *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 6 (1952), pp. 147-60, and reprinted in 'Orientalia' (1963), pp. 317-27. The earlier of the two books was printed at Quilon, the second at Cochin, but apparently from the same fount of type.
- 96 On Xavier's catechisms, see the full account in *EX*, vol. 1, pp. 93-116, and vol. 11, pp. 581-90.

- 97 For a full-length study of Henriques, see J. Wicki SJ, *P. Henrique Henriques SJ (1520–1600)*; *Ein vorbildlicher Missionar Indiens* (Studia Missionalia, 13 (1963), pp. 113–68); see also ‘Father Henrique Henriques SJ (1520–1600)’ in *Ind. Eccl. Studies*, 4 (1965), 142–50, and 5 (1966), 36–72, 175–89.
- 98 The discovery is reported in *Tamil Culture*, 3 (1954), 225.
- 99 The Tamil tradition of Henriques was carried forward in the seventeenth century by Anthony de Proença; see X. Th. Nāyagam in *Tamil Culture*, 11 (1964), 117–34: ‘Antão de Proença’s Tamil–Portuguese Dictionary (1679)’; and E.C. Knowlton Jr: ‘Antão de Proença’s Vocabulario Tamulico-Lusitano’, pp. 135–64.
- 100 H. Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara* (Madras, 1927), p. 464.
- 101 History and Culture, 7, pp. 493–5 (N. Venkatarāmayya).
- 102 An interesting account of the visit is given by Heras, pp. 404–9, based on the Jesuit Annual Letters and on du Jarric, *Thesaurus*, vol. 1, pp. 642–5.
- 103 Heras, pp. 465–7.
- 104 Letter of Fr Francis Ricio to Fr Claudius Aquaviva, dated 20 October 1601; see Heras, pp. 582–3.
- 105 Heras, p. 588.
- 106 See Heras, p. 481, where the circumstances are set out in detail; and also pp. 634–7, where Heras prints in full (in Portuguese) the libellous letter sent by one Antony Viles to the king, accusing the Jesuits of every kind of villainy. One of his charges is that the Jesuits are unwilling to be subject to the bishop (of Cochin), and desire that all their converts should be exempt from his jurisdiction. In view of the difficulties of the Jesuits with the bishop, Andrew of St Mary (1588–1615), there may have been some truth in this allegation.
- 107 An earlier report of these ‘Christians’ had reached Europe in a letter of Fr Vincent de Lagos to the king of Portugal dated 1 January 1549. Here they are called ‘Tomes’. See SR, *Doc.*, vol. iv, pp. 205–11, and A. Mundadan, *St Thomas Christians* (Bangalore, 1967), p. 121 and n. 19.
- 108 The work has been admirably edited by Jarl Charpentier (Uppsala, 1933), who alludes to the many plagiarisms carried out by Philip Baldaeus. Of this more in another context.
- 109 Brit. Mus. *add. MS* 9853. The Portuguese text is printed by J. Charpentier as above, pp. lxxxvi–xcv; a translation marred by some misunderstandings is to be found in W.H.R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), pp. 719–30. Where Fenicio wrote *Pallem*, Rivers gives the form *palol*, and describes the official as being ‘a far more sacred personage than the *mursol* or dairyman’. On the celibacy of the *palol*, see Rivers, p. 99.
- 110 But Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, vol. vii, p. 157, notes that the Todas do have a smattering of Malayālam. G.U. Pope states that the Toda language is old Canarese, much debased. For a fuller study, see the fascinating work of M.B. Emeneau, *Toda Songs* (Oxford, 1971). In the census report for 1901 their number is given as 807.
- 111 Rivers, pp. 728–9.
- 112 For details reference may be made to the work of A. Meersman, *The Ancient Franciscan Provinces in India* (1971). See also a study by Fr F. Felix Lopes,

- 'Franciscans in Portuguese India in 1584' in *Studia*, 9 (Lisbon, 1962), pp. 29–142, based on original documents. The very frank communications of Fr Gaspar OFM, reveal that not all was happy in the life of the Franciscans in India.
- 113 Paulo da San Trindade, *Conquista Espiritual*, vol. 1, p. 285n.
- 114 Brief: *Exponis nobis* of 23 May 1567; see *Bullarium*, vol. 1, pp. 213–14.
- 115 The decision of the pope against the bishop of Cochin and in favour of the Jesuits, in the matter of the parishes on the Fisher Coast, was quoted in the later stages of the controversy.
- 116 Gonzaga, *De Origine* (Rome, 1587), p. 1218.
- 117 This is somewhat obscure. Presumably the concern of the Dominicans was for Ethiopian *Christians*. Did they regard baptism given in a monophysite church as invalid? Or were there among the Ethiopians as among the Thomas Christians many who had never been baptised?
- 118 The expression 'university' is used by Müllbauer, p. 333, but qualifies it by the addition 'eine Art von Universität'. The authority quoted is Fr Lucas of S. Catherine, in a work published in 1767.
- 119 One main source for the Augustinian activities is the *Memorias da Congregação Augustiniana na Índia Oriental*, printed for the first time in SR, *Doc.*, vol. XII, pp. 2–233.
- 120 The names of all of them are given in SR, *Doc.*, vol. XII, p. 4.
- 121 A royal order was passed to the effect that the number of inmates must not exceed fifty.
- 122 A.L. Farinha, *A Expansão da Fe no Oriente*, vol. II (Agencia Geral, 1943), chap. 1, para. 15: 'Irmãs Religiosas', pp. 96–100. See also an excellent article by L. Kilger OSB, 'Das erste Frauenkloster in Portugies. Indien: St Monika (in Goa) 1616–1834' in *NZM*, 7 (1951), 119–23, taking account of Fr Agostinho da Santa Maria, *Historia da Fundação do Real Convento da S. Monica da Cidade da Goa* (Lisbon, 1699).
- 123 SR, *Doc.*, vol. XII, pp. 182–3. Reference may also be made to a study by C. Alonso OSA: 'Nueva documentación inédita sobre las misiones agustinianas en la India y en Persia 1571–1609' in *Anal. Aug.*, 33 (1970), 359–93; and to T.A. López OSA, 'Expansión de la Orden de San Agustín por la India' in *Misionalia Hispanica*, 28 (1971), 265–322 and 29 (1972), 5–59.
- 124 See *NZM*, 23 (1967), 64.

CONCLUSION: TO WHAT DID IT ALL AMOUNT?

- 1 Panikkar, p. 198.
- 2 Panikkar, p. 212.
- 3 *Journal of Indian History*, 54 (August, 1976), 442.
- 4 *JIH*, 54, 443.

II INDIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

- 1 For an interesting illustration of concern for the maintenance of the rights of Hindus, see S. Manrique, *Travels*, vol. II (ed. of 1926–7), p. 112 (slaughter of two peacocks by a young Muslim).

- 2 Beni Prasad, *History of Jahāngīr* (Ahahabad, 1922), pp. 149–51. The contrary view, with grim details of the execution, is set out by H.R. Gupta in *History and Culture*, 7 (1974), pp. 307–9.
- 3 The Twelve Ordinances are given in full by Abdur Rashid, in *History and Culture*, 7, pp. 176–8. Typical of the spirit of the twelve is regulation No. 7: ‘I forbade cutting off the nose or ears of any person, and I myself made a vow by the living God that I would not blemish anyone by this punishment.’ This writer quotes, without giving a reference, the just judgement that the regulations are ‘remarkable for the humanity, justice and political sagacity which pervades them’.
- 4 *Memoirs*, vol. II, trans. Rogers and Beveridge (1914), p. 20, quoted by Sir R. Burn in *CHI*, vol. v, pp. 178–9, an excellent summary of Jahāngīr’s tastes and qualifications.
- 5 Sir Thomas Roe complains rather plaintively of the troubles that he had with that all-powerful faction.
- 6 *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India*, ed. Sir W. Foster (Oxford, 1926), p. 289.
- 7 Sir R. Burn in *CHI*, vol. IV, p. 217.
- 8 *Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 247.
- 9 On the authorities for the Hugli affair, see Appendix 23.
- 10 Estimates of casualties vary greatly. Fr Cabral tells us that, of Portuguese of pure blood, the losses were not much more than a hundred. Losses on the Mughul side were undoubtedly much higher; the figure given by Cabral, that 4,300 Mughuls, Patans, Xuxedos (Rajputs), Persians, Hindustans and Bengalis were found missing may be near the truth (Manrique, vol. II, pp. 418–19). 400 captives is the figure given in a Muslim source, the *Padshah-nāma*, and this is much more likely than the 4,000 given in some Christian sources.
- 11 S. Manrique, *Travels*, vol. II, pp. 209–12.
- 12 There can hardly be a doubt that this was the original plan. Tavernier, who was usually well informed, tells us that ‘Shāh Jahān began to build his own tomb on the other side of the river, but that the war which he had with his son interrupted his plans, and Aurungzīb, who reigns at present, is not disposed to complete it.’ Tavernier, *Travels*, vol. I (ed. of 1889), pp. 110–11.
- 13 On Dādū see W.G. Orr, *A sixteenth-century Indian Mystic* (London, 1947), a sympathetic account by a Christian, with extensive quotations from the hymns.
- 14 J. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, vol. II (1963), p. 183.
- 15 Bankey Behari, *Minstrels of God*, vol. II, pp. 266, 330, quoted in J. Gonda, p. 184.
- 16 Quoted, without reference, in Sir J. Sarkar, *History of Aurungzīb*, vol. III (Calcutta, 1916), p. 158.
- 17 The various edicts of Aurungzīb on temple destruction are collected in Sarkar, vol. III, Appendix v, pp. 319–24. The documents suggest, however, that the fanaticism of Aurungzīb grew slowly and reached its fullness only in his later years.
- 18 Strictly speaking, on Jews and Christians and Magians, but not on idolaters or apostates.

- 19 *Storia do Mogor*, vol. 1 (Eng. trans. London, 1907), p. 234. See also vol. iv, p. 117. On attempts to secure exemption for Christians, see Maclagan, *Jesuits*, pp. 123–4. In *JASB* (1912), 328, it is asserted that in 1693 Aurungzib issued a decree exempting Christians from the payment of the tax, but no details are given; it seems that the privilege was limited to Agra only, and to the dependents of the Jesuits in that one centre. A dignified protest by the Hindu leader Śivaji against the exaction of *jizya* (see Sarkar, vol. III, Appendix VI, pp. 325–9) met with no response from the emperor.
- 20 Sir J. Sarkar, in *CHI*, vol. iv, p. 246.
- 21 There is a full account of all these events in M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion* (Oxford, 1909), vols. iv and v.
- 22 Śivaji was from time to time at war with Europeans, as with others; he does not seem to have been actuated by animosity against Christians as such.
- 23 J. Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. 1 (ed. of 1921), p. 231.
- 24 Sir J. Sarkar, in *CHI*, vol. v, p. 318. For Aurungzib's own pessimistic estimate of his life's achievement, see *History and Culture*, 7, p. 303 (J.N. Chaudhuri).
- 25 Quoted by H. Terpstra, *De Nederlanders* (Amsterdam, 1947), p. 37.
- 26 Details of the affair are given in B. Gardner, *The East India Company* (London, 1971), pp. 38–41. The English did for a time maintain a factory at Bencoolen in Sumatra, but not in the near neighbourhood of Dutch settlements.
- 27 The English records are full of complaints of the unfriendliness of the Dutch. Thus Edward Terry writes:

This I can say of the Dutch, that when I lived in those parts and the English were more from the number than they and consequently could receive no hurt from them, we then used them as neighbours and brethren; but in other places, where they had the like advantage of us, they dealt with us neither like Christians nor men.
- 28 See the interesting information given by T.I. Poonen, *Dutch Power in Malabar* (Travancore, 1948), pp. 278–88.
- 29 The ill-advised attempts of the Portuguese to eject the British by force were not successful. The remarkable victory of Captain Downton over a much larger Portuguese fleet (December 1614–January 1615) was important in two ways – as discouraging the Portuguese, and as making plain to the Mughuls that the Portuguese claim to invincibility at sea was no longer valid, if it ever had been.
- 30 Aurungzib recognised that the English could be useful to him in controlling and safeguarding the pilgrim routes to Mecca, to him a matter of great importance.
- 31 Sir W. Foster in his excellent edition of *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India, 1615–19* (1926), remarks sadly (p. lxxix) that 'we still await a proper biography which will give to Roe's merits their due meed of praise'. We still wait.
- 32 These unfortunates were kept in chains for sixteen months, December 1688 to April 1690.
- 33 These pirates were a grave menace to all at the end of the seventeenth century. They were everywhere in the eastern seas from Moçambique to Sumatra, and every ship and every traveller in those seas was at risk. Colonel J. Biddulph, who has written their history, *The Pirates of Malabar* (1907), remarks that

the chief cause of their immunity lay in the fact that it was the business of nobody in particular to act against them . . . Their friends on shore gave them timely information . . . officials high in authority winked at their doings, from which they drew a profit . . . The native officials, unable to distinguish the rogues from the honest traders, held the East India Company's servants responsible for the misdeeds of the piccaroons from whom they suffered so grievously (pp. ix, x).

- 34 The estimate is that of Dr John Fryer, *New Account of East India and Persia* (London, 1698), p. 68.
- 35 P.B.M. Malabari in *Bombay in the Making* (London, 1910), pp. 265–89, gives a number of rather grisly details. But he notes that the penal laws enforced by the English, harsh as they were, were humane in comparison with those observed in other parts of the East Indies of the time (p. 271).
- 36 Sir William Foster in *CHI*, vol. v, p. 100.
- 37 H.D. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, vol. 1 (London, 1913), pp. 13–24. The name of the Naik concerned, is given in various forms; but most frequently as Dāmarla Venkatādri, and it is stated that he ruled the coast from Pulicat to the Portuguese settlement of San Thomé.
- 38 H.D. Love, vol. 1, p. 345.
- 39 Calculation as well as tolerance played a part in this arrangement – it was thought that these non-European members would be helpful in the collection of taxes. It remains, however, the fact that relations between British and Indians have always been better in the Madras Presidency than in other parts of India, with the possible exception of the Punjab.
- 40 H.H. Dodwell in *CHI*, vol. v, p. 590.
- 41 Tavernier was first in India in 1623–33, then again in 1642–8. Equal popularity is ascribed to the book of LaBoullaye le Gouz, *Voyages et observations ou sont décrites les religions, gouvernements, etc. de Perse, Arabie, Grande Mogol etc.* (Paris, 1657).
- 42 Yet it is a French writer, R. Glachant, who states that ‘the Company, in control of its executives on the spot, took a commercial view of things. It imagined that India could be managed like a shop. It wanted peaceful and regular profits.’ *L’Inde des Français* (Paris, 1965), p. 44.
- 43 *Mémoires de L.A. Bellanger de l’Espinay, Vendômois, sur son voyage aux Indes orientales, 1670–75* (Vendôme, 1895), p. 203. H. Froidevaux bears testimony to the ‘inlassable et féconde activité de notre Vendômois’, *Histoire des Colonies Françaises*, vol. v (Paris, 1932), p. 39.
- 44 R. Glachant, p. 48. It should be remembered that France had some other small settlements, notably Chandernagore in Bengal (1690–2).
- 45 D. Kincaid, *British Social Life in India, 1608–1937* (London, 1973), p. 63.
- 46 My authority here is M.V. Labernadié, *Le Vieux Pondichéri, 1674–1815* (1936), pp. 101, 103. A different picture is given by other authorities; but I think that this work offers a true picture of life in Pondichéri as far as the influence of the governor extended.
- 47 For Capuchin and Jesuit beginnings in Pondichéri, see chapter 14, p. 358.

- 48 For the diary of the Icclander Jón Ólafsson, who was at Tranquebar in 1622/23, see Appendix 24. See also J. Macau, *L'Inde Danoise: La Première Compagnie (1616-1670)* (Aix-en-Provence, 1973).
- 49 It is impossible to give an exact figure for the smaller centres, since factories and trading posts were being opened and closed all the time, with shifts in trade and in the exigencies of the political and military situations.
- 50 Note, however, the one remarkable exception – Sir Josiah Child, who in 1687 wrote that ‘the aim of the Company must be “to establish such a politie of civill and military power, and create and secure such a large revenue to maintaine both . . . as may bee the foundation of a large, well-grounded, sure English dominion in India for all time to come”’. Quoted in *CHI*, vol. v, p. 102.

12 THE MISSION OF MATHURAI

- 1 See P.R. Bachmann, *Roberto Nobili 1577-1656* (Rome, 1972), pp. 147-9.
- 2 J. Wicki SJ, ‘Die Schrift des P. Gonçalo Fernandes SJ über die Brahmanen und Dharmasastra, Madura, 1616’ in *ZMR*, 41 (1957), 1-14, 109-25; as separate publication, Aschendorf (1957).
- 3 This is stated by V. Cronin, *A Pearl to India* (London, 1960), p. 45, but without quotation of any authority. See also Bachmann, p. 47 n. 75.
- 4 We had long been accustomed to writing Robert *de* Nobili; but Fr Wicki has convincingly shown that this is incorrect, and that, when writing Italian or Portuguese, Robert wrote his name without the *de*. In writing Latin he did sign himself *de Nobilibus*. See *NZM*, 33 (1977), 136.
- 5 Quoted by Bachmann, p. 30 and n. 79, from *AHSI*, 37, 139.
- 6 The *rhythm* of Italian is nearer to that of Tamil than either English or Portuguese. It is the failure of most Europeans to catch this rhythm that makes their Tamil sound so strange and almost unintelligible to the Indian ear.
- 7 Fr P. Dahmen, *Robert de Nobili: Apologie* (Paris, 1931), p. 12, quotes Fr A. Vico SJ to the effect that

The Portuguese try to turn all their converts not only into true Christians but also into genuine Portuguese. They compelled them [in Goa] to wear Portuguese clothes, and attempted to introduce the eating of meat, though the Indian stomach, used to a lighter diet, rebelled against this. It was regarded as a great concession, when the Indians were allowed to retain their own garb, provided that this was made of cotton only.
- 8 Nobili was fortunate in that his plans were approved by Francis Roz, the archbishop of Cranganore, to whom he was canonically subject, and by Alexis de Menezes the archbishop of Goa. Nobili mentions their support in his *Apology*, chaps. 55 and 56.
- 9 It is often stated that this was in the Brāhman quarter, but I do not believe that this can be correct. The Brāhmans would never have tolerated the residence of a foreigner in one of their streets. What Laerzio says in a letter (20 November 1609) to the Jesuit general Aquaviva is no more than that ‘the habitation of the Father is in a street where the noble people (*la gente nobile*) live’. This would suit

- very well a street of Nāyaks or Chetṭis. The Jesuits had a tendency to class all high-caste Hindus together as Brāhmans. The letter of Laerzio, one of the most important of our contemporary sources for the work of Nobili, is printed in full (in Italian) in H. Heras SJ, *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara* (Madras, 1927), pp. 619–27. On Chinnaxauta, see S. Rājamānickam SJ, *The First Oriental Scholar* (Tirunelveli, 1972), Appendix VI, p. 251.
- 10 Letter of 1 December 1607. Nobili wrote on the same day to Cardinal Francis Sforza; quoted in Bachmann, p. 70 n. 104, from ARSI, Goa, 51f, 7–12.
 - 11 Our best source for all this is Joseph Jouvençy SJ, *Historia Societatis Jesu* (Rome, 1710), p. 497, quoted by Bachmann, p. 63. Cronin gives, without reference, a long account of these discussions, pp. 62–6, based on Bertrand, *Mission de Maduré*, vol. II, pp. 6–8.
 - 12 At this period Nobili still gave to his converts Western and non-biblical names; only later did he give Indian names or adaptations of Indian names. References in Bachmann, p. 64 nn. 70–4.
 - 13 This was a remarkable achievement, and fully justifies Max Müller's eulogy: 'I can speak of him only as our first Sanskrit scholar' (*Lectures on the Science of Language*, vol. I (ed. of 1882), p. 174). Professor Caland, who had made a special study of Nobili, adds: 'We feel deep admiration for his learning and knowledge of Sanskrit, for not only the *smṛti* (traditional) literature was known to him, but also the Veda, at least one of its *śākhās*; the Yajurveda of the Taittirīyas.' 'Robert de Nobili and the Sanskrit Language and Literature', *Acta Orientalia*, 3 (1926), 51.
 - 14 For a possible exception, see Appendix 27 p. 416–17.
 - 15 All this is recounted in detail in Bertrand, *La Mission de Maduré* (Paris, 1847–54), vol. II, pp. 51–9.
 - 16 See his *Responsio* of 1610, ed. P. Dahmen SJ (1931), and Bachmann, p. 105.
 - 17 Bertrand, vol. II, p. 75.
 - 18 A good account of these events is given by Bertrand, vol. II, pp. 26–33. But a letter of Nobili to Laerzio dated 15 June 1609 seems to have been unknown to Bertrand. Bachmann, p. 96 n. 34.
 - 19 It seems that this title was connected with Nobili's affirmation of the doctrine of creation, and of the contingent reality of earthly things, as against the pure *advaita* doctrine, for which everything visible and tangible belongs to the realm of *māyā*, unreality or illusion. Nobili could find support for his views in some of the systems of Hindu philosophy. Bachmann, p. 93 and n. 20.
 - 20 Letter of 8 October 1609; Bachmann, p. 99.
 - 21 This information comes to us in a letter written by the provincial Laerzio to the general in Rome on 8 December 1610.
 - 22 Bachmann gives the impression that Nobili twice used the method of 'manifesto'. On p. 113 he gives a brief summary, and on pp. 153–4 a fuller translation. The confusion seems to have arisen because the first news of the event came through the letter of Laerzio, 8 December 1610, referred to above; but a much fuller account was given by Fr Antony Vico, quoted by M. Müllbauer, p. 186. We have only secondhand information and nothing from the

- pen of Nobili himself. But Vico had been a companion of Nobili and one of his most enthusiastic admirers; it is unlikely that he was misinformed.
- 23 It appears that at one point the unnamed Parava was mistaken. Knowing the intense disgust felt by the Brahmans for any contact with saliva, Nobili had obtained from his archbishop, Francis Roz, permission to omit this part of the rite. See Bachmann, p. 111, and especially nn. 26 and 27, in which canonical authorities for the omission of this ceremony are cited.
 - 24 But some of the Portuguese Jesuits, like the two Xaviers, were aristocrats of the middle rank. Fernandes emphatically was not.
 - 25 The use of the *tāli* instead of the ring has been adopted by many, I think by all, of the Protestant churches in South India.
 - 26 Laerzio, though friendly to Nobili, had been troubled by the unfavourable reports on his work which kept coming in from the Fisher Coast. The prohibition on baptisms seems to have been issued in January 1608 and withdrawn in August of the same year.
 - 27 The letter is printed in full, in Portuguese with a French translation, by Fr P. Dahmen, in his edition of the *Responsio* (*Apologie*, 1931), pp. 194–205.
 - 28 This may have been true. Nobili's methods of discussion tended to be scholastic rather than biblical. But in his *Responsio* Nobili denied that he had made any unworthy use of the principle of the *arcanum fidei*.
 - 29 See an article by Fr P. Dahmen in *RHM*, 12 (1935), pp. 579–607: 'La Correspondance de Robert de Nobili' giving five letters; on Pimenta especially pp. 588–91.
 - 30 L. Besse SJ, *La Mission de Maduré* (Tiruchirāpalī, 1914), p. 201.
 - 31 The complete Latin text with a generally faithful French translation and a good introduction, together with valuable identifications and elucidations of the passages transliterated (often oddly) by Nobili from Sanskrit works, are provided by Fr P. Dahmen, *Robert de Nobili: L'apôtre des Brahmes: Première Apologie, 1610* (Paris, 1931). *Apologie* is perhaps not a very happy translation of *Responsio*.
 - 32 A full translation of the *Publicum Testimonium de modo procedendi P. Rob. Nobili in Missione Madurensi: De modo instruendi Neophytos* is given in Appendix 25.
 - 33 The *Narratio Fundamentorum quibus Missio Madurensis stabilitur*, which Nobili wrote in preparation for this conference has been discovered and published by Fr S. Rājāmānickam SJ under the title *Robert de Nobili on Adaptation* (Palayamkōṭṭai, 1971).
 - 34 On Almeyda, see *AHSI*, 4 (1935), 82.
 - 35 Bertrand, vol. II, p. 184. Roz refused to sign the document placed before him for his signature on the ground that the instructions of the pope had not been carried out. Bachmann, p. 198. On all this see also the full and informative article of Fr S. Rājāmānickam SJ, 'The Goa Conference of 1619' in *ICHR*, 2 (1968), 83–91.
 - 36 Nobili's own words may be quoted: 'et in publicis contionibus et in me unum et Madurensē institutum acerrime invehitur, meumque nomen et aestimationem assidue mordet et vellicat'. Ferrolī, vol. II, pp. 394–5. Ferrolī gives the date of the letter as 20.2.1610; this must be a slip for 1619.

- 37 Alexander Ludovisi (1554–1623), archbishop of Bologna, became pope on 9 February 1621, and died on 8 July 1623. He brought into existence the sacred congregation *de Propaganda Fide*.
- 38 Lombard was born in Waterford in 1555, and was appointed archbishop of Armagh in 1601. In 1616 he had headed the commission of theological consultants who condemned the views of Galileo on the solar system.
- 39 The *Votum* of Lombard has been published by Fr P. Dahmen SJ in *AHSI*, 4 (1935), 68–101. The Latin title of it is *Controversia mota in India Orientali: quoad Brachmanes recipiendos ad baptismum Christi et Christianae religionis professionem, nominatim in civitate et regione Madurensi, quae sita est in Malabarico tractu mediterraneo, regibus ethnicis seu gentilibus subjecto, censura et suffragium*.
- 40 The full text is given in P. Dahmen, *Première Apologie*, pp. 86–9, Latin; pp. 190–4 French translation.
- 41 On the Valluvar, see E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, vol. VII, pp. 303–10. Thurston notes that Valluvar do not eat beef, and that some among them are called *paṇḍāram*.
- 42 Antony Vico (1576–1638) came to India in 1607, and joined the Mathurai mission in 1610. He, like Nobili, was credited with a good knowledge of Tamil, Telugu and Sanskrit.
- 43 Da Costa himself wrote the letters for 1643, 1644–6, 1648 and 1653.
- 44 Bertrand, vol. II, p. 339.
- 45 The Pallas are another large group, mainly agricultural workers, and, as they do not eat beef, ranking a little higher in the social scale than the Paraiyas.
- 46 Bertrand, vol. II, p. 361.
- 47 Bertrand, vol. II, p. 353.
- 48 The practice of including in the statistics baptisms of infants *in articulo mortis* tends to inflate the figures.
- 49 On him and his work see Bertrand, vol. III, pp. 41–76.
- 50 For further activities of da Costa, see Bachmann, pp. 251–2.
- 51 Details are given by Bachmann, pp. 233–42.
- 52 The date has been fixed by Fr Bachmann, relying on the nearly contemporary work of Giacinto de Magistris, *Relationi della Christianità de Maduré* (Rome, 1661), pp. 447–8. Fr Dahmen, *Robert de Nobili*, p. 54, had given the date as 21 January.
- 53 For a full list see Appendix 27.
- 54 We should not forget Fr Henry Henriques and his efforts in the sixteenth century. But Henriques did not attempt either to learn or to write *classical* Tamil.
- 55 But Fr Rājāmānīcam points out that he made only limited use of this peculiar grammatical form; pp. 93–4.
- 56 After I had written these lines, I became acquainted with the following passage of Fr Beschi (in his *Tamil Grammar of the Spoken Dialect*), in which he is undoubtedly referring to Nobili's Tamil style: 'Besides this language is especially fond of Laconisms, and in proportion as you express your meaning in fewer words, so much the more elegantly always will you speak.' After citing a

- number of the circumlocutions of the kind which Nobili habitually uses, he concludes – ‘Wherefore to use everywhere these and similar phrases, in those works especially which are written for posterity, cannot be consonant with the style of this language.’
- 57 Nobili also left four series of sermons, containing respectively 26, 28, 30 and 32 discourses. These are deliberately couched in a simpler style, and illustrated throughout with comparisons from the daily life with which the hearers would be quite familiar. See A. Rocaries SJ, *Robert de Nobili SJ: ou le Sannyasi chrétien* (Toulouse, 1967), p. 159.
 - 58 *Tūshaṇattikkāram*, pp. 516–17.
 - 59 There is a good exposition of parts of the work in P. Dahmen SJ, *Robert de Nobili* (1924), pp. 64–76.
 - 60 Letter of Fr Andrew Freyre dated Candelour, 1666, in Bertrand, vol. III, p. 245. Fr L. Besse in *La Mission de Maduré*, pp. 677–8, gives a longer and more elaborate account of these events, a good example of the way in which legends grow by accretion and adornment.
 - 61 P. Dahmen SJ, *Robert de Nobili*, p. 78.
 - 62 Letter of 1643, from Tiruchirāpaḷli: Bertrand, vol. II, p. 318.
 - 63 Bertrand, vol. II, pp. 318–22.
 - 64 The question has been discussed at great length by Fr Bertrand in his vol. I, pp. 181–231; and in his separate work *Mémoire Historique sur les Missions des Ordres Religieux* (1862). Not all will find his arguments convincing.
 - 65 It must be remembered that the *sannyāsi* enters upon that life only after having fulfilled the duties of the married householder, the second of the Hindu *āśramas*.
 - 66 Valuable information about the early history of Christianity in Vaḍakkankulam and the neighbourhood is to be found in S. Kaufmann, ‘Popular Christianity, Caste and Hindu Society in South India’ (unpublished dissertation, Cambridge, 1980).
 - 67 *Histoire du bienheureux Jean de Britto* (Paris, 1853), p. 165.
 - 68 Prat, p. 137.
 - 69 Laynez (1656–1715) had arrived in India in 1681, and became bishop-coadjutor of Mylapore in 1708.
 - 70 Ten years after the death of the martyr his brother Don Ferdinand Pereyra de Britto, lord of Monforte, wrote a careful ‘History of the birth, life and martyrdom of Fr John de Britto of the Society of Jesus’. This was published in 1722 by the nephew of the author, and, though it can be supplemented from many other sources, remains the principal source for all later narratives. An enlarged edition was produced at Lisbon in 1852.
 - 71 This admirable missionary served as provincial of the Malabar province of the Jesuits from 1687 to 1692. He was later nominated to the archbishopric of Cranganore; but he died before the bulls confirming the appointment were received from Rome, and was therefore unable to take up the high office which had deservedly come to him.
 - 72 Letter of Fr A. Freyre, 1678, in Bertrand, vol. III, p. 274.

- 73 Quoted by Prat, p. 97.
- 74 These ten years fill only a hundred pages in the detailed and circumstantial narrative of Fr Prat.
- 75 Prat, pp. 228–9; Bertrand, vol. III, pp. 391–3. Useful details are given in R. Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks of Madura* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 213–22.
- 76 The cutting off of the hands and feet may have been a precautionary measure, to immobilise the ghost and to prevent it from sallying forth in search of reprisals against the murderers. There is good evidence for the prevalence of such practices in India.
- 77 Not long after Britto's death steps were taken to promote the cause of his beatification. There were endless delays, but at last on 21 August 1853 Pope Pius IX enrolled the martyr in the ranks of the blessed. On 22 June 1946 Pius XII completed the process, and John de Britto was canonised as St John de Britto. For full details up to 1853, see Prat, pp. 400–21.
- 78 Our best authority is still the careful summary given by Fr P. Dahmen SJ on pp. 77–80 of his *Robert de Nobili* (1924). This is based on the elaborate researches of Fr L. Besse SJ, who had resided many years in India, and whose *Mission de Maduré* has often been referred to in these pages. Dahmen carries the survey on to the year 1756, when the mission had been in existence for 150 years.

13 THE THOMAS CHRISTIANS AGAIN

- 1 All this is dealt with in J. Kollaparambil, *The Archdeacon of all India* (Rome, 1966).
- 2 See the letter of the archdeacon and his counsellors to the pope, 21 December 1601, in G. Beltrami, *La chiesa Caldea*, doc. 32, p. 263:

We cannot but be moved by grief that your holiness has taken away from the prelates of our church the ancient title of archbishop and metropolitan, which previous bishops have had from time immemorial. We knew this would be so bitter to the members of our church that we did not in any way dare to communicate this news to them, except to a few of broader mind, before we had warned your holiness of the state of affairs.

A further letter from the people of Ankamali is in Beltrami, doc. 34 of 23 December 1601, pp. 267–9.
- 3 This remedial action was taken by Pope Paul V in the constitution *Romanus Pontifex* of 22 December 1608. *Bull.*, vol. II, 8–9. Jann, *Missionen* (Paderborn, 1915), p. 171, states that 'the primatial rights of Goa over Angamalle remained in existence'. But the constitution expressly affirms that the archbishop of Ankamali is *not* a suffragan of Goa, and that his diocese is exempt from any superiority or dominion of the archbishopric of Goa. What caused the doubt was the obligation laid on the bishop of attending councils in Goa.
- 4 See Müllbauer, *Geschichte* (Freiburg i.B., 1852), p. 168.
- 5 The boundaries were fixed by Pope Paul V in two briefs of 3 December 1609, *Cum sicut* and *Cum nobis notum esset*; Jann, *Missionen*, p. 171 n. 2. See also Jann,

- p. 173 for the brief *Alias postquam* of 6 February 1616.
- 6 Quoted by Ferroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, vol. 1 (Bangalore, 1939), pp. 317–18.
 - 7 The details are given, perhaps at unnecessary length, by Ferroli, vol. 1, pp. 312–36.
 - 8 The full text of the pope's letter is found in Ferroli, vol. 1, p. 336, referring to G. Beltrami, *Chiesa*, pp. 27–32. Fr K. Werth, *Das Schisma der Thomaschristen* (Limburg, 1937), p. 24 says that 'the controversy dragged on until the year 1616, when it was brought to an end by energetic action on the part of the Pope'. But in 1616 there was a new bishop of Cochin.
 - 9 The letter is given in full in Ferroli, vol. 1, pp. 310–11.
 - 10 Germann, *Die Kirche der Thomas Christen* (Gütersloh, 1877), pp. 435–6; Werth, p. 25; Cordara, p. 265.
 - 11 Note that in the letter of 3 December 1615, quoted above, George had written, 'Fr Stephen de Britto is my old friend. We know each other, and we have governed this Church in perfect agreement; often I had recourse to his prudent advice . . . he was known and loved by all this people, on account of his incredible gentleness.' Ferroli, vol. 1, p. 311.
 - 12 Quoted by Ferroli, vol. 1, p. 365, but no reference given.
 - 13 Francis Donati OP was a Florentine aristocrat and a linguist of distinction. Born in 1596, in 1624 he was appointed by Pope Urban VIII as *missionarius apostolicus* in the East Indies, and after many delays reached India in 1626. He learnt Malayalam in Cochin, and with the approval of the rājā of Kaṭutturutti he built a church there and opened a seminary for the training of Indian priests. He won high opinions for his piety and his knowledge of Syriac. Naturally his presence there was as gall and wormwood to Britto and the Jesuits, who in 1633 were successful in securing the withdrawal of all Dominicans from the Serra. Werth, *Schisma*, pp. 34–7, with copious references to the domestic archives of Propaganda, and to Joseph Sebastiani, *Breve racconta della vita, missioni e morte gloriosa del Ven. P.M.F. Francesco Donati* (Rome, 1669), a work which I have not been able to see.
 - 14 Werth, pp. 29–30, has no difficulty in showing that these allegations were unfounded. The weakening of Portuguese power and the aggressions of the Dutch are quite sufficient to account for the financial difficulties of the Portuguese, in the sufferings caused by which the church was likely also to suffer.
 - 15 J. Thekedatu SDB, *The Troubled Days of Francis Garcia SJ, Archbishop of Cranganore (1641–59)* (Rome, 1972), p. 22. See also Ferroli, vol. II, p. 26.
 - 16 This is the date given by Thekedatu, p. 22 n. 4, quoting Kollaparambil, pp. 160, 163; this seems to be correct. Werth, p. 37, gives 1637 as the date, but this seems to rest on no reliable evidence.
 - 17 Thekedatu, p. 22 n. 4. All this was, of course, common form in the controversies of those days.
 - 18 In Goa on the feast of All Saints, 1637.
 - 19 Letter of 1 January 1633, in Ferroli, vol. 1, p. 371.
 - 20 *Troubled Days*, p. 24.

- 21 Thekedatu, pp. 31–2.
- 22 Thekedatu, pp. 32–3, from a document in the Jesuit archives in Rome.
- 23 Ferroli, vol. II, p. 31.
- 24 The letter of Thomas has not been found. But there seems to be no doubt that it was sent. See Thekedatu, p. 38 n. 54.
- 25 In some of the sources he is called Theodore or Adeodatus. Fr Thekedatu spells the name Atallah.
- 26 Mylapore, it will be remembered, was not Portuguese territory, except for the fort; and the British were already established in Madras five or six miles away.
- 27 It is the special merit of Fr Thekedatu to have worked out in considerable detail the story of Ahatallah. It is possible that additional materials may be discovered, but it is unlikely that they will substantially alter the picture.
- 28 See Germann, p. 456.
- 29 Müllbauer, p. 301.
- 30 Fr Werth, who is not generally uncritical, has joined the procession, p. 49; he cites Vincenzo di S. Caterina, *Viaggio* (Venice, 1678), p. 171, and Raulinus, *Historia* (Rome, 1745), p. 442.
- 31 See the full discussion in Thekedatu, pp. 79–82.
- 32 Ferroli, vol. II, p. 50. No indication is given as to where this letter is to be found. Ferroli refers to a *Brief Sketch* by Fr Bernard TOCD (1924), p. 60.
- 33 Our written sources do not speak of the Cross. Oral tradition reports that a rope was attached to the Cross, so that those who could not actually touch the Cross itself could take part in the oath by touching the rope. I think that Fr Thekedatu is right in holding that both accounts are true; only a small part of the crowd could have made their way into the church itself; presumably the rope was passed from within the church and carried round the Cross to make possible the symbolic participation of all present in the oath-taking. See p. 60 n. 30.
- 34 The names of the four *cattānārs* are given in L.W. Brown, *Indian Christians* (Cambridge, 1956), p. 101 n. 2, and in Thekedatu, p. 62.
- 35 See W. Smith, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, vol. I (1876), s.v. 'Alexandria, Councils of'. It is there stated that the newly elected patriarch knelt down by the body of the deceased patriarch and laid the hand of his predecessor on his own head, thus securing in rather macabre fashion a tactual succession in the episcopate.
- 36 So Werth, p. 46. Fr Werth writes that 'no one knew better than Thomas de Campo that this sacrilegious consecration was invalid'. I am not sure; it seems to me more probable that the doubts expressed by others gradually entered his mind and made him doubtful as to what his status really was.
- 37 These terms had very little to do with geography. The distinction was believed to go back to the time of Thomas Knāyil and his two wives. All recognised themselves as belonging to a single church; but there was little if any intermarriage, and some differences in tradition existed between the two bodies.
- 38 For a list of these documents, see Jann, *Missionen* (Paderborn, 1915), p. 367 and notes.
- 39 The names are Hyacinth of St Vincent, Marcel of St Ivo, Joseph of St Mary (Sebastiani), and Vincent of St Catherine of Siena.

- 40 Fr Thekedatu states, p. 94, that he had a better claim than Thomas to the succession, but does not give supporting evidence for this statement. Matters were not helped when the Inquisitors in Goa added a further complication to the complex situation by appointing a commissary, Fr John de Lisboa OP, to deal with the affairs of the Serra.
- 41 On the *Hortus*, see Appendix 30.
- 42 Ferroli, vol. II, p. 58 writes 'wearing a mitre which according to the Carmelite Fr Matthew he had cleverly obtained for himself'. No reference given.
- 43 Jann, *Missionen*, p. 369. The consecration took place in the pope's private chapel.
- 44 Brief *Injuncti nobis divinitus* of 17 December 1659, *Jus. pontif. de Prop. Fide*, vol. I (1888), pp. 314-17.
- 45 Brief *Pro commissa nobis* of 24 December 1659. Thekedatu says 'one or two native priests'. But there were at that time no Indian regular clergy. Sebastiani is also authorised to release the archdeacon and those of his party from all ecclesiastical sentences and penalties, on condition only of their giving adequate evidence of true penitence. *Jus. pontif.*, vol. I, pp. 317-18.
- 46 We are told that in addition to Latin and Greek, Spanish, Portuguese and Hebrew, Syriac and Sinhalese, he could read also Konkani, Marathi, Tamil, Malayalam and Sanskrit. The extent of his mastery of all these languages remains undefined.
- 47 Thekedatu, p. 162.
- 48 Werth, pp. 136-47, published from the archives of the Propaganda an immense list of no less than 47 instructions given to Sebastiani before he left Rome. Instruction 5 bids him avoid during the voyage anything by which his episcopal dignity could become known. In celebrating mass, he must use only the ritual prescribed for ordinary priests. Werth adds, p. 136, that during the voyage even his three companions did not know that he was a bishop.
- 49 The terms of the surrender are given in F.C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, vol. II, pp. 327-8.
- 50 A much less favourable picture is given by the Jesuit Bras de Azevedo, who tells us that he was a man without learning, all that he knew was enough Syriac to say mass. Thekedatu, p. 159, from ARSI Goa, 49 f. 200v. Another source tells us that Chandy had been very hostile to the Jesuits, so perhaps their report on him was not entirely impartial.
- 51 Paulinus of S. Bartholomew gives the date as 31 January 1663. Ferroli, vol. II, p. 60.
- 52 Werth, pp. 165-6.
- 53 The pope recognised his merits and services by appointing him in 1667 to the small bishopric of Bisignano, once held by Marignolli; and in 1672 to the more important see of Città di Castello in Umbria, where he died in 1689.
- 54 On van Rhee and the *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus*, see chap. 15, and Appendix 30.
- 55 This place I have not been able to identify. Germann, p. 453, says that it is 3 to 4 miles north-east of Cochin.

- 56 *Bull.*, vol. II, p. 262. The signatures on this document are interesting: Alexander (Chāndy), metropolita da Koll Hendo=totius Indiae; Guibargisa da Paramba (Geeverghese a Campo); Mathay deskana Marta Mariam=Matthaeus a S. Maria. Chāndy's signature, giving the ancient title of the archbishops, makes clear his own understanding of his position in the church.
- 57 Naturally slander has been busy with the character and reputation of Thomas. In 1657 two representatives of the church went to visit the archdeacon, as at that date he still was. Sebastiani quotes their report as saying that they found him more like an atheist than a Christian, 'denying hell which they threatened, and laughing at the very idea of sin'. *Prima speditione*, pp. 135-9.
- 58 Thekedatu quotes authorities which give the figure as 80,000, or even as low as 70,000, p. 41 n. 2.
- 59 Müllbauer, p. 315 n. 3, gives, from Anquetil-Duperron, *Voyage aux Indes orientales: tome préliminaire* (Paris, 1771), p. 179, the interesting information that eighty-four churches of Thomas Christians were faithful to Chāndy, thirty to Thomas, and that twelve were mixed. To these he adds twelve of the Latin rite. But the sojourn of Anquetil-Duperron in India (1755-61) belongs to a period considerably later than that dealt with in this chapter.
- 60 Ferroli, vol. II, p. 63, lists eight points on which Gregory insisted, as distinguishing his position from that of Rome.
- 61 On this see Germann, p. 526.
- 62 Germann, pp. 526-7.
- 63 Ferroli, vol. II, p. 143, says '12th Medam 1670, two days before Mar Gregory', but quotes no authority for this statement.
- 64 Germann, p. 529.
- 65 The date of his death is uncertain. Some authorities place it as late as 1692, when he must have been about eighty years old. Others give the date as 6 February 1687.
- 66 Ferroli, vol. II, p. 98, and see also Jann, *Missionen*, p. 376. Jann writes of 'his nephew Matthew, who was entirely unqualified for any such appointment', but quotes no authority for this statement.
- 67 Jann, *Missionen*, p. 376. The consecration took place in 1677.
- 68 In spite of his name, Custodius was a pure Indian, a Brāhman from Vema near Goa. In 1669 (or in 1671) he had been consecrated vicar apostolic for Bijāpur (see chap. 14 p. 340). By a curious slip the usually accurate Jann, p. 376, assigns this mission to Malabar to the well-known Mgr Francis Pallu, a Frenchman, who had become vicar apostolic of Tonkin in 1659. But Pallu was titular bishop of Heliopolis and not of Hierapolis.
- 69 E. Hull, *Bombay Mission History* (Bombay, 1927), p. 54.
- 70 This Mar Simeon is a somewhat mysterious person. Ferroli writes enigmatically of him that 'After some time he went to Pondicherry, where he lived with the Capuchins' (vol. II, p. 125 n. 2). But it seems that his migration to Pondichéri was not entirely voluntary, and that he was kept closely under control. There is no evidence of his exercising any episcopal functions in India, with the single exception of the consecration mentioned above.

- 71 Raulinus, *Historia* (Rome, 1745), p. 447. Clement XI so far gave way to Portuguese insistence as to declare in 1709 that the authority of the vicars apostolic was limited to those areas which remained inaccessible to the diocesan bishop; Müllbauer, p. 313.

14 OTHER ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS

- 1 F. Coutinho, *Le régime paroissial des diocèses de rite latin de l'Inde* (Louvain/Paris, 1958), p. 163 n. 14.
- 2 *Acta*, III, folio 1, quoted in SCPF, *Memoria Rerum*, vol. 1 (1971), p. 86.
- 3 Quoted in *Memoria Rerum*, vol. 1, pp. 197–8.
- 4 Fr R. Corrigan, quoted in *Mem. Rer.*, vol. 1, p. 198. The article by the present archivist of Propaganda, Fr Joseph Metzger OMI, 'Francesco Ingoli, der erste Sekretär der Congregation' (*Mem. Rer.*, vol. 1, pp. 197–243) is an excellent, well-documented, and carefully considered presentation of the man.
- 5 *Mem. Rer.*, vol. 1, p. 217.
- 6 Ingoli held that indigenous candidates should be trained in their own countries and not sent to the West, partly because of the great expense of Western training, partly because of the dangers of corruption in Western society.
- 7 In a number of sources the date is given as 1594, but this seems to me impossible. In the complaint against him, written by Mgr John da Rocha, administrator of the archdiocese of Goa (1633), Matthew is described as *adhuc iuventute aetateque viridi valde immaturus*. T. Ghesquière, OSB, *Mathieu de Castro, premier vicaire apostolique aux Indes* (Louvain, 1937), p. 130. It is hardly possible that a man of thirty-nine should be so described, especially in India where men tend to age more quickly than in the West. Dom Ghesquière discusses the whole question, p. 117. I have no doubt that the date which I have given is correct.
- 8 C. Mercès de Melo SJ, *The Recruitment and Formation of the Native Clergy in India (16th–19th Century)* (Lisbon, 1955), p. 206.
- 9 This statement is drawn from a later document produced by Matthew: but his views remained unchanged throughout his whole life.
- 10 Maffeo Barberini, pope 1623–44.
- 11 The first official use of this term is apparently to be found in the bull of Urban VIII, *Ad uberos fructus*, of 18 May 1638 (See *Juris. Pont. Prop. Fid.*, vol. 1, pp. 173–4). The bull gives extensive privileges to facilitate the ordination of candidates put forward by the Propaganda. These were the privileges granted to Matthew de Castro, though the technical term was not used. The exemption from letters dimissory was of practical value in his case, since the archbishop of Goa would certainly not have granted them.
- 12 The document is given in full in Ghesquière, pp. 124–5.
- 13 See Ghesquière, pp. 129–30, where the whole document, dated 20 December 1633, is quoted.
- 14 The views of the council of Trent were clearly and concisely expressed by Pope Benedict XIV (1740–58): 'Today benefice alone is a legitimate title for the

- conferring of holy orders . . . patrimony is acceptable only when a dispensation has been obtained.' The document is quoted in Melo, p. 242.
- 15 Melo, pp. 150, 156–7.
 - 16 A good description of the development of the idea of vicars apostolic in Ghesquière, pp. 68–76: 'Note sur l'origine des Vicariats Apostoliques'. See also S. Delacroix, *Histoire des Missions Catholiques* (1958), vol. II, 7, pp. 132–64, 'La création et les débuts des Vicaires Apostoliques'. A useful article in *New Cath. Encycl.*, vol. XIV, pp. 638–9, with bibliography.
 - 17 Idalcan means the kingdom of Bījapur. The curious Portuguese form is a corruption of Adil Khān, the name of the king. This was not in Portuguese territory. Moreover, one of Ingoli's concerns was that missions should cease to hug the coast, and should penetrate more deeply into the heart of India. See chap. 8, p. 178 for the recommendation of Aquaviva to the same effect.
 - 18 See N. Kowalsky OMI: 'Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der apostolischen Vikare' in *NZM*, 13 (1957), 271–88; and also F. Combaluzière CM, in *NZM*, 20 (1964), 241–3.
 - 19 The authority for this statement is N. Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, vol. I, trans. W. Irvine (London, 1908), pp. 211–12.
 - 20 Maclagan, *Jesuits* (London, 1932), pp. 111–13, gives a number of details from Jesuit sources. He says that Matthew was vicar apostolic of the kingdom of the Great Mogul; but the evidence does not seem to bear this out. The Vulgate of Psalm 79: 14 reads: 'Exterminavit eam aper de silva; et singularis ferus depastus est eam.'
 - 21 See Joseph Metzler OMI: 'Der Brahmanenspiegel des Matthäus de Castro' in *NZM*, 23 (1967), 252–65.
 - 22 Metzler, p. 265.
 - 23 See Ghesquière, p. 111. Joseph refers to the visit in his *Prima Speditione* (1666), pp. 77–9, and in terms of unqualified praise for Matthew.
 - 24 Ghesquière, p. 115, writes that 'the secretaries continued to show their confidence in him by taking advice on Indian affairs'; but in point of fact I have not found any evidence for this beyond the single case which Ghesquière quotes from the year 1673 (p. 115 n. 3).
 - 25 Fr Metzler writes of the lack of self-control of Matthew, and the clumsy actions by which he brought down upon himself the anger of his enemies and which landed him in ever-increasing difficulties. So Ingoli 'had not much luck in these proceedings'. *Mem. Rer.*, vol. I p. 220.
 - 26 Ghesquière, p. 117 n. 1, says that both of these were nephews of Matthew, who had been brought by him to the college of Propaganda in 1658. Thomas de Castro was certainly a nephew of Matthew. In the case of Custodius de Pinho I have not been able to verify the relationship; I have not found it referred to in any other authority.
 - 27 Ghesquière, p. 116 n. 1, refers to a detailed statement of baptisms, confessions and communions in the vicariate from 1656 to 1672, preserved in the archives of Propaganda, but unfortunately gives no details.
 - 28 For a short time, as recorded elsewhere (chap. 13, p. 330) Custodius was a visitor

- of the diocese of the Serra, but seems to have accomplished little if anything there. Like Matthew, Custodius seems to have been involved in political activities. Ferrolí, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, vol. II (Bangalore, 1951), p. 183n. (on the authority of D'Sá, *History of the Catholic Church in India*, vol. II, p. 9) affirms that he made reports on the affairs of India to the viceroy in Goa, and was rewarded by the Portuguese for these services.
- 29 S. Silva, *History of Christianity in Canara*, vol. I (Karwar, 1957), pp. 56–73, gives a very unfavourable account of de Castro. He writes entirely from the Portuguese (Goan) point of view, but adds a number of valuable details to the account, such as that during his tenure of office he had ordained twenty-two priests (p. 69).
 - 30 There is some doubt about the dates; but the chronology as given in the text seems the most probable.
 - 31 S. Silva, p. 68, gives the date as 16 July 1685, but without quoting authority. On Joseph Vaz, see S.G. Pereira, *Life of the Venerable Father Joseph Vaz* (Galle, 1953²).
 - 32 All this has been dealt with at length and on the basis of original research in the book several times referred to, of Carlos Mercês de Melo SJ, *The Recruitment and Formation of the Native Clergy in India (16th–19th Century)* (Lisbon, 1955).
 - 33 The report emanated from a merchant who claimed to have lived for three years in Kambaluc (Peking).
 - 34 The OED s.v. (1914) defines a seraphin as 'a silver coin formerly current in India, worth about 1s.5d'.
 - 35 There is some uncertainty as to the date. See C. Wessels SJ, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia 1603–1721* (The Hague, 1924), p. 24.
 - 36 C.H. Payne identifies Chalis as Kara-Shahr; Goes was in this city from April till July 1604. See *Jahāngīr and the Jesuits* (London, 1930), p. 152.
 - 37 Marco Polo wrote, apparently with some truth, that Camul has the custom of the husbands giving up not only their house but their wives also for the entertainment of strangers. Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. I, p. 210. There is a fascinating description of Camul in M. Cable and F. French, *Through Jade Gate and Central Asia* (London, 1927), pp. 209–22. The approach is described as follows: 'For six miles before we sighted the town, we were travelling in highly cultivated land, abundantly watered, and between fields of wheat, cotton, millet, maize and sorghum.' Goes arrived on 17 October 1604 and left on 17 November of that year.
 - 38 There is a large literature on Goes. A very satisfactory account is in C. Wessels SJ, *Early Jesuit Travellers*, pp. 1–44. C.H. Payne, *Jahāngīr and the Jesuits* (London, 1930), pp. 119–82, has made available the accounts provided by P. du Jarric and F. Guerreiro SJ. See Bibliography.
 - 39 Hernandez, *Jeronimo Javier SJ*, p. 205.
 - 40 C.H. Payne, *Jahāngīr and the Jesuits*, p. 3.
 - 41 The story is told in many of the sources in considerable detail, among others by C.H. Payne, *Jahāngīr and the Jesuits*, pp. 16–23, following Guerreiro, *Relaçam*,

part IV. Payne adds, p. 24, that the elder of the two about the year 1620 attained to a position of some importance in the service of the state. See further on the history of this young man, chap. 15, pp. 384–6.

- 42 Maclagan, *Jesuits*, p. 73.
- 43 Hernandez, p. 230, quoting a letter of 19 October 1610, in ARSI, Goa 33, 1, f. 336v.
- 44 Hernandez, p. 232. Apparently both Sir Thomas Roe and Edward Terry believed that their defection was due to the failure to secure for them Portuguese wives.
- 45 Maclagan, p. 94 n. 26.
- 46 Hernandez, p. 241, from ARSI, Goa 33, 1, f. 389.
- 47 Hernandez, pp. 245–7, from ARSI, Goa 46, f. 81–2.
- 48 Maclagan, p. 84.
- 49 Some have doubted whether this appointment was actually made. Hernandez discusses the matter in detail, pp. 9–11. The evidence he produces should settle the matter once and for all; the facts are as stated in the text.
- 50 Details in Hernandez, pp. 6–7. On pp. 301–14 Hernandez gives the Latin text of the original report to the general on the death of Xavier, dated 31 January 1618. For an estimate of his character and abilities, see the report sent to the general in 1614, p. 289 and n. 8, in which the original Latin text is given. He is described as *cholericus-sanguineus*.
- 51 Quoted by Hernandez, p. 294, from ARSI, Goa 33, 11, f. 455.
- 52 *A Voyage to East India* (ed. of 1771), p. 423.
- 53 See Appendix 28. Winternitz in his survey of the European approach to Sanskrit studies, *Geschichte*, Eng. trans. vol. 1 (Calcutta, 1927), pp. 8–23, does not mention Roth.
- 54 Letter of 4 October 1667 to Monsieur Chapelain in *Travels in the Mogul Empire AD 1656–1668*, A. Constable and V.A. Smith (ed. of 1914), pp. 300–49. On p. 329 Bernier states that ‘I was acquainted with the Reverend Father Roa (*sic*) . . . who had made great proficiency in the study of Sanskrit.’
- 55 Published in Latin in 1667 and in French in 1670. This work was for many years one of the main sources of information about the East available in Europe.
- 56 C. Wessels SJ, *Early Jesuit Travellers*, p. 199 n. 2. Wessels refers to Fr Manuel do Valle, *Relação do Missião da Mogor del 1668* as evidence for Roth’s extensive knowledge of Sanskrit. See Appendix 28.
- 57 *Jahāngīr and the Jesuits*, pp. xviii and xix. On strange rumours that Jahāngīr had been secretly baptised by Fr Corsi, or that he wished on his deathbed to become a Christian see the judicious summing up of Maclagan, p. 92.
- 58 It was this version which more than a century later came to the notice of the French scholar Anquetil-Duperron, through whose Latin translation of *Oupekhnat* the Upaniṣads were first made known to the western world.
- 59 Henry Uwers, a Dutchman, born in 1617, who had changed his name to Buys, Busi, or Busaeus. He died at Delhi in 1667.
- 60 F. Bernier, *Travels* (ed. of 1914), pp. 1–116.

- 61 It is to be noted that the Mughul royal family was now, through many marriages with Indian ladies of high rank, almost entirely Indian. The various members of the family retained many gifts of mind and spirit; but they lacked the driving will and decisiveness which had made Bābur and Akbar great rulers. They were 'no longer able to cope with the hardy and turbulent tribesmen beyond the Hindu Kush', *CHI*, vol. IV, p. 215.
- 62 *Storia do Mogor*, vol. I (Eng. trans. London, 1907-8), pp. 324, 356-7. Manucci is highly explicit, but it cannot be said that his evidence is convincing.
- 63 Pandit Shri Narain in *JPHS*, 2 (1913), 21-38, 'Dārā Shukoh as an author', esp. p. 37; quoted by MacLagan, p. 120 n. 59.
- 64 On this, see *Encycl. of Islam*, vol. II (new ed. 1970), p. 566. The tax was abolished soon after the death of Aurungzīb.
- 65 MacLagan, in his careful chapter on 'the Congregations', pp. 268-310, has tried to work out in detail the social status and the numbers of Christians in the Mughul empire. Exact figures are hard to come by; it is probable that the Christians under the care of the Fathers never numbered more than a thousand, and few among these were converts from Islam.
- 66 In the notable enterprise *Il Nuovo Ramusio* (Rome, Libreria dello Stato, 1952), part I, 'Missionari Italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal', ed. L. Petech, pp. i-xxii, there is a good short account of Western knowledge of Tibet in early days, and of the Jesuit approaches in the seventeenth century. In this the Tibetan names are given in the modern scientific orthography which presents problems to those who are not Tibetan scholars.
- 67 This is Srīnagar in Garwhal, not Srīnagar in Kashmir 500 miles to the north-west of it. Endless confusion has been caused by failure to distinguish between these two places.
- 68 Text given in full in Wessels, p. 66. Both Andrade and the rājā kept their promises.
- 69 His original name was Alain de la Beauchaire; he took a Portuguese name after coming to India in 1612.
- 70 Wessels, p. 75. G.M. Young, *JPHS*, 7 (1919), 185, 'A Journey to Toling and Tsaparang in Western Tibet' states that 'in course of time the king and most of the members of his family were baptized'; but adduces no supporting evidence. The whole article, pp. 177-98, is most interesting. Captain Young who made his journey in 1912, admits that his 'impressions of Toling and Tsaparang are necessarily those of a week-end tripper'; but adds 'My excuse for recording them is that Tsaparang has not had even another week-end tripper since the Jesuits left it nearly three centuries ago' (p. 177). But two travellers had been in Toling before Young (p. 188).
- 71 Wessels, p. 89. Captain Young concludes his article, after a reference to the survival of one cross in Tsaparang, with the words, 'In all else the work of destruction was complete, and nothing is left to remind one that a Christian once reigned in Tibet' (p. 198).
- 72 Wessels' account of Stephen Cacella and John Cabral, pp. 120-61, is of the same quality of interest as a high class detective story. For good measure he

prints the original documents, in Portuguese, in three appendices, pp. 283–336. It is regrettable that considerations of space have made it impossible to include here many interesting details.

- 73 At this point Fr Wessels departs a little from the sobriety of his narrative style: The reader is left to imagine the paths and passes buried under deep snow at an altitude of many thousand feet, and in the midst of these the lonely traveller with his one or two guides, whose language he hardly understands, and thence to form his judgement of the grit and intrepidity required to undertake it and carry it through (p. 157).
- 74 Wessels, p. 161. Cabral after a long and adventurous career as a missionary in many lands including Japan, died in Goa on 4 July 1669.
- 75 Almost all our information comes from Jesuit sources. Jesuits are not always easy customers to deal with, and cannot be relied on to be always completely impartial in what they write.
- 76 Quoted from V. Cordara, *Hist. Soc. Jesu*, vol. 1, pp. 261–2, by L. Besse SJ, *Mission de Maduré* (Tiruchirāpalli, 1914), p. 419 n. 1.
- 77 Besse, p. 440.
- 78 The seven centres are Tuticorin, Punnaikāyal, Vīrapāṇḍianpatnam, Tiruchendur, Manappādu, Vaippār and Vembār, all to this day great Parava centres.
- 79 Besse, p. 456.
- 80 Besse, p. 458. This shows up the great exaggerations which had become current. For instance, in a report of 1603 it was stated that the number of Parava Christians on the Fisher Coast alone is upwards of 50,000; this figure is repeated in a number of other sources.
- 81 Accounts of this raid are contradictory. F.C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India* (London, 1894), states that on this occasion Tuticorin was occupied; but this seems not to have been the case.
- 82 This is discussed in A.J. de Jong's new edition of the *Afgoderye* of Philip Baldaeus (1917), pp. xxxix–lii.
- 83 Baldaeus, *Malabar en Choromandel*, p. 150, quoted by A.J. de Jong, p. xlvii. See also J. Hough, *History* (London, 1939–45), vol. III, pp. 7–9. Baldaeus had only an elementary knowledge of Tamil, and, as the Paravas were well aware that his aim was to change their faith, it was unlikely that they would be very communicative with him.
- 84 Letter of Fr Peter Martin of 1 June 1700, quoted by Besse, pp. 464–6.
- 85 Quoted by Besse, p. 465.
- 86 Secular priests were fairly numerous throughout the century; but their work hardly enters at all into the story of missions to the non-Christians in India.
- 87 Müllbauer, *Geschichte* (Freiburg i. B., 1952), p. 277.
- 88 Even Müllbauer has barely been able to fill a page with all that he has been able to find out about this mission, pp. 246–7.
- 89 Müllbauer, pp. 247–8. Müllbauer makes the interesting comment that the letters of the French Fathers, which begin now to appear in the *Lettres Édifiantes et Curieuses* are on the whole much more interesting than those of the Portuguese and Spaniards, since they embraced a wide range of topics, and do

- not confine themselves, as did the others, solely to the missionary activity of the Fathers; though there is plenty about such activities also, as in the enormous letter written by Fr Peter Martin to Fr Le Gobien from Āour on 11 December 1700, *Lettres*, vol. 11 (ed. of 1840), pp. 285–304, esp. pp. 294–7.
- 90 The sufferings in Agra of Fr John of the Cross, Fr Antony of Christ, and Fr Francis of the Incarnation have been recorded in chap. 11, pp. 263–4.
- 91 Müllbauer, p. 343.
- 92 ‘Relazione dello Stato delle Congregazione e Missioni di Propaganda Fide’. This report appeared in English, and in French translation, published in Amsterdam in 1716 (‘État présent de l’Église romaine dans toute les parties du monde’, with a remarkable letter to the pope by the translator Richard Steele). I do not know whether the original Italian has ever been printed. Only pages 172–88 deal with India. On Cerri, see *Memoria Rerum*, vol. 1 (1977), pp. 263–4.
- 93 G.P. Maffei, *Historiarium Indicarum Libri XVI* (Antwerp, 1605), book XII, p. 326, quoted by Fr Felix Lopes OFM, *Conquista*, vol. 1, p. x.
- 94 The whole work has now been published in three volumes, ed. Fr Felix Lopes OFM (Lisbon, 1961ff). See also the Report prepared by Frey Clement de Santa Iria (Eyria) in 1724, ‘Noticia do que obravão os Frades de S. Francisco, . . . depois que paçavão a esta India Oriental’, printed in SR, *Doc.*, vol. v, pp. 395–513.
- 95 *Conquista*, vol. 1, pp. 264–5.
- 96 *The Ancient Franciscan Provinces in India 1500–1835* (Bangalore, 1971).
- 97 *Provinces*, pp. 78–88.
- 98 See decree of the Fourth Council of Goa in *Bull.*, vol. 1, Appendix, p. 123.
- 99 For a list prepared by Frey Clement de Santa Iria in 1724 see SR, *Doc.*, vol. v, pp. 495–6: ‘Noticia dos Religiosos da Provincia que computarão livros’.
- 100 *Provinces*, p. 82. The *Syntaxis Copiosissima* of Gaspar has been published by its discoverer, Dr José Pereira, in the *Journal of the University of Bombay* (1967), 1–155, with an introduction of the highest value. Dr Pereira refers to one of the Franciscans Ignatius Arcamone (1615–83) as having been the first to translate any part of the Bible into an Indian language – Konkani, *loc. cit.* p. 5.
- 101 But S. Silva, p. 5, does state that early in the seventeenth century the Franciscans built two churches in Kanara, and that one of their number was killed there in 1619. His authority is Fernando Soledade, *Historia Seraphica*, Tome III, chap. 9.
- 102 Note that these Carmelites are to be distinguished from the Carmelites sent directly from Rome to the Serra; these we have encountered in the section on the Thomas Christians. For an extremely unfavourable picture of Fr Peter Paul, see Ferroli, vol. 1, pp. 78–80. Ferroli is not always reliable in such matters.
- 103 Benedetto Odescalchi (1601–89, pope 1676).
- 104 According to Gams, *Series Episcoporum* s.v. Bombay, he had not been consecrated. For help rendered to Peter Paul by the English in Madras in 1686 see F. Penny, *Church in Madras* (London, 1904), vol. 1, p. 219.

- 105 The details of the work of the Theatines are drawn by Müllbauer, pp. 350–8, from the full and careful work of B. Ferro, *Istoria delle missioni de' chierichi regolari Theatini* (2 vols., Rome, 1704–5).
- 106 See A. Meersman OFM, *The Franciscans in India* (Bangalore, 1957), p. 148.
- 107 Ferro, *Istoria*, vol. II, p. 334.
- 108 But from this commendation Fr John Milton has to be excluded, as will appear at a later point in this work.
- 109 J.B. Tavernier, *Travels in India*, ed. W. Crooke (2 vols., 1925), vol. I, pp. 176–86.
- 110 The story is told with further remarkable details by J. Hough, *History*, vol. II, pp. 418–19. His authority is the *Mémoires du P. Norbert*, vol. III, pp. 56–7. Norbert, like Habakkuk, was *capable de tout*, and no attention need be paid to his tarradiddle. The whole episode makes a very interesting study in the growth of a myth.
- 111 F. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, vol. I, p. 219. Fr Ephraim was still alive in 1693, but aged and infirm. In that year the government of Madras licensed a French Capuchin Louis de Olivéra as assistant to Fr Ephraim. Fr Zeno had died in 1687, aged eighty-five. Penny's whole chapter 11, 'The Company and the Roman Catholic Mission up to 1746' (pp. 217–42), is full of fascinating information about the Capuchins.

15 NON-ROMAN CATHOLIC CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA

- 1 The *Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon*, s.v. Grotius, characterises the work by the single word *Welterfolg*, a world success. It is notable that the Bodleian library at Oxford contains no less than thirty copies, in a variety of languages including Arabic – a clear sign of its popularity over two centuries.
- 2 Sir W. Foster, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India 1615–1619* (Oxford, 1926²).
- 3 John Hall (1579–1616) matriculated at Magdalen Hall in Oxford in 1596, took his degree of MA in 1604, and BD in 1613. Otherwise little is known of him.
- 4 'This day' (19 August 1616) 'suddenly died, to my great grief and discomfort, my minister Mr Hall, a man of most gentle and mild nature, and of an unspotted life.' See W. Foster, *Embassy*, p. 216.
- 5 W. Foster, *Embassy*. An interesting point for textual critics; a number of those who have quoted Roe make him speak of God's 'holy sacraments'. It can hardly be doubted that Foster has given the correct version.
- 6 The factors seem to have been wrong. It was Hall who had been a fellow of Corpus Christi College. Terry had been a member of Christ Church, where he matriculated in 1608, became BA in 1611, and proceeded MA in 1614. There is a useful study of Terry in R.G. Prasad, *Early English Travellers in India* (Delhi, 1965), pp. 277–322.
- 7 He left Surat with the ambassador in February 1619, and so ended his life of travel. He spent many years as rector of Great Greenford in Middlesex and died in October 1660.

- 8 It has been printed by Sir William Foster in *Early Travels in India 1583–1619* (1921), pp. 288–332.
- 9 Terry, *A Voyage to East India* (London, 1777), p. 325.
- 10 Terry, p. 331.
- 11 Bishop Gilbert Burnet seems to be the only authority for this story; but his account appears to be reliable, having been derived from the Swiss Stoupe, who had it from the Protector himself, with the expectation of being appointed as the secretary of the first province. *History of His Own Times* (ed. of 1875), pp. 42, 51.
- 12 For details see F. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, vol. 1 (London, 1904), p. 36, where a quotation from the *Court Minute Book*, 14 November 1660, p. 49, is given. Baxter desired that the Company would send out copies of the Arabic version of Grotius' *De Veritate* in order that Christianity may be established among the infidels there. 'The Court is ready to promote so pious a work, if they find that these books are allowed by authority.'
- 13 The letter is printed in full in F. Penny, vol. 1, pp. 95–6.
- 14 (Anon) *Life of Prideaux* (1748), pp. 161–83. See also *DNB*, vol. XLVI, pp. 354–6.
- 15 *Charters Relating to the East India Company from 1600 to 1761* (Madras, 1887), pp. 143–4. It is to be noted that this is from the charter granted to the new and independent *English* company. After ten years, in 1708, the new Company and the old were amalgamated, and the charter of 1698 with the necessary modifications became the charter of the united Company.
- 16 Note that in the contemporary documents, they are constantly referred to not as chaplains but as ministers, or even as *padries*, though this term is more often applied to the Roman Catholic priests. See Sir William Foster, *The English Factories in India* (Vols 1–13, Oxford, 1906–27), Indices, *passim*.
- 17 It was reprinted in an excellent edition, prepared by H.G. Rawlinson, in 1929.
- 18 The English, like the Dutch, followed the example of the Muslims in erecting immense sepulchres over their dead. Some of these can still be seen in the English graveyard at Surat.
- 19 The Rev. Philip Anderson, in *The English in Western India* (Bombay, 1856), p. 271n. remarks that 'on looking over copies of the remittance book, I find that the chaplains frequently remitted the whole of their salaries to England. How much more I cannot say.'
- 20 This seems to be referred to in a letter from the directors of 12 December 1677; As to money raised by you for charity by way of fines or otherwise, we would have an account kept thereof and yearly sent us; and, if there be any poor that have been in our service, and through age or otherwise rendered incapable of getting a livelihood, or the widows or children of such, let them be relieved therewith (See F. Penny, vol. 1, p. 76).
- 21 Quoted in Sir H. Yule, *The diary of William Hedges esq during his agency in Bengal*, vol. II (London, 1887), pp. 304–18. Masters adds that 'if any be Drunke or abuse the Natives they are to be Sett in Irons all the day time, and all the Night be tyed to a Post in the house'. The whole of the letter is worth reading.
- 22 Ovington, *A Voyage to Surat*, ed. H.G. Rawlinson (Oxford, 1929), p. 235.

- 23 See F. Penny, vol. 1, pp. 69–70. For a fascinating description of a visit of the king of Golconda to a Dutch service (derived from D. Havart, *Op – en ondergang van Coromandel*, 1693), see H. Terpstra, *De Nederlanders*, pp. 72–4. The king caused some distress to the worshippers by continuously smoking a pipe ‘after the Persian fashion; but showed the greatest reverence to the Bible’.
- 24 Ovington, p. 237. The English in India were from the start notable toppers. There is a famous letter from the directors to the nineteen employees of the Company in Bencoolen in Sumatra, pointing out that to have consumed in a year seventy-four dozen bottles of wine, fifty dozen of French claret, twenty-four dozen of Burton, two pipes and forty-two gallons of Madeira, two hundred and seventy-four bottles of toddy, and one hundred and sixty-four gallons of Goa arrack might be regarded as a little excessive. They recommended a little tea boiled in water and kept till cool. E. Chatterton, *History of the Church of England in India* (London, 1924), p. 7.
- 25 Pepys wrote in his diary for 15 May 1663 concerning Bombay that ‘the Portugalls had choused them . . . it being, if we had it, but a poor place, and not really so as was described to our king in the draught of it but a poor little island’.
- 26 P. Anderson, pp. 139, 203.
- 27 Full details in W. Ashley Brown, *On the Bombay Coast and Deccan* (London, 1937), pp. 88–98, 138–46. Thomas Carr, the first bishop of Bombay was installed on 25 February 1838. See also J.L.C. Dart, *A History of the Cathedral Church of Bombay*. Ashley Brown gives a complete list of all chaplains who served in western India, pp. 269–71; thirty-three served during the period covered by this volume.
- 28 The requirement of an episcopal licence for chaplains in India was first imposed, under royal command, in 1685.
- 29 These include the remarkable statement *renuntiavi pacto vel foederi solemni*, ‘I have repudiated the solemn league and covenant’ – of the Scottish Church.
- 30 All the relevant documents are printed in full in F. Penny, vol. 1, pp. 89–93. Calcutta had no church till 1709, in which year, on 5 June, the church of St Anne was consecrated.
- 31 F. Penny, vol. 1, p. 79.
- 32 F. Penny, vol. 1, p. 107.
- 33 This translation was published in 1695. See *Liturgy and Worship*, ed. W.K. Lowther Clarke (1932), p. 816.
- 34 George Lewis (so he spelt his name) served at Fort St George from 1692 to 1714, with great credit and much beloved by all. This is considerably longer than the usual period of service of chaplains in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
- 35 Pring was commander of the fleet of 1617. Sir Thomas Roe had a high opinion of him. See his letter of 5 October 1617, beginning, ‘Honest Man, God that knows my heart witnesses that you are the wellcomest man to the country that could here arrive to assist my many troubles.’ *Embassy*, p. 389. There is an article on Pring in the *DNB*, in which he is described as a bad officer but a good navigator.

- 36 W. Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1618–1621* (1906), pp. 32–3. (See also p. 19 for a letter from Sir Thomas Roe.) Gouldinge seems to have remained in Surat, from which his death is reported on 18 February 1620.
- 37 William Hedges was dismissed from his position with the Company at the end of 1683.
- 38 On this John Pitt, of the new English Company in Bengal, wrote sardonically to his old friend Sir Edward Littleton, also a well known Interloper: ‘I hear that our old Friend Doctor Evans is made Bishop of Bangor (alias Bengall) and ’tis said by your means. I am glad that you are so much in love with Bishoppes that you contribute to the making of ’em. Soe hope you’ll send him home a Super-fine piece of Muslin to make his Sleeves.’
- 39 Though not an archbishop, the bishop of Meath is ‘the Most Reverend’.
- 40 All that is known of Evans has been carefully collected in H.B. Hyde, *Parochial Annals of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1901), in which references for the above quotations will be found.
- 41 W. Foster, *English Factories, 1618–1621*, pp. 32–3.
- 42 No indication is given as to the area from which he came, of the language which he spoke, or of the caste to which he belonged. Best may have bought him as a slave.
- 43 This church no longer exists, its lineal successor being St Dionis’ Church, Parsons Green. There was at that time in the Prayer Book no service for the baptism of adults, this having been added only in 1662, because of the licentiousness of the late times and because of its potential use for the baptising of Natives in our Plantations (see the Preface to the Prayer Book of 1662). No note seems to have been made of any modifications in the service for the baptism of infants, when Peter was baptised.
- 44 In these letters Peter signs himself *Petrus Papa*. In various English accounts this is translated as Peter Pope, and it is stated that the odd surname as well as the Christian name was supplied by King James. But surely this is a mistake. The most likely explanation is that Papa is Peter’s recollection of his original Indian name, though what that may have been it is not easy to guess.
- 45 A full account of Peter and his baptism, including an English translation of the three letters written by him, is given by Rajaiah D. Paul, in his book *Triumphs of his Grace* (Madras, 1967), pp. 1–16. See also E. Chatterton, pp. 15, 16. The life of Copeland has been written by the American historian E.D. Neill, naturally with special reference to his services in Virginia: *Memoirs . . . of Patrick Copland* (New York, 1871). Further details in E.D. Neill, *The English Colonization of America in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Strachan, 1871).
- 46 Lord’s book is called *A Discovery of two Forraigne Sects in the East Indies, viz the Sect of the Banians, the ancient Natives of India, and the Sect of the Parsees, the ancient inhabitants of Persia; together with the Religion and Manners of each Sect*. This was published originally in 1630, and reprinted in vol. vi of Churchill’s *Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1752), pp. 313–56. The preface to the French translation asserts that during eighteen years in Surat Lord had devoted himself to careful and thorough investigation of the beliefs of the Hindus and Parsees.

- R.C. Prasad, *Early English Travellers in India* (1965), p. 326, adds that he had learned their language. This seems to me improbable.
- 47 Works, vol. III (ed. of 1807), p. 30.
- 48 Churchill, pp. 332–3.
- 49 Churchill, p. 358.
- 50 Lord is unfair in calling the Parsis fire-worshippers; but this is an error which he shares with a great many of those who have written about them.
- 51 Factory Records, Fort St George, 20 August 1674, quoted by F. Penny, vol. I, p. 58.
- 52 T.G.P. Spear, *The Nabobs* (London, 1932), pp. 109–10.
- 53 Antony de Waele (1573–1639), professor of dogmatic theology in the university of Leiden from 1619 onwards. A well known controversialist, whose collected works were published in 1647 with a biography by his son. See *RGG*, vol. v, col. 1529; *RE*, vol. xx, col. 788–90 (Van Been, with an excellent bibliography). There is a dissertation on the college by J.A. Grothe (Utrecht, 1882), but this adds little to what is known from other sources.
- 54 For these see C.W.T. van Boetzelaer, *Protestantsche Kerk* (1947), pp. 141–2. For earlier signs of missionary interest, see J.A. de Jong, *Afgoderye* (1917), pp. xxxv–xxxvii.
- 55 C.R. Boxer, *The Dutch Sea-borne Empire 1600–1800* (1977), p. 134. This is confirmed by a remark quoted by Baron van Boetzelaer, *De Gereformeerde Kerken* (1906), p. 167, from the governor general, that ‘met deze jonge quanten meer fastidien als met andere predicanten ender subalterne voorkomen’.
- 56 Section 3 of Baron van Boetzelaer’s later book *De protestantsche Kerk in Nederlandsche Indië* (The Hague, 1947), pp. 50–78, has the sub-title ‘De volledige onderwerping der indische Kerk an de overheid’ – the complete subjection of the Indian church to the authorities.
- 57 Details in C.R. Boxer, pp. 137–8. See also van Boetzelaer, *Protestantsche Kerk*, pp. 61–2, who gives in full the decision of the XVII Heeren.
- 58 For bibliographical details see Appendix 29.
- 59 p. 85 of W. Caland’s excellent edition of 1915. As there was in the days of Rogerius no standardised system for the transliteration of Sanskrit or Tamil words, it is at times impossible, in the form in which he introduced them, to identify the words intended. Caland, pp. 210–13, gives a useful list of the Sanskrit words used, and also where possible the correct transliteration; the reader might have difficulty in recognising *dharmarājā* in *darmerason*, and *jyaisṭha* in *ieistam*.
- 60 Trans. A.C. Burnell, in *Ind. Antiquary*, 7 (1896), p. 99.
- 61 Paraphrase rather than translation. To show how far the Dutch of Rogerius departs from the Sanskrit, Caland gives, p. 209, an exact and literal translation of the first three stanzas.
- 62 Caland/Rogerius, p. xxii.
- 63 I have used the English translation reprinted in Churchill’s *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. II (1752), pp. 509–793. The text is not quite complete; as is explained in the Preface, p. 512, ‘We have only this to add, that to avoid all

unnecessary prolixity, it was judged requisite to omit many digressions, tending not so much towards the elucidation of the history as (we suppose) to show the author's criticism (*sic*) in the holy Scripture.'

- 64 Baldaeus, p. 596. If taken alone, a very suitable text – 'The Lord thy God walketh in the midst of thy camp . . . therefore shall thy camp be holy.' If read with its context, it may provoke some mirth in the reader.
- 65 Baldaeus, p. 573.
- 66 Baldaeus, p. 584.
- 67 Baldaeus, pp. 587–8.
- 68 De Jong, p. lxvii.
- 69 J. Charpentier in *BSOS*, 2 (1921–3), 752, and *Livro de Seita* (1935), pp. lxxxiii–lxxxv; for further details see Appendix 31.
- 70 H. Terpstra seems to be unaware of the extent to which the work of Baldaeus is based on plagiarism (pp. 187–91).
- 71 I have myself compared some extracts from the manuscript, as given by Professor Charpentier, with the text of Baldaeus; there can be no doubt at all as to the plagiarism.
- 72 See Appendix for details of the manuscript and of the use made of it by Baldaeus. The exposure of the plagiarism was made by Professor Charpentier in *BSOS*, 3 (1923–5), pp. 413–20: 'The Brit. Mus. MS. Sloane 3290, the Common Source of Baldaeus and Dapper'.
- 73 *BSOS*, 3, p. 420.
- 74 He cannot have known that Olfert Dapper, whose *Asia* appeared in 1672, had had access to another copy of the same manuscript, and had made extensive use of it in his work.
- 75 Charpentier, pungently and amusingly, makes plain that Baldaeus' knowledge of Portuguese was inadequate for the work that he had undertaken. *BSOS*, 2, p. 752; he has turned shell-fishers into monkey-hunters!
- 76 H. Terpstra adds the remark that 'the highly exotic plates must have contributed to the popularity of the work in our country', *De Nederlanders in Voor-Indië* (Amsterdam, 1947), p. 188.
- 77 For further information on the *Hortus*, and the contribution of Cassearius to it, see Appendix 30.
- 78 Where is to be found one of the earliest Christian inscriptions in the Tamil country. See Appendix 2.
- 79 The Armenian church belongs to that group of churches (with Egypt, Ethiopia etc.) which did not accept the decisions of the council of Chalcedon in AD 451, and is called monophysite by those who do not agree with the position which it maintains.
- 80 Our authority for this is the account written by the Armenian quasi-historian Thomas Khojamall about the year 1768 and printed in 1849. Khojamall is in many respects inaccurate; but what he relates on this subject may be based on sound oral tradition; less probably, on written sources unknown to us.
- 81 This is all judiciously discussed by MacLagan, *Jesuits*, pp. 157–61.
- 82 After the death of his wife, Iskander desired to marry her sister, and was supported in this desire by Akbar; naturally such a breach of canon law brought

upon him the grave disfavour of the Jesuits; but by 1611 a dispensation for the marriage had been received from the pope, and Iskander was restored to favour. When he died in 1613, he was buried with much ceremony.

- 83 See chapter 15, pp. 384–6. The historical details relating to Zū'lqarnain have been collected by Fr H. Hosten SJ in a masterly article 'Mirzā Zū'lqarnain, a Christian Grandee', MASB, 5 (1917), pp. 115–94. More recent research has added hardly anything to the information collected by Fr Hosten. Mesroby J. Seth in his *Armenians in India* (Calcutta, 1937), pp. 22–88, reprints the article with hardly any change other than the addition of a few footnotes.
- 84 It is possible that the family came originally from Mesopotamia rather than from Armenia. The Portuguese were accustomed to refer to all varieties of Eastern Christians as Armenians.
- 85 These are summarised by Maclagan, p. 174.
- 86 Fr Hull, quoted by Fr Hosten, p. 137 n. 1, is undoubtedly correct in suggesting that the Fathers followed the plan of obtaining landed property in Portuguese territory to avoid the difficulty caused in the dominions of the Great Mogul by the law under which all property on the death of the owner reverted to the emperor. It was not certain that church property would be exempted from such laws.
- 87 J. Seth, p. 67.
- 88 J. Seth, pp. 104–5.
- 89 J. Seth, pp. 22–3. Funeral inscriptions of all of these have been found in the cemetery at Agra. One laconic record reads simply: 'I, Reverend Zacharias of Tabriz, came in 1105' (=AD 1656). A memorial cross in the name of the same Zacharias has been found, and reads 'This holy cross is in memory of the Reverend Zacharias and of his parents Joseph and Maria and Sargiss in the year 1106' (AD 1657). Seth, pp. 108–9.
- 90 This entertaining tale is recorded in *Purchas: His Pilgrims*, vol. III (ed. of 1905), pp. 15–16; and an excellent edition is in W. Foster, *Early Travels*, pp. 60–121.
- 91 H.D. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras* (1913), p. 543. The index to this invaluable work gives a number of references to Armenians over the years.
- 92 When the first Italian Capuchin missionaries arrived in Lhasa in 1707, they found there a number of Christians – Armenian, Russian and Chinese. They were made welcome by a powerful Armenian merchant, Khwāja Davith, who had been resident in the city for many years, and to whom they had been commended by Armenians in Patna. The Khwāja helped them to secure accommodation during the first period of their sojourn in Lhasa. See *Il Nuovo Ramusio*, vol. 1, p. xlv.

NOTES TO APPENDICES

- 1 Gouvea, *Jornada* (Coimbra, 1606), book 1 chap. 1, pp. 17–18.
- 2 A shed of posts and palm leaf mats.
- 3 A somewhat different translation is given in Pothan, *The Syrian Christians of Kerala* (Bombay, 1963), p. 102.
- 4 An early account of all this is in P. Vincent Mary of S. Catherine of Siena,

- Viaggio all' Indie-Orientali* (Rome, 1672), p. 135. He actually writes 'à guisa delle lettere Chinesi, ò delle gieroglifiche degli Egittij'.
- 5 (Lisbon, 1783), book x, chap. 5, p. 478. This is reproduced in *JPASB*, NS 21 (1925), pp. 507-48, 'The Martyrdom of St Thomas the Apostle', esp. pp. 516-17, Spanish version with English translation.
 - 6 *JPASB*, NS 19, pp. 205-8. The whole long article pp. 153-235 is full of learning; I do not, however, agree with all Fr Hosten's conclusions. Of great value is the reproduction on p. 206, of Fr Monserrate's sketch of the cross, and his 'malavar' transliteration of the Brāhman's rendering of the inscription.
 - 7 *JPASB*, NS 31 (1925), pp. 507-48.
 - 8 *Malabar Christians and their Ancient Documents* (Trivandrum, 1929).
 - 9 Rāmanātha Ayyar interprets *maraiyavar* as a title of respect for the Lord, and adds 'Lord Jesus' in parentheses.
 - 10 On the *Mādhyamika* school of Buddhist philosophy, of which Nāgārjuna is one of the chief expositors, see S. Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1922-55), I, pp. 18-45. Note the saying (51 on p. 145): 'Know that attachment to religious ceremonies, . . . wrong views . . . and doubt . . . are the true fetters.' Note further that Nāgārjuna, a Brāhman, belongs to the Āryan and Sanskrit traditions of Indian thinking, and has nothing of the Dravidian about him.
 - 11 J.W. de Jong, *Cinq chapitres de la Prasannapadā* (Paris, 1949), p. xi. De Jong, who prints also the Tibetan translation of the *Prasannapadā*, adds that almost all scholars have 'considered Nāgārjuna exclusively as a philosopher, and have tended too much to forget that he was above all a fervent believer'.
 - 12 This must be regarded as dubious; both in Ceylon and in Burma the *Theravāda* was successful in maintaining itself as the religion of the learned and the uneducated alike.
 - 13 History and Culture, 3, *The Classical Age* (1954), pp. 240-1.
 - 14 'Four Ancient Tamil Inscriptions in Tirukkalukunram' in *Epigraphia Indica*, 3 (1894-5), pp. 276-86.
 - 15 Madras edition, part II, p. 316 v. 6.
 - 16 *ibid.* p. 318, vv. 23, 24.
 - 17 Trans. F. Kingsbury and G.E. Phillips, *Hymns of the Tamil Saivite Saints* (Mysore, 1921), p. 29.
 - 18 *ibid.* p. 27.
 - 19 *Ind. Antiq.*, XXII, p. 63, where references to the *Periyapurāṇam* are given.
 - 20 *Origin and Early History of Śaivism in South India* (1936), p. 462.
 - 21 pp. 332-3.
 - 22 *Eastern Churches Review*, 8, pp. 162-73.
 - 23 *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque*, vol. II, p. 282, quoted in C.R. Boxer, *Race Relations* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 41-2.
 - 24 L. Wachmann, *Las bulas alexandrinas de 1493 y la teoria politica del Papado medieval* (Mexico, 1949).
 - 25 In his *Commentary on Decretals III*, quoted with full references by W. Ullmann, *Medieval Papalism* (1949), p. 119 and n. 2. The whole chapter 5 'World

Monarchy' is an admirable discussion of the medieval theory of papal power. According to *Encycl. Brit.* (1959) s.v. 'Deep (*sic*) legalistic in outlook, Innocent went beyond his predecessors in claiming for the papacy a direct temporal sovereignty over all earthly kingdoms.'

- 26 A. da Silva Rêgo, *O Padroado Português do Oriente* (Lisbon, 1940), p. 25.
- 27 SR, *Doc.*, vol. v, Introd. p. xi.
- 28 J. Correia d'Afonso, *Jesuit letters and Indian History* (Bombay, 1955), pp. 35–6.
- 29 The full title, reads, in English: *Edifying and Curious Letters written from the Foreign Missions by some missionaries of the Society of Jesus*. In the reprint of 1780–3, the letters from the Indies fill six volumes.
- 30 Xavier means of course Tamil, and not as might be expected Malayalam. By a curious error, then and for long after Malabaric was used in this erroneous sense.
- 31 *Biscaine*; one later manuscript reads 'Celtiberica, vulgo Vasquenza'; the meaning in both cases seems to be the same.
- 32 'My language' Basque: 'our language' Portuguese, in which most of the letters of Xavier to his brethren are written.
- 33 EX, vol. 1, pp. 162–3. Schurhammer, *Fr. Xav.* (Eng. trans.), II, pp. 406–7. *Xaveriana*, p. 342.
- 34 A good English version of the letters, based on the modern and more reliable texts, is greatly to be desired.
- 35 *Mon. Xav.*, vol. II, p. 896.
- 36 It seems that an exception must be made in favour of Colonel Francis Wilford, who lived in Benares from 1788 to 1822. For details see Maclagan, *Jesuits* (London, 1932), pp. 51–2, and p. 156 n. 4.
- 37 The Latin text of the *Commentarius* was published by H. Hosten SJ, in MASB, 3 (1914), pp. 513–704, with valuable introduction and notes. Fr Hosten had published in 1912 (*JASB*, pp. 185–221), a much shorter account written by Monserrate in 1582. There is an English translation of the *Commentarius* by J.S. Hoyland and S.N. Banerjee (Oxford, 1922), with useful notes. This is a valuable work, but has to be used with some caution. Jarl Charpentier, in a careful review in *BSOAS*, 3, 1923–5, pp. 191–5, points out a number of misunderstandings of Monserrate's Latin, and other errors, concluding his report with the words 'the difficulties of the undertaking have perhaps been too great to be coped with during the amount of time which may possibly have been at the disposal of the editors'.
- 38 On the work of Guadagnoli, in Latin and in Arabic, see Camps, *Jerome Xavier and the Muslims of the Mogul Empire* (Schöneck-Beckeried, 1957), pp. 176–7 and Maclagan, p. 208.
- 39 The prayer in its entirety is quoted in Maclagan, *Jesuits*, p. 207.
- 40 The later history will show that Valignano was unduly optimistic in his estimate of the Christians of the Fisher Coast; but it seems right to let his rather glowing picture stand.
- 41 *Council of Trent*, IX (ed. Soc. Goerresiana), p. 979.
- 42 The decrees are printed in *Bull.* Appendix 1, pp. 6–29.

Notes to Appendices

- 43 Decrees printed in *Bull.* Appendix 1, pp. 37–56.
- 44 On this Council, see J. Wicki SJ, 'Quellen zum 3 Provinzial Konzil von Goa, 1585', *Ann. Hist. Concil.* 5 (Paderborn, 1973), pp. 352–407.
- 45 *Bull.* p. 77.
- 46 Melo, *The Recruitment and Formation of the Native Clergy* (Lisbon, 1955), p. 185.
- 47 Decree 30.
- 48 *Bull.* Appendix, p. 101.
- 49 *Bull.* Appendix, p. 129.
- 50 *Bull.* Appendix, p. 123.
- 51 Melo, p. 146.
- 52 On this see *Il Nuovo Ramusio*, vol. II (1952), pp. xx–xxi. John Grueber and Albert d'Orville arrived in Lhasa on 8 October 1661, and in Agra in March 1662. D'Orville died in Agra almost immediately after their arrival.

Select Bibliographies

GENERAL

Hambye, E.R. 'A Bibliography of Christianity in India' (The Church History Association of India, 1976) (mimeographed)

This valuable work of twenty-five years includes thousands of references. It is completer for Roman Catholic work than for that of other churches. Carefully classified under headings, it does not distinguish between more and less important sources; some of the periodical references are to contributions of only local or temporary interest. But no other bibliography approaches this in completeness.

Mahar, J.M. *India, a Critical Bibliography* (Tucson, Arizona: Univ. of Arizona Press, 1964)

This is well planned and accurate. Ninety entries in English (pp. 75-97) deal with religion. It is adequate on Hinduism, weak on Christianity and Islam.

For the historian of Christianity in India, two compendia are indispensable:

Bibliotheca missionum, ed. J. Dindiger OMI, R. Streit OMI, later J.B. Rommerskirchen OMI.

The volumes specially dealing with India are:

BM VI 'Missionsliteratur Indiens, der Philippinen, Japans und Indochinas, 1700-1799' (Aachen, 1931)

BM VIII 'Missionsliteratur Indiens und Indonesiens, 1800-1909' (Aachen, 1934)

BM XXVII 'Missionsliteratur Indiens, 1910-1946' (Rome, Freiburg, Vienna, 1970)

BM XXVIII 'Missionsliteratur Südasiens (Indien, Pakistan, Birma, Ceylon), 1947-1968' (Rome, Freiburg, Vienna, 1971)

Bibliografia Missionaria (Rome: Pontificia Universitas Urbaniana, 1933-)

Prior to this date, from 1926 to 1933, a general survey of missionary literature had been published annually by J.B. Rommerskirchen OMI in *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*.

Among the innumerable missionary periodicals, two stand out as specially useful for bibliographical purposes:

Select Bibliographies

International Review of Missions (1912–68; since 1969 *of Mission*)

Reviews are numerous, and the classified bibliography is extensive.

Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft (1945–)

This is the best missionary research journal in the world.

Reference should also be made to:

Missiology (U.S.A.)

Missionalia (South Africa)

The Indian Church History Review (1967–)

This is the fruit of the newly awakened interest in history among Christians in India. The articles are of unequal value. Regrettably the great majority of the contributions are by westerners and not by Indians.

History

On all matters connected with the history of India, the student must now turn to: *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, ed. R.C. Majumdar (11 vols, Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1951–77).

The production of these eleven volumes in thirty-three years between the first planning in 1944 and the publication of the final volume to appear (VIII) is a notable achievement; still more so when it is recalled that one single editor oversaw the whole process and laid down his pen, at the age of eighty-eight, on 2 October 1976.

The general standpoint, expressed in the words 'The modern historian of India must approach her as a living entity with a central continuous urge, of which the apparent life is a mere expression', has led to some underplaying of the influences which have affected the life of India from without; and naturally the chapters are uneven in execution. But nowhere else has such a mass of information about every aspect of the history of India been gathered together. The bibliographies, though not all equally well planned, are in many cases excellent and up to date.

The Cambridge History of India (6 vols, Cambridge, 1922–37. Vol. II has never appeared)

This is still indispensable. Vol. I is a pioneer work of first class importance. The chapters are uneven in workmanship, but a number are of high excellence. The complaint has been made that this is basically 'administrator's history', and for this objection there is some foundation. But this is not the whole story, as is evident from a study of the plates with which vol. IV, 'The Mughul Period', is adorned.

The Oxford History of India, ed. Percival Spear (Oxford, 1967³)

An excellent compendium, specially valuable for the selected list of authorities for each section.

Pelican History of India, vol. I, R. Thapar (to 1526) (Harmondsworth, 1966); vol. II, P. Spear (to 1960) (Harmondsworth, 1965)

General

The *Pelican History* is modern in style and outlook. Both volumes are provided with outstanding bibliographies. R. Thapar has made good use of inscriptional materials, and stresses the social and economic, rather than the political and administrative, sides of history.

Elliot, Sir H.M., and Dowson, J. *The History of India as told by its own historians: The Muhammadan Period* (London: Trübner, 1867–77)

This work has been influential in all later writing on the Muslim period, as making readily available much material which otherwise would be almost inaccessible. Its effects are plainly to be seen in the volumes of the *Cambridge History* which deal with this period.

The work has now to be read with the extensive commentary of:

Hodtvala, S.H. *Studies in Indo-Muslim History: A Critical Commentary on Elliot and Dowson's History of India* (vol. I, Bombay, 1939; vol. II, Bombay, 1957)

Hodtvala disclaims any intention of doing anything 'to disparage or detract from this monumental performance'; but has taken the opportunity to correct many errors which have crept in, and to discuss many doubtful or controverted points. Older works deserving special mention are:

Mill, J. *History of British India* (continued up to 1835 by H.H. Wilson) (10 vols, London, 1858)

Mill's work was compared by Macaulay to Gibbon's *History*. It is still indispensable for detailed study of the period which it covers. Based on Utilitarian principles, and designed as a manual to guide and direct British administrators in India, it has been blamed as having seriously distorted the views on India of English readers. See C.H. Philips in *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon* (Oxford, 1962², 1967³), pp. 217–30.

Elphinstone, Mountstuart *History of India in the Hindu and Mahomedan Periods* (London, 1841, 1905⁹)

Based on personal knowledge, this book is written with far deeper sympathy and understanding than that of Mill. Since the ninth edition was published in 1905, it is clear that this penetrating account by one who was himself a notable ruler of men has never lost its power to attract and to illuminate the reader.

His *History of British Power in the East* was never finished.

Philips, C.H. (ed.) *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon* (Oxford, 1961, 1962², 1967³)

The book is a fascinating study, by twenty-eight writers, of history-writing in and on India in many languages and many periods.

Culture

*The Cultural Heritage of India*² (4 vols, Rāmkrishna Mission, Calcutta): vol. I (1958); vol. II (1962); vol. III (1953); vol. IV (1956) ('The Religions')

An enterprise of the Rāmkrishna Mission, this book is not in all respects satisfactory.

Renou, L., and Filliozat, J. *L'Inde Classique: Manuel des Etudes Indiennes* (2 vols, Paris: Payot, 1947, 1953)

This is a marvellous encyclopaedia of all things Indian, remarkably complete on the earlier period, but not including western contacts and Christianity. The two volumes lack bibliography and index, which have been promised for a third volume.

Garratt, G.T. (ed.) *The Legacy of India* (Oxford, 1937)

Some of the chapters in this book are of great excellence. But the changed political situation, the progress of research, and the increased contribution of Indian scholars to the understanding of India, have made a number of the chapters seriously out of date.

Basham, A.L. (ed.) *A Cultural History of India* (Oxford, 1975)

This was planned to replace *The Legacy of India*, but has grown into a book of much greater size. It does not in all respects fulfil expectations. Two lines, on p. 495, are hardly adequate as a recognition of the existence of a Christian community in India.

Introduction

Basham, A.L. *The Wonder that was India. A Survey of the History and Culture of the Indian Sub-continent before the coming of the Muslims* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1954; 3rd rev. ed. 1967)

This is undoubtedly the best introduction for the general reader. Its limitations in time must be noted. But, for the period it covers, it deals with almost everything, is fair, balanced, reliable and sympathetic. It is to be commended for having paid reasonable attention to South India. On pp. 345–6 Basham refers to the tradition of Christians in India at a very early date.

Religion

Farquhar, J.N. *An Outline of the Religious Literature of India* (Oxford, 1920; reprint 1976, Orient. Book Distr.)

This work is an astonishing achievement. In the Foreword, Farquhar states correctly that 'no attempt has ever been made to deal with the religious history as an undivided whole which must be seen as one long process of development before the meaning of the constituent sects or religions can be fully understood'. Farquhar made the attempt, and made it with such success that his book marks a turning-point in the history of the study of religion in India. The book is still one of those few which have to be marked 'indispensable', as providing 'a clear comprehensive survey of the literature so far as critical inquiry, translations, and the publication of texts have made it known' (p. x).

Christianity

Naturally India has a place in all general histories of the Christian church and of missions. In this field, nothing can as yet compare with:

Latourette, Kenneth Scott *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (7 vols, London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1939-45)

But, having made the *Expansion* his theme, Latourette did not feel himself committed to writing in any detail about the Thomas Christians; so one major section of Indian Christianity just falls out of his picture. The sections in his work which deal with India during the period under review are: vol. I (1939), pp. 231-3, bibl. p. 390; vol. II (1939), pp. 280-4, bibl. pp. 464, 471-2; vol. III (1940), pp. 247-71. (Bibl. here is alphabetical, and not by countries; but full references are given in the notes.)

Histoire Universelle des Missions catholiques directed by Mgr S. Delacroix (4 vols, Paris: Libraire Grund, 1956-8)

This great work is disappointing. The illustrations are excellent, and there are some outstanding chapters. But the work is very uneven, and many important themes are hardly touched. The sections which are relevant to this volume are: vol. I, chap. 9, 1, 'L'Expansion portugaise', pp. 223-39; chap. 10, 'St François Xavier', pp. 269-85 (but mainly about Japan); vol. II, chap. 2, 'Le P. de Nobili et les missions de l'Inde', pp. 38-52; Chap. 5, 'L'éveil missionnaire de la France', 2. 'En Perse et aux Indes', pp. 97-101; Chap. 7, 'Les Vicaires apostoliques 1626-1689', pp. 132-64; Chap. 9, 'Les Missions de l'Inde après 1656', pp. 181-202.

Neill, S.C. *A History of Christian Missions* (Harmondsworth, 1964, 1975³)

Schmidlin, J. *Katholische Missionsgeschichte* (Steyl, 1924), pp. 234-50 (with useful bibliography of older works). Eng. trans. by M. Braun (Techny, Illinois, 1935) with some additions and revisions, which make it a useful supplement to the original work.

Histories of Christianity in India, including all aspects of the theme, can be counted on the fingers of one hand.

Hough, J. *A History of Christianity in India from the commencement of the Christian Era*, vols I-IV (London: R.B. Seeley, 1839-45), vol. v, ed. by his son, T.G.P. Hough (London, 1860)

This work stands in a class by itself. Hough manifests a wonderful knowledge of the materials as far as these were available at the time of writing. He is rarely wrong in his facts; but his strong bias against Roman Catholic missions makes of his work at times a tractate rather than a history. And he breaks off just before the beginning of the great expansion of missions.

No one else tried to treat all forms of Christian faith in India in balance until the excellent little book of:

Firth, C.B. *An Introduction to Indian Church History*, Christian Students' Library (Madras, 1961²)

The work is stronger in the earlier than in the later sections; since 1961 much work has been done on the later periods, and Mr Firth was unfamiliar with a good deal that had been done before that date.

Almost all the other books that can be named deal with either Roman Catholic or

Select Bibliographies

Protestant missions, and the Thomas Christians are often omitted, or given merely cursory treatment.

On the Roman Catholic side, nothing compares in thoroughness and reliability with:

Müllbauer, M. *Geschichte der katholischen Missionen in Ostindien von der Zeit Vasco da Gamas bis zur Mitte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg i. B., 1852)

Every subsequent writer has pillaged Müllbauer; but of course a great deal has happened since the date at which he wrote. His bibliography of earlier works is of the greatest value.

On the Protestant side:

Richter, J. *Indische Missionsgeschichte* (2nd much improved German ed., 1924); Eng. trans. of first ed., *A History of Protestant Missions in India* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, 1908)

This is the best available work. Richter does pay some attention to work other than that of the Protestant missions; but for the most part he sticks to the task indicated in his title.

Thomas, P. *Christians and Christianity in India and Pakistan* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1954)

This has the advantage of having been written by an Indian Christian; but the author's prejudice against the West distorts his presentation and makes his judgement unreliable.

Among general surveys the following may be mentioned:

Kaye, J.W. *Christianity in India: a historical narrative* (London: Smith Elder, 1859)

Moraes, G.M. *A History of Christianity in India, from early times to St Francis Xavier AD 25-1542* (Bombay, 1964)

The book is well written by a journalist, who, however, puts forward a number of views which have not met with general acceptance.

Perumalil, A.C., and Hambye, E.R. *Christianity in India: A History in Ecumenical Perspective* (Alleppey, 1972)

The work does not quite live up to its title, being rather heavily slanted on the Roman Catholic side. Some of the chapters are barely adequate.

Smith, G. *The Conversion of India, from Pantaenus to the present day AD 193-1893* (London; Edinburgh, 1893)

CHAPTER I THE INDIAN BACKGROUND

One work of general survey is so good as to serve as an excellent introduction to the world of Indian religion, as briefly surveyed in this chapter:

Chapter 1

Winternitz, M. *Geschichte der indischen Literatur* (3 vols, Leipzig, 1908–20)
(English translation: vol. I, Calcutta, 1927; vol. II, Calcutta, 1933; vol. III i,
Delhi, 1963, III ii, Delhi, 1967)

The quotations given in the text are so well chosen as to afford many vivid insights into the development of Indian religion.

For the literatures of India, all previous efforts have been cast into the shade by the great series:

A History of Indian Literature (Wiesbaden: Otto Harassowitz)

Sixteen sections of this work have already been published.

Vol. I Fasc. 1 (1975), *Vedic Literature: Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas* is by Jan Gonda. The book is marked, like all his writings, by erudition, sympathy and lucidity. Gonda affirms that the Vedic view of life is 'based on the belief in an inextricable co-ordination of what we could call nature, human society, ritual and the sphere of myth and the divine; on the belief also that these spheres influence each other continuously' (p. 93).

Vol. I Fasc. 2 (1977), *The Ritual Sūtras* is also by Jan Gonda.

Religion

In *Die Religionen der Menschheit*, vols XI, XII, XIII on Indian religions are to be mentioned with almost unstinted praise:

Die Religionen Indiens:

Vol. I, *Veda und ältere Hinduismus*, by Jan Gonda (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1960)

Vol. II, *Der jüngere Hinduismus*, by Jan Gonda (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1963)

Vol. III, *Buddhismus – Jinismus – Primitivvölker*, by André Barreau, Walther Schubring, and Christoph von Füren-Haimendorf (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1964)

The bibliographies are excellent. It is to be hoped that a complete English translation may soon be available. It is to be noted that Islam is not treated in these volumes: information about Islam in India has to be sought elsewhere.

The Indus Valley Civilisation

Of general books on this subject, by far the best is still:

Wheeler, Mortimer *The Indus Valley Civilisation* (Supplementary Volume to the *Cambridge History of India*, 1968³)

The bibliography in *History and Culture of the Indian People* (vol. I, pp. 533–7) is remarkably complete up to the date of publication, 1951. (See pp. 3–5)

For an even earlier period the best general work is:

Allchin, B. and R. *The Birth of Indian Civilization: India and Pakistan before 500 BC* (Harmondsworth, 1968)

Piggott, S. *Prehistoric India to 1000 BC* (London: Cassell, 1962²)

Although an older book, this is still useful.

Narasimhaiah, B. *Neolithic and Megalithic Cultures in Tamil Nadu* (Delhi, 1980)
Carrying the story back to the third millennium BC has shown how much archaeological work in South India may have to reveal of the earliest days of human habitation in India.

The Vedic Age

We now have as a comprehensive survey of the Vedic world in the broad sense of the term:

Panikkar, Raimundo (ed.) *The Vedic Experience: Mantramañjarī: An Anthology of the Vedas for Modern Man and Contemporary Celebration* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1977, 1979²)

Nearly 900 pages of extracts, arranged according to themes, introduce the reader to almost every aspect of Vedic life and thought. But naturally the selectors have been inclined to choose that which is excellent and memorable, and the picture is a good deal less than complete. The translations are well done. Extensive introductions, notes and comments swell the volume, but help the reader to find his way.

Vedas

Keith, A.B. *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads* (2 vols, Harvard U.P., 1925)

For the *Vedas* and *Upaniṣads* this is still unsurpassed. The writer's aim, 'the account of Vedic religion given in this work will, I trust, do something to restore to that religion its just place in the study of theology' (p. ix), has been amply fulfilled. Very full attention is paid to ritual. The *Upaniṣads* are treated on pp. 489–600.

Chap. 29 'Greece and the Philosophy of India', p. 601, starts with the ringing statement; 'It is not to be thought that the early philosophy of Greece exercised any influence on the philosophy of India.' Nor is any influence of Indian thought on Greece to be readily accepted.

Griswold, H. de W. *The Religion of the Rigveda* (London, 1923; Indian reprint, Delhi, 1971)

This is briefer, but also based on a thorough knowledge of the text.

Upaniṣads

For a complete exposition of the *Upaniṣads*, the student is still almost bound to go to:

Deussen, P. *Sechzig Upanisads des Veda* (Leipzig, 1897)

As Hume says, the book 'brings to bear an extensive, critical and appreciative knowledge of European and of Indian philosophy'.

Many translations and studies of the *Upaniṣads* are available:

Hume, R.E. *The Thirteen Principal Upaniṣads* (Oxford, 1921, 1962⁵; paperback, 1971)

This can be commended as careful, generally accurate and readable. The bibliography up to the date of the publication of the 2nd edition, 1930, is exceptionally good and full, with comments on each work.

Radhakrishnan, S. *The Principal Upaniṣads, with Introduction, Text, Translation and Notes* (London: Geo. Allen and Unwin, 1953)

The Sanskrit text is given in transliteration. The notes are somewhat extensive, and the introduction is full. Eighteen *Upaniṣads* are included.

Bhagavadgītā

Editions and translations of the *Gītā* are innumerable. Mention should be made of the comprehensive work of:

Edgerton, F. (2 vols, Harvard U.P., 1946)

This has a literal translation, so literal as at times to be hardly intelligible, opposite the Sanskrit text in transliteration.

My own favourite is:

Hill, W.D.P. *The Bhagavadgītā: an English translation and Commentary* (Oxford, 1928; ed. without the Sanskrit text, 1953; 1966²)

Radhakrishnan, S. *Bhagavadgītā* (London: Geo. Allen and Unwin, 1948)

This translation is perhaps less distinguished than some of his other work.

Zaehner, R.C. *The Bhagavad-Gītā with a commentary based on the original sources* (Oxford, 1969, reprinted 1972)

Included is the Sanskrit text in transliteration, a continuous translation (pp. 45–109) and an exposition of each stanza at considerable length. (See esp. p. 285 on *bhakti*, with Christian comparisons.)

Buddhism

Conze, E. *Buddhist Thought in India: Three Phases of Buddhist Philosophy* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1962)

This is a useful introduction.

For the history of Buddhism in India, one work stands out beyond all others:

Lamotte, E. *L'histoire du bouddhisme indien des origines à l'ère Saka* (Louvain: Bibl. du Muséon, 1958)

The writer says that his aim is 'to replace Buddhism in the historical framework which it lacked, to draw it out of the world of ideas, to which of its own free will it had confined itself, in order to bring it back to earth' (p. vi). The bibliographical references are remarkably complete. This great book is unfortunately not available in English.

Oldenberg, H. *Buddha*, 13th ed., by H. von Glasenapp (Stuttgart, 1958)

This work, which first appeared in 1881, still offers the best approach to the whole subject. The 13th edition includes valuable additions by the editor.

Select Bibliographies

The earlier translation by W. Hoey (London: Williams and Norgate, 1882) was long out of print in England; but for an Indian reprint see:

The Buddha, his life, his order, his doctrine (Ind. Pub. Service, 1971)

This has to be balanced by:

Thomas, E.J. *The Life of Buddha as Legend and History* (London: Kegan Paul, 1927)

‘The Pāli itself is no primitive record, but the growth of a long tradition in one school. The Sanskrit needs to be equally closely analysed’ (p. v).

Jainism

For Jainism, the best authority is:

Schubring, W. *Die Lehre der Jainas nach den alten Quellen dargestellt* (Grundriss III, 7, Berlin, 1935); Eng. trans. *The Doctrine of the Jainas* (Delhi, 1962)

There is a shorter account by the same writer in:

Die Religionen Indiens, vol. III, pp. 217–42

There is a clear and useful summary in:

Renou and Filliozat *L’Inde Classique* (Ecole française de l’extrême orient, 2 vols, Paris, 1947–9, 1953), vol. II, cols. 2387–93 (pp. 609–64)

Stevenson, Mrs Sinclair. *The Heart of Jainism* (Oxford, 1915)

This is a remarkably objective account by a sympathetic missionary.

Hinduism

The subject is so vast and varied that it is best studied in its various manifestations.

There are a great many general accounts of Hinduism, but for the most part these reflect the interests and point of view of the writer, and are not of great help to the reader who has never lived in India.

One work is quite outstanding:

Monier-Williams, M. *Brahmanism and Hinduism; or Religious Life and Thought in India* (London: John Murray, 1891⁴)

Though the first edition of this appeared nearly a century ago, it has stood the test of time remarkably well. It is well-written and easy to read, and gives more space than most books of this kind to the way in which the adherents of the Indian religions actually live and worship.

Philosophy

The best general account is still:

Dasgupta, S. *A History of Indian Philosophy* (5 vols, Cambridge, 1922–55)

The period covered in this volume (and beyond) is dealt with in vols I and II. Dr Dasgupta did not quite complete his work.

Chapter 2

A rather good introduction is:

Hiriyanna, M. *Essentials of Indian Philosophy* (London: Geo. Allen and Unwin, 1949, with a useful glossary of Sanskrit terms)

Outlines of Indian Philosophy (London: Geo. Allen and Unwin, 1932)

A more popular, and less profound, study than Dasgupta, is:

Radhakrishnan, S. *Indian Philosophy* (2 vols, London: Geo. Allen and Unwin, 1929²)

The first volume covers the period dealt with in this volume (*Upaniṣads*, pp. 137–270).

Two important aspects of ancient Indian life remain to be looked at:

Caste

The recognised authority, based on a comprehensive study of the evidence is:

Hutton, J.H. *Caste in India; its Nature, Functions and Origins* (Oxford, 1946; 1961³; 1963⁴)

The writer does his best to be fair, but has not quite succeeded in bringing all his complex material into a unified whole.

A different view from that of Hutton is expressed in

Senart, E. *Caste in India; the Facts and the System*, trans. Sir E.D. Ross (London, 1930)

The article 'Caste' in *Encycl. Brit.* is well informed; detailed evidence rather than theory.

A modern study by an Indian writer is:

Ghurye, G.S. *Caste and Race in India* (Bombay, 1969⁵)

Slavery

Many Indians believe that slavery has never existed in India, but the evidence does not bear this out. The evidence for the period covered in this chapter has been collected by:

Chavasse, D.R. *Slavery in Ancient India* (New Delhi, 1960)

CHAPTER 2 CHRISTIANITY COMES TO INDIA

On all matters dealt with in this chapter, the best general account is undoubtedly:

Brown, L.W. *The Indian Christians of St Thomas: An Account of the Ancient Syrian Church of Malabar* (Cambridge, 1956, 1982²)

Much in this chapter depends on the story of the relations between the western world and India. The best general account of all this is:

Select Bibliographies

Wheeler, Mortimer *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers* (London: G. Bell, 1954)
This highly readable book is based on wide practical knowledge. Unfortunately the bibliography is inadequate to the subject.

On trade between the Roman Empire and the East the pioneer book was:
Charlesworth, M.P. *Trade-routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire* (Cambridge, 1926)

Mr Charlesworth returned to his old subject in:

‘Roman Trade with India; a Resurvey’, in *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honour of Allen Chester Johnson* (Princeton, 1951).

A good deal of new light on the whole subject has been thrown by:

Dihle, A. ‘Neues zur Thomas Tradition’ in *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, 6 (1963), pp. 53–70.

Unstrittene Daten; Untersuchungen zum Auftreten der Griechen am Roten Meer (Cologne, 1965)

Der Seeweg nach Indien, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kultur-Wissenschaft, 4 (Innsbruck, 1974)

‘The Conception of India in Hellenistic and Roman literature’, *Proceedings of the Camb. Philol. Society* (1964), pp. 15–23

Miller, J. Innes. *The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire 29BC to AD641* (Oxford, 1969)

Based on long experience of the East, the book includes a minute and valuable study of the actual spices in which the Roman merchants traded.

For more general accounts of contact between India and the west, see:

McCrindle, J.W. *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature* (Westminster, 1901)

Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian (London, 1877)

Ancient India as described by Ptolemy (Bombay, 1885; reprinted, Calcutta, 1927)

A newer work is:

Majumdar, R.C. (ed.) *The Classical Accounts of India* (Calcutta: Mukhopadhyay, 1960)

Rawlinson, H.G. *Intercourse between India and the Western World* (Cambridge, 1916)

This is a highly competent work, as far as knowledge went at the time at which it was written.

Another authoritative work almost contemporary with Charlesworth is:

Warmington, E.H. *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India* (1928; 2nd ed. London: Curzon Press, 1974, with additions)

The second edition of this valuable work is to be used.

Chapter 2

The 'Periplus'

For the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, the only satisfactory text is that of:

Frisk, H. *Le Périples de la Mer Erythrée, suivi d'une étude sur la tradition et la langue* (Göteborg, 1927)

The work may also be conveniently studied in the English translation:

Schoff, W.H. *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (London, 1912; reprint in South Asia Books)

Thomas Christians

The literature on St Thomas and India is immense:

Garbe, R. *Indien und das Christentum* (Tübingen, 1914; Eng. trans. Open Court, 1959)

The author is confident that he has settled the fate of the legend for good and all; not all are in agreement. But he gives a valuable list of the champions of the various views.

An older book, based on extensive research is:

Germann, W. *Die Kirche der Thomas Christen* (Gütersloh, 1877)

For a brief and competent introduction to the subject the reader cannot do better than turn to:

Keay, F.E. *History of the Syrian Church in India* (London, 1938, 1951²)

Indispensable, as containing translations of Syriac documents not elsewhere available is:

Mingana, A. *The Early Spread of Christianity in India* (Manchester U.P.; originally in *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 10, no. 2 (July, 1926))

A large collection of evidence favourable to the sojourn of Thomas in India has been made by:

Medlycott, A.E. *India and the Apostle Thomas, an Inquiry* (London, 1905)

Bishop Medlycott has been followed by many other Roman Catholic writers.

A negative view is taken by:

Thomas, T.K. *South India's St Thomas* (Cannanur, 1952)

Unless some new and convincing evidence is discovered, the debate will continue endlessly and inconclusively.

For Cosmas Indicopleustes, the most recent edition is that by:

Wolska-Conus, Wanda in *Sources Chrétiennes*, nos. 141, 159, 197 (Paris, 1968, 1970, 1973)

This has a useful introduction and notes.

A well-informed and laudatory review of this work by H. Hennephof in *Vig. Chr.*, 35/2 (1981), pp. 195–9, may be noted.

Select Bibliographies

Ancient Documents and Copper-plates

Joseph, T.K. *Malabar Christians and their Ancient Documents* (Trivandrum, 1929)

This contains valuable material, not easily accessible elsewhere.

On the copper-plates, see Appendix 1.

On the Travancore crosses and the decipherment of the inscription, see Appendix 2.

Pothan, S.G. *The Syrian Christians of Kerala* (Bombay, 1963)

This is an intelligent summary of a long story, with excellent reproductions of the copper-plates.

CHAPTER 3 FROM MEDIEVAL TO MODERN

For the main lines of development, reference must be made to the general histories. Here no more can be done than to note some books on special topics, which will be found useful as guides to further inquiry.

The Greeks in India

Three books, representing rather different points of view may be mentioned:

Narain, A.K. *The Indo-Greeks* (Oxford, 1957, with very full bibliography)

Narain's point of view is summed up in a single phrase: 'They came, they saw; but India conquered.'

Tarn, W.W. *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (Cambridge, 1938; 1951²)

This is the pioneer work, very full and learned; not all Tarn's views have found acceptance.

Woodcock, G. *The Greeks in India* (London: Faber, 1966)

Pleasantly written, and well illustrated. More popular than the two books previously mentioned.

A recent work is:

Sedlar, J.W. *India and the Greek World: A Study in The Transmission of Culture* (Totowa, New Jersey, 1980)

Much information has been gathered, though not in every case critically handled. The work deals only with possible influences of India on the West.

Indian Art

The many works by A.K. Coomaraswamy are technical, and deal in detail with almost every aspect of the subject. His most general survey is:

Chapter 3

Coomaraswamy, A.K. *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (London, 1927)

A pleasant biography is:

Lipsey, R. *Coomaraswamy: his life and work* (Princeton, 1977)

Maury, C. *Folk Origins of Indian Art* (New York and London: Columbia U.P., 1969)

A different approach, but also illuminating. The book is admirably illustrated.

Mitter, P. *Much Maligned Monsters: History of European Reactions to Indian Art* (Oxford, 1977)

Mitter deals faithfully and most interestingly with the subject indicated in the title; a salutary warning to the western or westernised writer.

Rowland, B. *The Art and Architecture of India, Buddhist – Hindu – Jain*, The Pelican History of Art (first published in 1953; reprinted, with comprehensive bibliography by J.C. Harle, 1977)

A considerable section of this admirably illustrated book deals with Indian art outside India.

Philosophy

On the question of possible Greek influences on Indian philosophy, the student cannot do better than follow through the indices to:

Guthrie, W.K.C. *A History of Greek Philosophy* (so far 5 vols; Cambridge, 1967–)

They will direct him to the sane and learned comments, with full references, of this great scholar.

Reference should also be made to:

Armstrong, A.H. (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1967)

The contributions of the editor are of special value.

On the development of Indian philosophy, in addition to the general histories referred to above, two older works will still be found useful:

Monier-Williams, M. *Indian Wisdom* (London, 1875, reprinted, Varanasi, 1963)

This covers a wide field; philosophy as such is dealt with in chapters 3–7.

Müller, F. Max *The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy* (Oxford, 1899; reprinted, Varanasi, 1960)

This is the last great work of this notable pioneer.

Literature

Keith, A. Berriedale *A History of Sanskrit Literature* (Oxford, 1928)

This is still the outstanding survey; to be supplemented by many specialist studies by Indian writers.

Select Bibliographies

On Drama, the pioneer work was:

Lévi, Sylvain *Le théâtre indien* (Paris: Bouillon, 1890)

Referring to the theory of Greek influence on Indian drama, Lévi remarks 'nous avons crû devoir la repousser avec énergie' (p. 3).

The work was taken up and amplified in

Keith, A. Berriedale *The Sanskrit Drama in its Origin, Development, Theory and Practice* (Oxford, 1924, 1959²)

The question of possible Greek influences is discussed in chapter 12, pp. 276ff.

A useful contribution has been made by:

Wells, H.W. *Six Sanskrit Plays in English translation* (London: Asia Publ. House, 1964)

Less satisfactory is his book:

The Classical Drama of India (London: Asia Publ. House, 1963)

Śiva and Viṣṇu

Perhaps the most striking change in the emphasis of Indian religion in the post-Christian centuries is the immense development of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. A learned introduction to this theme is given by:

Gonda, J. *Viṣṇuism and Śivaism: A Comparison* (London: Athlone Press, 1970; also South Asia Books, 1976)

(A rather critical review of this work by N. Smart in *BSOAS*, 34 (1971), p. 614, may be noted.)

The Hindu Renaissance

On the disappearance of Buddhism from India, the weakening of Jainism, and the recovery of Hinduism, no entirely satisfactory work as yet exists. One aspect of the subject is dealt with in:

Mitra, R.C. *The Decline of Buddhism in India* (Visva-Bharat, 1954)

Chapter 9, pp. 103-24, deals with Buddhism in South India.

References will also be found in:

Nilakantha Sastri *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom: from the Earliest Times to the Sixteenth Century* (London: Luzac, 1929)

But on this the comment of Professor J. Charpentier needs to be noted: that he 'dwells far too cursorily upon the religious intolerance and the spirit of persecution that seems often to have prevailed in the southern realms. That there was a grim persecution of the Jains within the Pāṇḍyan kingdom during the seventh century AD can scarcely be doubted' (In *BSOAS*, 2 (1930-2), p. 217).

Hindu Bhakti

On Hindu *bhakti*, both northern and southern, there is now an extensive literature.

On the philosophical side, Rāmānuja stands out above all others; and here a work to be specially commended is:

Carman, J.B. *The Theology of Rāmānuja, an Essay in Inter-Religious Understanding* (Yale U.P., 1974). The bibliography is ample and reliable.

Written from a Christian standpoint, this is a serious attempt to understand the thought and experience of a great Indian thinker.

An earlier attempt to make the West aware of Rāmānuja is:

Otto, R. *Die Gnadenreligion Indiens und das Christentum* (Gotha: Klotz, 1930; Eng. trans. *India's Religion of Grace and Christianity Compared and Contrasted* (London: SCM Press, 1930))

Dhavamony SJ, M. 'Ways of Salvation in Hinduism', *Studia Missionalia*, 30 (1981), pp. 307–49. 'Bibliography on *bhakti* in Hinduism', pp. 287–306.

This is a comprehensive survey of *bhakti* in Hinduism, with an extensive bibliography.

Yocum, G.E. 'Personal transformation through *Bhakti*', *Studia Missionalia*, 30 (1981), pp. 351–75, with special reference to Manickavaçakar.

There are insights of value in:

Zaehner, R.C. *Hindu and Muslim Mysticism* (Oxford, 1960)

Śaiva-Siddhānta

A quite outstanding piece of research by an Indian Christian scholar is:

Dhavamony SJ, M. *Love of God according to Śaiva-Siddhānta; A Study in the Mysticism and Theology of Śaivism* (Oxford, 1971)

This deals with the philosophical aspects. A full list of the *Śaiva-Siddhānta* philosophical classics, with chronology, is included.

A much shorter work, also by a Christian scholar, is:

Paranjoti, V. *Śaiva Siddhānta in the Meykaṇḍa Śāstra* (London: Luzac, 1938; 1954²)

The first comprehensive work on Śaiva Siddhānta was:

Schomerus, H.W. *Der Śaiva-Siddhānta; eine Mystik Indiens, nach den tamulischen Quellen bearbeitet und dargestellt* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1912)

This is a praiseworthy effort by a German missionary.

We still await an equally comprehensive work on Tamil *bhakti* as expressed in

poetry. Three works will give the English reader a preliminary initiation into this world:

Hooper, J.S.M. *Hymns of the Ālvārs* [the Vaiṣṇavite Singers] (Mysore, 1929)

Kingsbury, F. and Phillips, G.E. *Hymns of the Tamil Śaivite Saints* (Mysore, 1921)

(In spite of his English name, Kingsbury was a pure Tamil.)

Pope, G.U. *The Tiruvāṇṇam, or Sacred Utterances of the Tamil Poet, Saint and Sage Mānikkavāṇṇar* (Oxford, 1900)

This has extremely valuable notes and translations of other Śaivite works.

Islam in India

For an introduction to what Islam in India is, and how Muslims experience it, the essential book is:

Herklots, G.A. *Islam in India, or the Qānūn-i-Islām, from the Urdu of Ja'far Sharif, a native of the Deccan*, first published in 1832, and newly edited with additions by W. Crooke (Oxford, 1921; reprinted London: Curzon Press, 1972)

The author was a South Indian Sunnī; experts say that his evidence must be supplemented by:

Hassan Ali, Mrs Meer *Observations on the Mussulmans of India* (1832; republished, Oxford, 1916)

and

Tassy, Garcin de *Mémoires sur les particularités de la religion Mussulmane dans l'Inde* (Paris, 1831)

Important sidelights are given in

Lal, K.S. *Growth of Muslim Population in medieval India, AD 1000–1800* (Delhi, 1973)

Lal estimates the population of India in 1650 as 150 million, of whom about ten per cent may have been Muslims.

Mujeeb, M. *The Indian Muslims* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1967)

This is a comprehensive study, the aim of which is 'to portray the life of the Indian Muslims in all its aspects, beginning with the advent of the Muslims in India' (p. 9). There is a full bibliography, but arranged alphabetically and not according to subjects.

Titus, M.T. *Indian Islam* (Oxford, 1930)

Titus brings together a great deal of information not easily accessible elsewhere. He shows in detail how Indian Islam has been influenced by the environment, in many cases through the retention by converts of customary observances.

Schimmel, Annemarie *Islam in the Indian Sub-continent* (Brill-Leiden, 1980)

This is now authoritative on every aspect of the subject.

Indian Reformers

Hinduism may be said to have been in a state of continuous reformation, especially since the rise of Islam in India. Most of the reformers may be pursued through the generally admirable articles in:

Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*

In many cases these reformers have left behind communities, which, though small, form an important part of the religious landscape of India. One or two are important enough to deserve special mention in a bibliography.

Kabīr is an attractive figure. Two modern books have been devoted to him:

Keay, F.E. *Kabīr and his Followers* (Calcutta, 1932)

Westcott, G.H. *Kabīr and the Kabīr Panth* (Cawnpore, 1907; Calcutta, 1953²)

For Gurū Nānak and the Sikhs, the student desirous of detailed information must turn to the magisterial work:

Macauliffe, M.A. *The Sikh Religion: Its Gurus, Sacred Writings and Authors* (6 vols, Oxford, 1909ff)

Those content with a less extensive knowledge can perhaps not do better than start with the series of works:

McLeod, W.H. *Gurū Nānak and the Sikh Religion* (Oxford, 1968)

The Sikhs of the Punjab (Auckland, 1968, 1970²)

The Way of the Sikh (Amersham, 1975)

A recent study is:

Cole, W.O. and Piara Singh Sambhi *The Sikhs: their Religious Beliefs and Practices* (London: Routledge, 1978)

CHAPTER 4 CHRISTIANS IN THE INDIAN MIDDLE AGE

The scanty information available to us about Christians in India in the seven centuries between AD 800 and 1500 has been collected and made available to us in three indispensable works:

1. Yule, Sir Henry (ed.) *The Book of Ser Marco Polo concerning the kingdoms and marvels of the East, newly translated and edited with notes* (2 vols, London, 1871; 2nd ed. London and Edinburgh, 1903; 3rd ed., rev. H. Cordier, London: John Murray, 1921)

A much better text than that available to Sir Henry Yule has been produced by: Benedetto, L.F. *Il Milione, prima edizione integrale a cura di L.F. Benedetto* (Florence, 1928)

Unless new and remarkable discoveries are made, this may be taken as the definitive edition.

A translation made from this text is also available:

Select Bibliographies

Ricci, A. *The Travels of Marco Polo, trans. from the text of L.F. Benedetto* (London: Broadway Travellers, 1931)

Penzer, N.M. *The Most Noble and Famous Travels of Marco Polo, together with the Travels of Nicolo de Conti, ed. from the Elizabethan trans. of J. Frampton; with introduction, notes and appendices.* (London: A. and C. Black, 1937²)

This is a most agreeable translation; and the introduction with excellent maps is valuable.

2. Yule, Sir Henry *Cathay and the Way Thither: being a collection of medieval notices of China*, translated and edited by Sir Henry Yule CB (2 vols, London, 1866); 3rd ed. rev. H. Cordier (4 vols, London: John Murray, 1913ff)

3. Major, R.H. (ed.) *India in the Fifteenth Century* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1857)

Sir Henry Yule rendered a further service to knowledge by his edition and translation of:

Fr Jordanus OP *Mirabilia Descripta* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1863)

It is possible, but not very likely, that further information still lies hidden in the recesses of western libraries. It is to be noted that none of our information comes from Indian sources. Indian writers during these centuries do not seem to have been interested in the existence of Christians among them.

This may be the point at which to mention:

Gibb, Sir H.A.R. *Ibn Baṭṭūṭah (Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allah): travels in Asia and Africa, 1325-1354*, The Broadway Travellers (London: Routledge and Sons Ltd, 1929)

This is an admirable selection, with a useful survey of Islam in the fourteenth century.

(Only Volume 1 of the complete translation has so far appeared:

The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa AD 1325-1354, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1958).)

CHAPTER 5 EUROPE AND ASIA; CONTACT AND CONFLICT

From 1498 onwards, our sources are only too voluminous; and as, in the Portuguese period, church and state can hardly be separated, the secular historians are among our most important sources.

For the early period, five writers are reckoned as being of great importance: John de Barros, D. de Couto, F.L. de Castanheda, John Bocarro and Gaspar Correa.

1. Barros, John de

2. Couto, D. de

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These were, in succession, responsible for the great series of *Decadas*, published in twenty-four volumes between 1778 and 1788. The first three are by Barros, who was never in India; the remainder by Couto, who spent most of his life in India and died in 1616. *Decada 11* has never been found, and of 12 only the first five books are known to exist.

3. Castanheda, F.L. de *Historia do Descobrimento e Conquista da India*, ed. P. de Azevedo (Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade, 1924³)

Castanheda went to India in 1528, and stayed there for ten years. Books I to VI of his work were published in 1552-4; books VII and VIII in 1561, after his death. Part of book IX (chaps 1-31) was recently discovered and edited by Fr J. Wessels SJ (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1929, with facsimile.) All that Castanheda writes is of the greatest value, as being the work of a careful and high-minded observer.

4. Bocarro, John *Decada XIII*, written in 1635 (2 vols, Lisbon, 1872)

Bocarro shows greater interest than the others in the Asian powers, and this gives to his work a more modern feel.

5. Correa, Gaspar *Lendas da India* (4 vols, Lisbon, 1858-64, reprinted Nendeln/Leichtenstein, 1976)

Correa went to India in 1512 and worked there for more than fifty years.

Correa states that 'I undertook the work with pleasure, for the beginning of things in India was so golden that there was no hint of the iron beneath.' He is described as being 'less of the chronicler and more of the historian' than the others.

An invaluable article is:

Harrison, J.B. 'Five Portuguese Historians' in Philips, C.H., *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon* (London, 1967³), pp. 155-69.

Harrison sums up his results: 'Within their limits they were extraordinarily conscientious . . . careful to check what they were told . . . and as a result, when modern scholars test their work, they emerge as both great and reliable historians.' 'They are indeed five magnificent writers' (p. 155).

There is a separate study of Correa:

Bell, A.F.G. *Gaspar Correa* (Oxford, 1924)

For most English readers an adequate account of the process of discovery and the re-establishment of relations between Europe and Asia is provided by two admirable books:

Boxer, C.R. *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire 1415-1825* (London: Hutchinsons, 1969)

Parry, J.H. *The Age of Reconnaissance* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1963)

Both have good bibliographies.

To this may be added:

Boxer, C.R. *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire 1415-1825* (Oxford, 1963)

This is a small work which gives a great deal of valuable information in concise form.

Select Bibliographies

The first classic account of all these voyages is:

Ramusio, Gian Battista (ed.) *Delle Navigazioni e Viaggi nel qual si contiene la descrizione dell'Africa, e del Paese del Prete Ioanni, con varii Viaggi, del Mar Rosso à Calicut, et in fin all'Isole Molucche, dove nascono le Spezerie, e la Navigatione attorno il Mondo* (vol. I, Venice, 1550; vol. II, Venice, 1559; vol. III, Venice, 1556).

See note in Parry, *The Age of Reconnaissance*, p. 342: 'Ramusio, like Hakluyt, was a careful and discriminating editor and translator. His collection is the most important single source of our knowledge of the Reconnaissance.'

For Prince Henry the Navigator, the classic work in English is:

Major, R.H. *The Life of Prince Henry of Portugal surnamed the Navigator; and its results; comprising the Discovery, within one Century, of Half the World* (London: A. Asher and Co., 1868)

This may be usefully supplemented by:

Ure, J.B. *Prince Henry the Navigator* (London: Constable, 1977)

This is an independent and up to date account, which attempts to see the Prince against the background of the problems of his age.

For a general description of Portuguese power in India, two books in English will suffice:

Danvers, F.C. *The Portuguese in India: being a History of the Rise and Decline of their Eastern Empire* (2 vols, London: W.H. Allen, 1894; reprint: Octagon, 1966)

Whiteway, R.S. *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India 1497-1550* (London: Constable, 1899)

This is described by C.R. Boxer as 'still the best introduction to the subject', with a useful and well annotated bibliography.

Indispensable for detailed study of the Portuguese period in India are the successive issues of:

Mare Luso-Indicum: L'Océan Indien, les Pays Rivérains, et les Relations Internationales, XVI^e-XVIII^e Siecles (1, 1971; 2, 1972; 3, 1976; 4, 1980)

A monumental study of the relations between Asia and Europe in this period, from a rather unusual point of view, is:

Lach, D. *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, 'The Century of Discovery' (Chicago, 1965)

An extract from this larger work is:

India in the Eyes of Europe: The Sixteenth Century (Chicago and London: Phoenix Books, 1968)

Lach has even disinterred a letter written from Goa in 1596 by a Polish nobleman, Christopher Pawlowski.

Chapter 5

Mughuls

For the Mughul period in Indian history, apart from the general histories, the best introduction is:

Edwardes, S.M., and Garrett, H.L.O. *Mughal Rule in India* (London, 1930)

Bābur is naturally best studied in his own writing:

The Bābur-nāma in English (Memoirs of Bābur) (more correctly *Tūzuk-i-Bāburī*), trans. from the original Turki text by Annette Susannah Beveridge (2 vols. London: Luzac and Co., 1921–2), with copious indices.

This has completely replaced the earlier translation by W. Erskine (from the Persian, 1826).

For the reigns of Bābur and Hūmayūn, the student is well-advised still to turn to: Erskine, W. *A History of India under Bāber and Humāyun* (2 vols, London: Longmans, 1854)

One of the first serious attempts at Indian history writing by a European resident in India, this work has naturally in some respects been superseded by later writings; but was found worthy to be reprinted in Karachi (OUP, 2 vols) in 1974 with an introduction by P. Hardy.

The materials on Akbar are embarrassing in their multiplicity.

The full annotated bibliography in *History and Culture*, 8, pp. 459–86, is remarkably complete up to the date of publication.

The two great contemporary works are easily accessible in English translation:

Abu'l Fazl Allāmī *Āin-i-Akbarī*, vol. I, trans. H. Blochmann, with most valuable notes (Calcutta, 1873; rev. D.C. Phillpott, 1927); vols II and III, trans. H.S. Jarrett (Calcutta, 1891, 1894; vol. III rev. Sir J. Sarkar, 1948)

Akbar-nāma, trans. H. Beveridge (3 vols, Calcutta, 1897–1921)

Though defaced by tedious rhetoric and endless flattery, the writings of Abu'l Fazl are the basis of all later study of Akbar.

Among modern biographies of Akbar, pride of place must be given to

Smith, V.A. *Akbar the Great Mogul 1542–1605* (Oxford, 1917)

Smith was patient and fair-minded, and set himself conscientiously to depict the greatness of Akbar as a ruler.

Frederick Augustus, Count von Noer *Kaiser Akbar* (1880–5); Eng. trans. Mrs Beveridge (Calcutta, 1890); reprinted (2 vols, Patna, 1973) as *The Emperor Akbar; a contribution towards the history of India in the 16th century*

The work is marred by the writer's fulsome admiration for his subject; but it is valuable as making use of the Jesuit sources which had been neglected by others.

Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava *Akbar the Great* (3 vols, Agra, 1962–73)

This is lengthy and pretentious, and adds less than might have been hoped to

Select Bibliographies

knowledge of the subject. But, as the most extensive work produced on Akbar by a modern Indian writer, it deserves attention.

Moreland, W.H. *India at the death of Akbar* (London, 1920)

This is based on wide knowledge of the sources. Moreland is generally reliable; but for criticisms of his methods see the essay by J.B. Harrison, 'Notes on W.H. Moreland as Historian' in:

Philips, C.H. (ed.) *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon* (1967³), pp. 310–18.
(See p. 513)

Akbar's religious views and projects are dealt with in Chapter 8.

CHAPTER 6 BEGINNINGS OF MISSION

There is a large literature on the Portuguese *padroado* and the Spanish *patronato*.

A full and authoritative study, from the Portuguese point of view, is:

da Silva Rêgo, A. *O Padroado Português do Oriente: Esboço Histórico* (Lisbon: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1940)

This is based in part on archival material, and has a full bibliography.

A more recent, and important, study is:

de Witte, C.M. *Les Bulles Pontificales et l'expansion portugaise au XVe siècle* (Louvain, 1958)

See *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* (1953, 1954, 1956 and 1958).

More accessible to English readers is:

Hull SJ, E. *Bombay Mission History, with a special study of the Padroado Question* (2 vols, Bombay, 1927, 1930)

Valuable bibliographical information is given in:

Aubenas, R., and Richard R. 'L'Eglise et la Renaissance 1449–1517', pp. 122–6, vol. xv of Fliche and Martin, *Histoire de l'Eglise* (Paris: Bloud and Gay, 1951)

All the essential official documents are collected in:

Jordão, L.M., and Manso, V. de Paiva *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum in Ecclesiis Africae, Asiae atque Oceaniae, Bullas, Brevia, Epistolas, Decreta Actaque Sanctae Sedis ab Alexandro III ad hoc usque tempus amplectens* (4 vols, Lisbon, 1868–73)

All students of the sixteenth century are deeply indebted to the work of:

da Silva Rêgo, A. *Documentação para a Historia das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente, India* (12 vols, Lisbon, 1948–58)

(For some criticisms, see J. Wicki SJ, in *AHSI*, 21, pp. 624–6). The same writer has added to our indebtedness by:

Chapter 6

Historia das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente, India, vol. 1, '1500-42' (Lisbon, 1949)

Unfortunately vol. II seems not to have appeared. The material, based on an immense acquaintance with all the sources, is arranged geographically, under Goa, Cochin etc. But full references are given; and the judgements of the writer seem to be generally sound.

Jann, A. *Die k tholischen Missionen in Indien, China and Japan. Ihre Organization und das portugiesische Patronat vom 15 bis ins 18 Jahrhundert* (Paderborn, 1915)
This is well indexed, and gives much information on matters of ecclesiastical organisation.

d'Costa SJ, A. *The Christianisation of the Goa Islands 1510-1567* (Bombay, 1965)
This is based on careful research into original documents. Here and there Fr d'Costa's approach is a little apologetic; he tends to soften the asperities of Portuguese rule. For a critical review, see C.R. Boxer in *BSOAS* (1966), pp. 399-401.

d'Sa, M. *History of the Catholic Church in India* (2 vols, Bombay, 1910, 1922)
This contains much information, but in episodic rather than systematised form.

Nazareth, C.C. de *Mitras Lusitanas no Oriente, Catalogo dos Prelados da Egreja Metropolitana e Primacial da Goa e das Dioceses Suffraganeas* (Lisbon, 1894²);
vol. II 'Mitras Lusitanas no Oriente: Catalogo dos Superiores das Miss es do Norte e do Sul da India' (Nova Goa, 1924)

This is an immense collection of material, indispensable for detailed study, and with ample bibliographical notes; but not very conveniently arranged.

For the Franciscans, the great contemporary authority is:

Gonzaga, Francesco *De Origine Seraphicae Religionis Franciscanae* (Rome, 1587)
Gonzaga (1546-1620) had been elected minister general of the Franciscans at the early age of thirty-three and had therefore had every opportunity to study original documents. He is a little less than impartial in his estimate of Franciscan achievements (*Encicl. Cattol.*, VI, col. 923).

The modern historian of the Franciscan Missions is:

Lemmens, L. *Geschichte der Franziskanermissionen* (M nster i. Westf., 1929)
The book deals with so wide a field that for India it is little more than an outline, though carefully and to some extent critically carried out.

Fr A. Meersman OFM has for many years been studying the history of the Franciscans in India, and the series of books that he has produced is of the highest value. That which is most relevant to this chapter is:

Meersman, A. *The Ancient Franciscan Provinces in India 1500-1835* (Bangalore, 1971)

CHAPTER 7 THE JESUITS AND THE INDIAN CHURCH

Francis Xavier

For the greater part of this chapter the primary sources are the Letters of Francis Xavier himself. These are now available in the superb work:

Schurhammer SJ, G., and Wicki SJ, J. *Epistolae S. Francisci Xavierii Aliaque eius Scripta* (2 vols, Rome, 1944, 1945)

This has an introduction and admirable notes.

An English translation, based on this revised text, to replace the existing translation made by Fr H. Coleridge SJ (1872) from the Latin, is greatly to be desired.

With these is to be taken the older series of:

Monumenta Xaveriana, Mon. Hist. Soc. Jesu (2 vols, Madrid, 1899–1912)

This includes some early lives of Xavier, and the proceedings leading to his canonisation.

The oldest life of Xavier has been published as:

Wicki, J. 'Das neu entdeckte Xaveriusleben des P. Francisco Peres SJ', *AHSI*, 34 (1965), pp. 36–78.

These sources can now be supplemented by the great collection of other original documents:

Wicki SJ, J. *Documenta Indica* (Rome, 1948–)

So far fourteen volumes have appeared, all manifesting the impeccable skill and erudition of the editor. Some other Jesuit documents of this period may still be discovered, but they are likely to be few.

All other works on Xavier have now been cast into the shade by:

Schurhammer, G. *Franz Xaver: sein Leben und seine Zeit* (4 vols, Freiburg i. B.: Herder, 1955ff)

Schurhammer wanders far and wide, but gives an extraordinarily vivid and detailed picture of the world in which Xavier lived, and is notably accurate. The first three volumes of this work have now been translated into English:

Costelloe SJ, M.J. *Francis Xavier: his life and his times*, Jesuit Hist. Inst. (Rome: vol. I, 1973; vol. II, 1977; vol. III, 1980. The final volume will follow in due course)

Many subsidiary works of Fr G. Schurhammer have been collected in his

Gesammelte Studient (4 vols, Lisbon, 1963ff)

The volumes entitled: 'Orientalia' (ed. L. Szilas, 1963); and 'Xaveriana' (ed. L. Szilas, 1964) are of special significance for this chapter.

A number of lives of Xavier had already been written in the sixteenth century. A good account of them is:

Schurhammer, G. 'Historical Research into the Life of Francis Xavier in the Sixteenth Century', in 'Orientalia', pp. 90–114 (in German, pp. 57–89)

The Life by Teixeira is included in *Mon. Xav.*, vol. II, pp. 815–918.

That by Valignano has been edited by J. Wicki SJ in:
Historia del principio y progreso de la Compañia de Jesús en las Indias Orientales 1542–64, Bibl. Inst. Hist. S.I., II (Rome, 1944)

English readers, requiring a shorter account of the saint, may be satisfied with:
Brodrick SJ, J. *St Francis Xavier (1506–1552)* (London: Burns and Oates, 1952)
This is interestingly written, but is at times more picturesque than accurate.

Stewart, E.A. *Francis Xavier* (London: Headley Bros, 1917)
This sympathetic Life by a non-Roman-Catholic writer still serves as an excellent introduction.

An interesting study of an aspect of Xavier's work which is often overlooked is:
Don Peter, W.L.A. *Xavier as Educator* (4 Raj Niwas Marg, Delhi, 1974)

An important article on Xavier's attitude to the creation of an Indian priesthood is:
Wicki, J. 'Franz Xaver's Stellung zur Herausbildung des einheimischen Klerus im Orient' (orig. in *Studia Missionalia*, 5 (1950), pp. 93–113, reprinted in *Missionskirche im Orient: Ausgewählte Beiträge über Portugiesisch-Asien* (Supplement XXIV to *NZM*, 1976)

Aurati, Agostino *Nicolai Lancilotto; un gesuita urbinato del secolo XVI in India* (Urbino, 1974)

This study gives little information on the work of Lancilotto in India, but includes Italian translations of two accounts of Japan written by Lancilotto apparently on the basis of information supplied to him by Anjiro, the first Japanese convert, who later accompanied Xavier on his journey to Japan.

Jesuits – Histories etc.

For the general background and development of the Society of Jesus, most English readers will find sufficient material in two books:

Brodrick SJ, J. *The Origin of the Jesuits* (London, 1940)
The Progress of the Jesuits 1556–79 (London, 1946)

Three early Jesuit histories which can now be studied in modern editions are:
Gonçalves SJ, Sebastian *Primeira Parte da Historia dos religiosos da Companhia de Jesús, e do que fizeram con a divina graça na conversão dos infieis a nossa sancta fee catholica nos regnos e provincias de India Oriental*, ed. J. Wicki SJ (vols I–III, Lisbon, 1957–62)

Guerreiro SJ, F. *Relação Annual dos Coisas que fizeram os Padres da Companhia de*

Select Bibliographies

Jesús nas suas Missões (new ed., Lisbon, 1930-42)
Sousa, F. de *Oriente Conquistado a Jesú Christo pelos Padres da Companhia de Jesús da Provincia de Goa*, vols I and II (Lisbon, 1710; new ed. Bombay, 1881-6)

An early life of Xavier now available in a new edition is:

Lucena SJ, J. de *Historia da Vida do Padre Francisco de Xavier e do que fizeram os mais Religiosos da Companhia de Jesú* (original ed., Lisbon, 1600; new ed. 2 vols, Lisbon, 1952; further revised, Lisbon: União Grafica, 1959, 1960)

In the revised edition, an admirable piece of printing, the orthography and punctuation have been modernised, a great help to the reader.

CHAPTER 8 AKBAR AND THE JESUITS

For the religious views of Akbar, see, in addition to the works listed under Chapter 5:

Krishnamurti, R. *Akbar, the Religious Aspect* (Baroda, 1961)

Mehta, N.C. *The Religious Policy of Akbar* (Bombay, 1946)

This is a doctorate thesis, with quotations from original sources.

Sharma, Sri Ram *Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors* (Calcutta, 1940)

An able study, based on original sources, it deals with more than the reign of Akbar.

Wellesz, E. *Akbar's Religious Thought reflected in Mogul Painting* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1952)

An excellent summary of Akbar's religious history.

For the Jesuit mission, we are fortunate in now having available the original letters of the time, in:

da Silva Rêgo *Documentação*, vol. XII
and

Wicki, SJ, J. *Documenta Indica*, II and 12

These do not, as a matter of fact, add very much to what was already known; but it is satisfactory to be able to read contemporary letters and to know what was thought about the mission at the time.

Bartoli, D. *Missione al Gran Mogor del P. Ridolfo Aquaviva della Compagnia de Gesù* (Rome, 1663; reprint in 1714; new ed. at Piacenza in 1819; reprinted, Milan 1945.)

In a prolix age Bartoli holds the record for prolixity; but he had access to many original sources and used them well.

Guerreiro, F. *Relaçam annual das cousas que fizeram os Padres etc* (Evora and Lisbon, 1603-11)

Chapter 8

Parts of vols I, II and III are relevant to the period of the first mission to the Great Mogul. (A new ed. of the *Relaçam* appeared from the university of Coimbra, 1930-42.)

du Jarric SJ, P. *Histoire des choses plus mémorables advenues tant ez Indes Orientales, que autres païs de la descouverte des Portugais, en l'establisement et progrez de la foy Chrestienne et Catholique; et principalement de ce que les Religieux de la comp. de Jésus y ont faict et enduré pour la mesme fin; depuis qu'ils y sont entrez jusques à l'an 1600* (3 vols, Bordeaux, 1608, 1610, 1614). Latin trans. by M. Martinez, *Thesaurus Rerum Indicarum* (Cologne, 1615)

Du Jarric was not an original historian, but a faithful and on the whole reliable compiler. His book is not readily accessible; it is much to be desired that it should be reprinted.

Of the other ancient sources by far the most important are the two writings:

Monsserrate, Fr A. *Relaçam do Equebar*, ed. and trans. Fr H. Hosten SJ, under the title 'Father A. Monsserrate's account of Akbar' in *JASB* NS 8 (1912), pp. 185-228.

Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius, MASB, 3, 9 (1914), pp. 518-704, ed. Fr H. Hosten, with valuable introduction and notes; Eng. trans. by J.S. Hoyland and S.N. Banerjee, *The Commentarius of Fr Monsserrate* (Bombay, 1922)

The translation is also a valuable work; but for some criticism, and also on the history of the *Commentarius*, see further, Appendix 16.

The other contemporary writers who enter into the picture are:

de Guzman, L. *Historia de las Misiones que han hecho los religiosos de la Compañia de Jesús* (reprint, Bilbao 1891)

(pp. 140-56 deal with the mission to the Great Mogul)
and

Hay SJ, J. *De Rebus Iaponicis, Indicis et Peruanis epistolae recentiores* (Antwerp, 1605)

Hay is a good and careful editor; some information given by him is not found elsewhere.

Peruschi, J.B. *Informatione del Regno e Stato del gran Rè di Mogor . . .* (Rome, 1597)

Also the *Historica Relatio de . . . Regis Mogor . . . vita, moribus, et summa in Christianam religionem propensione* (from his letters of 1582, 1591 and 1595) (Rome, 1598)

Among modern writers on this theme, pride of place must be yielded to:

Maclagan, Sir Edward 'Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar, from notes recorded by the late General R. Maclagan RE' in *JASB*, 65 (1896), pp. 38-113.

This excellent piece of editing, which was his first work, brought to light a number

Select Bibliographies

of letters previously unknown, and gave promise of even better things to come. Many years later Maclagan followed this up with:

The Jesuits and the Great Mogul (London: Burns and Oates, 1932)

Time has only confirmed first judgements as to the excellence of Maclagan's work. It is complete, as far as the sources available up to 1930 are concerned. It is careful and accurate, sympathetic in attitude and prudent in judgement. A deservedly favourable review by C.C. Davies is in *BSOS*, 7 (1933-5), pp. 229-31.

For the Third Mission, the pioneer investigator has been Hosten SJ, Fr H. A list of his contributions to knowledge has been given by Maclagan, *Jesuits*, Appendix II, pp. 391-5: 'The Chief Contributions of Fr H. Hosten SJ to the History of the Jesuits at the Mogul Court'.

Also for the Third Mission, a place of exceptional honour must be accorded to: Camps OFM, A. *Jerome Xavier SJ and the Muslims of the Mogul Empire* (Schönebeck-Beckenried, 1957)

For 'Sources and Literature' see pp. xvi and xvii.

Hernandez SJ, Angel Santos *Jeronimo Javier SJ; Apostol del Gran Mogol y Arzobispo electo de Cranganor en la India, 1549-1617* (Pamplona, 1958)

Written before, but published after, the work of A. Camps, it is fuller on the biographical side, but less satisfactory as a theological study.

Unless entirely new sources are discovered, it is possible to say that we now have a complete account of the work and witness of a great missionary, the second Xavier.

Payne, C.H. *Akbar and the Jesuits: an Account of the Jesuit Missions to the Court of Akbar by Father Pierre du Jarric SJ* (London: Routledge, 1926)

Payne has rendered notable service by making available in English the best of du Jarric, with valuable introduction and notes. For English readers this ranks with the work of Maclagan as a source of information.

Correia-Afonso, J. (ed.) *Letters from the Mughal Court* (Bombay: Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, 1982)

This is a useful collection of actual letters of the period.

CHAPTER 9 ROME AND THE THOMAS CHRISTIANS

By far the best general guide is, as before:

Brown, L.W. *The Indian Christians of St Thomas: An Account of the Ancient Syrian Church of Malabar* (Cambridge, 1956, 1982²)

The Portuguese sources are in the main those mentioned in the bibliographies to chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8.

For this chapter special note must be taken of:

Chapter 9

Gouvea, A. *Jornada do Arcebispo da Goa Dom Frey Aleixo de Menezes Primas da India Oriental religioso da Orden de S. Agostinho* (Coimbra, 1606); French translation J.B. Glen, *Histoire orientale des grans progrès de l'église catholique en la réduction des chrestiens de S. Thomas, par le vme Don Alexis de Menezes, Archevêque de Goa, composée en langue portugaise par A. Gouvea et tournée en français par J.B. Glen* (Antwerp, 1609)

(Glen is generally accurate, but has to be checked against the original of Gouvea.) This work is the source of all subsequent accounts of the Synod of Diamper and all that led up to it.

In English:

Geddes, M. *The History of the Church of Malabar, from the time of its being first discovered by the Portuguezes in the year 1501 . . . Together with the Synod of Diamper, celebrated in 1599, done out of Portuguese into English. With some remarks upon the faith and doctrines of the Christians of St Thomas in the Indies* (London, 1694)

Geddes (1650–1713) was in Lisbon from 1678 to 1688. There is an account of him in *DNB*, vol. VII (1900), pp. 982–3.

The chancellor of Salisbury Cathedral rendered a great service by making available much of the account of Gouvea and by giving a complete rendering of the Acts of the Synod of Diamper. See Appendix 19.

A further source is:

Pimenta, N. and Aquaviva, Cl. *Nova Relatio Historica de rebus in India Orientali a patribus Soc. J. anno 1598 et 99 gestis* (Mainz, 1601)

A book to which reference has constantly to be made, with the usual complaints about the author's failure to give references for his quotations, is:

Ferroli SJ, D. *The Jesuits in Malabar*, vol. 1 (Bangalore, 1939)

Something like a break-through was achieved by the publication of:

Mundadan OMI, A.M. *The Arrival of the Portuguese in India and The Thomas Christians under Mar Jacob 1498–1522* (Bangalore 29: Dharmaran College, 1967)

Like all other students of the period, Fr Mundadan notes that 'it is deplorable that we have very little material from the Indian side'. But, as being himself a Thomas Christian of the Roman Catholic obedience, he is well placed to understand the history from within, and has tried with the help of the Portuguese records to enter into the minds of Christians of that period. He has had access to many original documents preserved in archives in Rome, London and Lisbon.

With this may be read:

Gulbenkian, R. 'Jacome Abuna, an Armenian bishop in Malabar (1503–1550)', *Arquivo do Centro Cultural Português*, 4, pp. 149–76.

Works not referred to elsewhere in this bibliography are:

Select Bibliographies

- Dionysio SJ, F. *Informação de Christiandade de São Thomé que estaen no Malavar, Reino do India Oriental* (1578) in *SR Documentação*, vol. XII, pp. 394–403
- Placid CD, T.O. 'Portuguese Religious Conquests in Malabar under the diocese of Cochin during the sixteenth century, the report for 1597', *NZM*, 13 (1957), pp. 257–306.
- Soledade, F. *Historia Seraphica da Orden dos Frailes Menores de S. Francisco na Provincia de Portugal* (Lisbon, 1705)

We still await a book to do for the period 1552–97 what Fr Mundadan has done for 1498–1552.

As noted in the text, the controversy as to the validity of the Synod of Diamper has been carried on mainly by:

- Antão, G. Magno de *De Synodi Diamperitani Natura et Decretis* (Goa, 1952)
- Thaliath, TOCD, J. *The Synod of Diamper*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 152 (Rome, 1958)

Antão is on the favourable side, Thaliath on the other. The controversy continues.

The two indispensable books on Roman–Eastern relations are:

- Beltrami, G. (cardinal bishop of Damascus) *La Chiesa caldea nel secolo dell'Unione*, *Orient. Christiana*, 83 (Rome, 1933)

Many documents not elsewhere available are given in full.

- Giamil, S. *Genuinae Relationes inter Sedem Apostolicam et Assyriorum orientalium seu Chaldaeorum ecclesiam, nunc maiori ex parte primum editae, historicisque adnotationibus illustratae cura Abbatis Samuelis Giamil* (Rome, 1902)

Giamil is accurate, but adopts an ultra-Roman position.

Bishop Brown lists in his bibliography a number of works in Malayālam by Thomas Christians; but it does not appear that any of them has independent historical value.

On attempts to secure theological education and the formation of an Indian priesthood in India, our chief authority is:

- Mercês de Melo SJ, C. *The Recruitment and Formation of the Native Clergy in India 16th–19th Century An Historico-Canonical Study* (Lisbon: Agência Geral, 1955)

But Melo does not pay special attention to the needs of the Thomas Christians.

A more recent work is:

- Anathil SVD, G.M. *The Theological Formation of the Indian Clergy* (Poona, 1966)

See also:

- Podipara CMV, J. 'The training of the Syro-Malabar Clergy', *Ostkirchliche Studien*, 24 (Würzburg, 1975), pp. 27–37

The position of the archdeacon in the Church of the Thomas Christians has been studied in detail in:

Chapter 10

Kollaparambil, J. *The Archdeacon of All-India: An Historico-Juridical Study* (Rome: Lateran University, 1972)

The writer has practical as well as historical ideas.

CHAPTER 10 LIGHTS AND SHADOWS

I have not found any book dealing in general with the Portuguese missions in the period between 1552 and 1605. The second volume of da Silva Rêgo's classic *Missões* has not appeared; it is to be hoped that it is in preparation.

As before the two indispensable works are da Silva Rêgo, *Documentação*, and Wicki, J, *Documenta Indica*; but these reach only as far as the 1580s; for the last twenty years of the period under review, information is scanty, except for the affairs of the Thomas Christians, which have been dealt with in chapter 9.

Reference may be made to:

Bragança Pereira, A.B. *Historia Religiosa de Goa*, vol. 1 (Bastora, 1932)

Danvers, F.C. *The Portuguese in India, being a History of the Rise and Decline of their Eastern Empire* (2 vols, London: W.H. Allen, 1894; reprinted 1966)

Danvers is not much interested in the questions of religion, though his book is valuable as background.

de Saldanha, M.J.G. *Historia de Goa* (Nova Goa, 1925-6)

This contains references to the religious organisations.

Saldanha SJ, C.F. *A Short History of Goa* (Bombay: Anglo-Lusitano, 1952)

This is too slight to be of much service.

A source which has recently become available is:

Documentação Ultramarina Portuguesa, vol. III, 'Jesuit Missions in India 1582-1693' from Brit. Mus. *Add. Ms.* 9834, pp. 1-291 (Lisbon, 1963)

References to biographical articles on a number of the *padroado* bishops, mostly by J. Wicki SJ, will be found in the footnotes to chapter 10.

The Decrees of the Councils of Goa will be found in the Appendix to the *Bullarium Regum Portugalliae*.

These may be supplemented by two valuable articles:

Wicki, J. 'Quellen zum 3 Provinzialkonzil von Goa 1585' in *Annales Historiae Conciliorum*, 5 (Paderborn, 1973), pp. 382-407.

'Die unmittelbaren Auswirkungen des Konzils von Trient auf Indien' in *Ann. Hist. Pontificiae*, 1 (Rome, 1963), pp. 241-260

For some important decrees of the councils, see Appendix 22.

Select Bibliographies

For the Inquisition in India, the basic study is:

Baião, A. *A Inquisição da Goa*; vol. I, 'Introdução a correspondência dos Inquisidores da Índia 1569-1630' (Lisbon, 1949); vol. II, 'Correspondência dos Inquisidores da Índia 1569-1630' (Coimbra, 1930)

Baião seems to have discovered and recorded everything that can be learned, from the rather scanty documents that have survived, about the Inquisition in the period covered by his work.

The results are summarised in:

Priolkar, A.K. *The Goa Inquisition: being a Quatercentenary commemoration Study of the Inquisition in India* (Bombay U.P., 1961)

Priolkar lists in his bibliography the various works of the French doctor C. Dellon, and the translation of these works in English, Portuguese etc.

The standard work on the 'New Christians' is:

de Azevedo, J.L. *História dos Cristãos Novos Portugueses* (Lisbon, 1975²)

For Valignano, in addition to the references in the text, the student will do well to turn to:

Schütte SJ, J.F. *Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze für Japan* (2 vols, Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1951, 1958)

Though this work deals only with Valignano's favoured Japan, much of the material is relevant also to the Indian missions. See also an exceptionally valuable review by C.R. Boxer, in *BSOAS*, 22 (1959), pp. 386-8.

Confraternities played an important part in the life of the church in India.

A careful study, based largely on the *Documentação* and the *Documenta Indica* is: da Rocha, L. 'As Confrarias da Goa', *Studia* (Lisbon, 1972), pp. 235-419

The author criticises the Confraternities for their exclusiveness, based sometimes on geography, but not infrequently on caste.

On the development of printing in India:

Priolkar, A.L. *The Printing Press in India: Its Beginnings and Early Development: being a Quatercentenary Commemoration Study of the advent of printing in India (in 1556)* (Bombay: Marathi Samshodana Mandala, 1958)

Priolkar gives valuable information, pays worthy tribute to the pioneers, and provides a number of excellent plates of early specimens of printing in India. Only chapters 1 and 2 deal with the period covered in this volume. There is no bibliography.

He refers to:

Gracias, A. *Os Portuguezes e o Estabelecimento da Imprensa na Índia* (Bastora, 1938)

I have not seen this book.

For the Coromandel coast

Besse SJ, L. *La Mission de Maduré* (Tiruchirāpalli, 1914)

This is still unsurpassed, but in parts needs to be rewritten in the light of later studies.

For Henry Henriques see the valuable study:

Wicki SJ, J. 'P. Henrique Henriques SJ (1520–1600): Ein vorbildlicher Missionar Indiens' originally in *Studia Missionalia*, 13 (Rome), pp. 113–68; this is now conveniently available in *Missionskirche im Orient*, NZM Supplement xxiv (1976), pp. 153–96

For the Todas much valuable information, affectionately recorded, is to be found in:

Emeneau, M.B. *Toda Songs* (Oxford, 1971), especially pp. xiii–xlviii

The complete bibliography for the Todas and all their works is:

Hockings, P. *The Nilgiri Hills; a bibliography for historians, geographers and anthropologists* (Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1962)

Rivers, W.H.R. *The Todas* (London: Macmillan, 1906)

The work of Rivers is, in the words of M.B. Emeneau 'still to be supplemented rather than superseded'.

For early Franciscan work in India see:

Meersman OFM, A. *The Ancient Franciscan Provinces in India (1500–1835)* (Bangalore: Christian Literature Society, 1971)

Meersman is authoritative, and the bibliography (unclassified) is remarkably complete.

This may be supplemented by reference to:

The Franciscans in Bombay (Bangalore, 1957)

The Franciscans in Tamilnad, NZM Supplement xii (Beckenried, 1962)

Farinha, A.L. *A Expansão da Fé no Extremo Oriente* (3 vols, Lisbon: Agência Geral, 1943ff)

Vol. II deals with India, and has information derived from Portuguese sources not easily available elsewhere.

CHAPTER 11 INDIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

For the period now to be studied, the best general introduction is still:

Moreland, W.H. *From Akbar to Aurangzeb: A Study in Indian Economic History* (London: Macmillan, 1923)

Moreland's primary interest, as his title shows, is in trade and commerce; but he deals in detail with questions of administration, and also with the impact of the West on India. His outlook is limited; but what he gives is, of its kind, unsurpassed. He was a pioneer, among English writers, in recognising the importance of the Dutch and their records.

Jahāngīr

Jahāngīr is best encountered in his own memoirs:

The Turuk-i-Jahāngīrī or *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, trans. A. Rogers and H. Beveridge,
Or. Trans. Fund. NS 19 and 20 (London: R.A.S., 1909, 1914)

The Preface is of value. The translators make an interesting comparison between Jahāngīr and 'James VI [and first of England], to whom, and to the Emperor Claudius, he bears a strange, even ludicrous, resemblance'.

See also a more recent edition, published for Susil Gupta (India) Privita Ltd, Calcutta in 1959; and a reprint of the translation from the Persian made by David Price in 1829 (Calcutta, 1972), with introduction by Aparajita Roy.

The story of the reign is well covered in:

Beni Prasad *History of Jahangir* (Allahabad, 1930²)

Shāh Jahān

Shāh Jahān is a considerably less interesting person. His story is best dealt with in: Saksena, B.P. *History of Shahjahan of Dihli*, with foreword by Sir Wolseley Haig (Allahabad, 1932)

Saksena deals sensibly with the siege and sack of Hūglī, of which details are given in Appendix 23. His work has been described as 'a successful attempt to fill a blank'. The bibliography is disappointing. (The bibliography in *History and Culture*, 7 records no other complete biography in English.)

Matters are very different with the last of the really great Mughuls:

Aurungzīb

We are given the full details in:

Sir Jadunath Sarkar *The History of Aurungzīb* (5 vols, Calcutta, 1912-24)

This is perhaps the greatest of all works by an Indian historian.

A short and competent account is:

Lane-Poole, Stanley *Aurungzīb, Rulers of India* (Oxford, 1893)

For the Marāthās

Grant Duff, J.C. *A History of the Mahrattas* (3 vols, 1826, many times reprinted; currently Oxford, 1921, with introduction and notes by S.M. Edwardes)

This once classic history has now been replaced by:

Sardesai, G.S. *New History of the Mahrattas* (3 vols, Bombay: Phoenix Press, 1946-8)

This reliable account lacks the literary skill of Grant Duff. The first volume is almost wholly taken up with the career of Śivājī.

There are innumerable studies of Śivājī

Perhaps the best balanced and most useful is:

Takakhav, N.S., and Keluskar, K.A. *The life of Shivaji Maharaj Founder of the Maratha Empire*, Foreword by N. Macnicol DD (Bombay: Manoranjan Press, 1921)

This work was written in Marāthī by K.A. Keluskar and adapted into English by N.S. Takakhav.

Most of these lives of Śivājī are unduly fulsome. The exception is:

Sarkar, Sir Jadunath *Shivaji and his Times* (London: Longmans, 1919, 1929³)
There is a valuable bibliography. Takakhav says rather peevishly that 'his sympathies are anywhere except with Shivaji and his gallant companions', p. vi.

All writers on the Marāthās show, without always emphasising it, the decay of the Mughul power, and the beginning of a new age for India.

The Coming of the Europeans

No book can compare in thoroughness and depth of insight with:

Furber, H. *Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient* (Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1976)

The Dutch in India

Most of the literature is naturally in Dutch, and inaccessible to those who do not know that language.

Terpstra, H. *De Nederlanders in Voor-Indië* (Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen and Zoon N.V., 1947)

This is a brief and highly competent survey of the Dutch settlements in India only, with useful sketch maps; it includes also valuable notes on Dutch contributions to science and religion.

Of older books especially valuable is:

Pelsaert, Francis *Remonstratie* (1626; new ed. The Hague, 1979); English translation by W.H. Moreland and P. Geyl, *Jahangir's India: The Remonstratie of Fr Pelsaert* (Cambridge, 1925)

This is mainly commercial but gives vivid glimpses of social conditions in India of the seventeenth century.

The following books in English are valuable:

Alexander, P.C. *The Dutch in Malabar* (The Annamalai University, 1946)

This is a doctorate thesis, containing some valuable material, and continuing the story up to the end of Dutch power in India.

Boxer, C.R. *The Dutch Sea-borne Empire 1660-1800* (1965; Reprinted London: Hutchinsons, 1977)

Select Bibliographies

This contains a great deal of valuable information, but comparatively little of this relates to continental India.

Panikkar, K.M. *A History of Kerala 1498-1801* (Annamalainagar: The Annamalai University, 1960); Section II, pp. 185-323 (a reprint of his work *Malabar and the Dutch*)

This work is well written, but is based on rather limited study of the available materials.

Poonen, T.I. *A Survey of the Rise of the Dutch Power in Malabar (1603-78)* (University of Travancore, 1948)

This is full and detailed, well based on original research; but naturally deals only with the Dutch in Malabar; as does Panikkar.

Raychaudhuri, T. *Jan Company in Coromandel 1605-1690 A Study in the Interrelations of European Commerce and Traditional Economics* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1962)

The book has an excellent reproduction of a seventeenth century map and is the best account known to me of Dutch commercial policies in South India. Raychaudhuri shows that by 1690 the great days of Dutch enterprise in South India were over; but as late as 1683/4 and 1684/5 immense profits were made.

The English in India

On the English in India the only problem is the mass of information available.

As a general introduction, it would be hard to improve upon:

Foster, Sir William chap. 4, 'The East India Company', in *CHI*, vol. v (1929), pp. 76-115

English Beginnings

For the earliest period not much more is needed than two books by Sir William Foster.

1. Foster, W. *Early Travels in India 1583-1619* (Oxford, 1921)

This gives accounts of Ralph Fitch, John Mildenhall, William Hawkins, William Finch, Nicholas Withington, Thomas Coryat and Edward Terry. The editing is excellent. It may be supplemented by:

Locke, J.C. *The first Englishmen in India: Letters and Narratives of Sundry Elizabethans written by themselves* (London: Routledge, 1930)

2. Foster, Sir W. *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India 1615-19, as narrated in his journal and correspondence* (Oxford, 1926)

The full introduction (pp. xiii-lxxix) gives all the information necessary about the Indian background to the work of Roe. The extensive notes are of the greatest value.

Chapter 11

Birdwood, Sir G. and Foster, W. (eds) *The First Letter Book of the East India Company 1600–19* (London, 1893)

The reader is taken back into the atmosphere of the earliest days of the Company and its concerns in India. See p. 53 for strict instructions as to 'the dayly invocaçon & religious wo^p: & service of God' (letter of 3 March 1603/4). On pp. 478–9 is a delightful letter from the Great Mogul to King James I.

East India Company

Histories of the East India Company are many. Mention should be made of:

Chaudhuri, K.N. *The English East India Company: The Study of an Early Joint Stock Company: 1600–1640* (London: Cass, 1965)

Perhaps the best is:

Wilbur, M.K. *The East India Company and the British Empire in the Far East* (New York, 1945, 1970²)

Woodruff, P. *The Men who ruled India*, vol. 1, 'The Founders' (London: Cape, 1953)

Woodruff pleasantly brings to life a number of the great figures of the early years.

English Trade

Chaudhuri, K.N. *The Trading World of Asia and the East India Company 1660–1760* (Cambridge, 1978)

Chaudhuri goes beyond the limits of this volume, but is comprehensive, and full of valuable information. On every subject, other than religion, he has interesting things to say.

The best general account of the development of British trade in the East is still: Krishna, B. *Commercial Relations between India and England 1601 to 1757* (London: Routledge, 1924)

Includes studies also of the French, Dutch and Portuguese activities; with a fascinating list of all the ships employed in the Company's service.

See also:

Steensgard, N. *Carracks, Caravans and Companies: the Structural Crisis in the European Asia trade in the early 17th Century* (Odense, Denmark, 1973)

The capture of Ormuz by an Anglo-Persian force in 1622 entirely changed the balance of power and trade. A splendid book. But see also a critical review of the work, by M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofs in *Mare Luso-Indicum*, 4 (1980), pp. 1–43.

Biographies

One of the best approaches is through biographies of those who played a leading part in the development of events. Among these may be mentioned:

Select Bibliographies

- Charnock, J. in *DNB*, vol. IV (1908), pp. 129–32
Child, John in *DNB*, vol. IV, pp. 243–4
Child, Josiah in *DNB*, vol. IV, pp. 244–5
Oxenden, G. in *DNB*, vol. XV (1909), pp. 9–10
Temple, Sir R. *Diaries of Streynsham Master* (2 vols, London: John Murray, 1911)
Wright, A. *Annesley of Surat and his times* (London: Andrew Melrose, Ltd, 1918)
Early English Adventurers in the East (London: Andrew Melrose, Ltd, 1917)
Yule, H. (ed.) *Diary of William Hedges, '1681–87'* (3 vols, London: Hakluyt Soc., 1877–89)

The French in India

- Sen, S.P. *The French in India; First Establishment and Struggle* (Univ. of Calcutta, 1947)

Dr Sen supplies a good general survey. His second volume, *The French in India* (Calcutta: Mukhopadhyay, 1958), deals with the later period, and has to a large extent rendered obsolete the massive work:

- Malleson, G.B. *History of The French in India from the Founding of Pondichery in 1674 to the Capture of that place in 1761* (London: W.H. Allen, 1893)

This history was meritorious in its day. Only the first chapter is relevant to this book.

An older and larger work, which still retains its value is:

- Kaepelin, P. *Les origines de l'Inde française; la Compagnie des Indes Orientale et François Martin . . . 1664–1719* (Paris: A. Challamel, 1908)

For the early period our best source of first-hand information is:

- Martineau, A. (ed.) *Mémoires de François Martin, Fondateur de Pondichéry, '1665–1696'*; introduction by H. Froidevaux (3 vols, Paris: Ed. Coloniales, 1931, 1932, 1934)

This provides an extremely detailed account of all that happened in French India in thirty years, by one who was at the very heart of affairs. It contains good indices, and rather full analysis of the contents of each chapter, which make reference easy. There is a valuable biographical note by H. Froidevaux.

The other main source of information on the early French attempts to settle in India is now available in English in the excellent edition with a valuable introduction: Fawcett, Sir Charles and Lady *The Travels of the Abbé Carré in India and the Near East 1672–1674* (2 vols, London: The Hakluyt Society, 1947)

The calligraphy of the Abbé leaves nothing to be desired, and he is a vivid narrator of what he had seen and experienced: 'he surpasses Clarendon in imagination and sense of humour' (p. xxxi). His full name was Bartholomew Carré de Chartres, and he seems to have been born about 1639/40 (p. xxvi).

Of the Travellers of the period, five deserve special mention, three of the five being Frenchmen.

Bernier, F. *Travels in the Mogol Empire*, ed. A. Constable and V.A. Smith (Oxford, 1934²)

Bernier is the best of all. He was in India 1656–68, and saw at first hand and recorded a great many important events.

Laboullaye le Gouz, F. *Voyages et observations . . . où sont décrites les religions, gouvernements, etc. de . . . Perse, Arabie, Grand Mogul, Bijapour, Indes Orientales . . . et autres lieux . . . où il a séjourné* (Paris, 1653, 1657²)

This book quickly became so popular that it has to be reckoned among the main stimuli for French adventure in Asia in the seventeenth century.

Manucci, N. *Storia do Mogor*, ed. W. Irvine (4 vols, London: John Murray, 1907–8)

Manucci, a Venetian, left Europe in 1653, at the age of fourteen and died in Madras c. 1717. He was, therefore, a witness of many of the events which he describes.

Tavernier, J.B. *Travels in India*, Eng. trans. ed. W. Crooke (2 vols, London, 1925²)

Tavernier was in the East, not only in India, at intervals between 1639 and 1669.

Sen, Surendranath (ed.) *Indian Travels of Thévenot and Careri* (New Delhi, 1949)
Jean de Thévenot (1633–67) arrived in India on 10 January 1666. He travelled through many parts of India and even as far as Kabul. His travels, published in French in three volumes between 1664 and 1684 were translated into English by D. Lovell and published in London in 1687. Part II only is reproduced by Sen.

Giovanni Francesco Careri was eighteen years younger than Thévenot (b. 1651). He left Europe in 1664, and finally returned in 1695. His memoirs immediately became immensely popular:

Giro del Mondo (6 vols, Naples, 1699–1700); Eng. trans. Awnsham and Churchill, *A Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1704, only Part III)

The translation, 'Containing the most remarkable things that he saw in Indostan', is utilised by Sen. Careri made a number of contacts with Christianity in India but records little that is of value for the purpose of this book.

For a general survey of the experience of the French in India see:

Glachant, R. *Histoire de l'Inde des Français* (Paris: Plon, 1965)

It is brilliantly written, interesting, and very well illustrated, but allusive rather than informative.

Select Bibliographies

Denmark

There is little to report of the Danes in the period up to 1685. The history of their Company is:

Larsen, K. *De danske-ostindiske Koloniers Historie* (2 vols, Copenhagen, 1907, 1908)

See Appendix 24 on the Diary of the Icclander Jón Ólafsson.

CHAPTER 12 THE MISSION OF MATHURAI

No one has yet done for Robert Nobili what Fr Schurhammer and Fr Wicki have done for Francis Xavier, by publishing a complete, reliable and annotated edition of all his letters.

Bertrand SJ, J. *La Mission de Maduré d'après les documents inédits* (4 vols, Paris, 1847-54)

Bertrand used a considerable number of them, having had access to the *Lettres Édifiantes et Curieuses* (Paris, ed. of 1780-3), and to other documents. But it is known, from his own admissions, that Bertrand was a less than scrupulous editor. His work must be the starting-point for any serious study of the mission, but it is time that it was replaced by something better and more critical.

Apart from the letters used by Bertrand, the following collections should be noted:
Dahmen SJ, P. 'Trois lettres spirituelles inédites de Robert de Nobili', *RHM*, 16 (1938), pp. 180-5

'La correspondance de Robert de Nobili', *RHM*, 12 (1935), pp. 579-607

Wicki SJ, J. 'Sei lettere inedite del P. Roberto Nobili SJ', *AHSI*, 37 (1968), pp. 129-44

'Lettere familiari del P. Roberto Nobili SJ, 1619-1649', *AHSI*, 38 (1969), pp. 313-25

Next after Bertrand follows as an authority:

Dahmen SJ, P. *Robert de Nobili, l'Apôtre des Brahmes, Première apologie, 1610 (Responsio)*, Bibl. Miss., 3 (Paris, 1931)

Robert de Nobili SJ: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Missionsmethode und der Indologie (Münster i. Westf., 1924)

Un Jésuite Brahme: Robert de Nobili, Museum Lessianum Sectio Missionaria, 1 (Bruges, 1924)

The most recent life of Nobili known to me is:

Bachmann, P.R. *Robert Nobili 1577-1656: Ein missionsgeschichtlicher Beitrag zum christlichen Dialog mit Hinduismus*, Inst. Hist. S.I. (Rome, 1972)

This work is particularly rich in footnotes and references. Its weakness lies in the fact that Fr Bachmann seems not to be familiar with any Indian language, and his knowledge of Hinduism is hardly adequate to his task.

Cronin, Vincent *A Pearl to India: the Life of Robert de Nobili* (London: Hart Davis, 1959)

The work of a journalist and not of a theologian, it is brightly written, though uncritical.

Ferrolì SJ, D. *The Jesuits in Malabar*, vol. 1 (Bangalore, 1939), pp. 339–54; vol. 11 (Bangalore, 1951), pp. 378–487

Ferrolì writes of the Madura Mission, carrying the story forward into the eighteenth century, and to the story of the Malabar rites.

Heras SJ, H. *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagar* (Madras, 1927)

This is to be consulted on certain points.

So we come to the noble contribution of:

Rajamanickam SJ, Fr S.; the English works of this indefatigable scholar, which have to be recorded here, are the following:

The First Oriental Scholar (Tirunelveli, 1972)

Robert de Nobili on Adaptation [the statement prepared by Nobili for use at the Goa Consultation of 1619] (Palayamkottai, 1971)

Robert de Nobili on Indian Customs (*The Informatio de quibusdam moribus nationis indicæ*) (Palayamkottai, 1972)

The Tamil works rescued and printed by Fr Rajamanickam SJ are considered in Appendix 27.

Rocaries SJ, A. *Roberto de Nobili SJ ou le sannyasi chrétien* (Toulouse, 1967)

This is a pleasantly written book, with some useful selections, in French translation, from the writings of Nobili.

Justice has now been done to Nobili's predecessor in Mathurai, Fr Gonçalo Fernandez SJ, in:

Wicki SJ, J. *Die Schrift des P. Gonçalo Fernandez über die Brahmanen und Dharmasastra 1616* (Aschendorf, 1957)

There is a valuable review of this work by JDMD in *BSOAS*, 21 (1958), pp. 213–14.

For an understanding of the political background to the mission a contribution has been made by

Aiyar, R. Satyanatha and Aiyangar, S. Krishnaswami *History of the Nāyaks of Madura* (Oxford, 1924)

There are many references to the Jesuit missionaries and their records in this work.

The first serious attempt to write the history of the country and the period was made by:

Select Bibliographies

Nelson, J.H. *The Madura Country* (Madras, 1868)

Nelson, who was in the Madras Civil Service, made a massive collection of information on every kind of topic, including the history of Christianity in the area.

The centre of interest in this period is John de Britto. All serious study must start from the work of his brother:

de Britto, F. Pereira *História do nascimento vida e martyrio do Beato J. de Britto da Companhia de Jesus, Martyr da Asia, e Protomartyr da Missião do Maduré* (1772; Lisbon, 1852²); Eng. trans. from ed. of 1852 by Antonia Maria Teixeira, bishop of Mylapore (Tanjore, 1932)

Prat, J.M. *Histoire du bienheureux J. de Britto, composée sur des documents authentiques* (Paris, 1853)

This is a careful piece of work, and subsequent study has added little to what Fr Prat had discovered.

CHAPTER 13 THE THOMAS CHRISTIANS AGAIN

For the Thomas Christians again, as before, the best general survey is:

Brown, L.W. *The Indian Christians of St Thomas*, chaps. 4 and 5 (Cambridge, 1956)

But as Bishop Brown ruefully and truthfully records, 'We have nothing from the Indian side to illuminate our knowledge of the period.'

The contemporary, or near contemporary, works are the following:

Joseph of St Mary *Prima Spedizione all'Indie Orientali del Padre Giuseppe di S. Maria CD, . . . delegato apostolico ne regni de' Malavari, ordinata da Nostro Signore Alessandro Settimo* (Rome, 1666)

Seconda spedizione all'Indie Orientali di Monsignor Sebastiani, Fr Giuseppe di S. Maria CD, prima vescovo di Hierapoli, oggi di Bisignano e barone di S. Sofia, ordinata da Alessandro VII di gloriosa memoria (Rome, 1672)

These works, naturally, are written strictly from the Carmelite point of view.

Paulinus of S. Bartholomew *India Orientalis Christiana continens foundationes ecclesiarum, seriem episcoporum, missiones, schismata, persecutiones, reges, viros illustres* (Rome, 1794)

Paulinus was in Travancore from 1776 to 1789 as vicar general, and had access to a great many documents. His encyclopaedic work is invaluable; but he is not an impartial writer, and his work has to be used with a good deal of caution.

Philippus a SS Trinitate OCD *Itinerarium Orientale* (Lyon, 1649)

Vincent Mary of S. Catherine of Siena *Il Viaggio all'Indie Orientali* (Venice, 1678)

For an informative account of Paulinus, see:

Fernandez OCD, Dr D. 'Father Paulinus a Sancto Bartolomeo OCD', *ICHR*, 12, 2 (Dec., 1978), pp. 109-20

Fernandez refers to the earlier work:

Wetzel, L. *Der oesterreichische Karmelit Paulinus a S. Bartolomeo: Persönlichkeit und Werk* (Vienna, 1936)

Not much of value is to be derived from:

de Croze, M.V. *Histoire du christianisme des Indes* (2 vols, The Hague, 1758²)
or

Raulin, J.F. *Historia Ecclesiae Malabaricae* (Rome, 1745)

The latter is of greater value for the earlier period.

Among modern works the most comprehensive is:

Ferrolì SJ, D. *The Jesuits in Malabar* (2 vols, Bangalore, 1939, 1951)

Unfortunately vol. II has become a very rare book. Some libraries contain it in microfilm. As noted before, the weakness of Ferrolì is that he very rarely gives adequate references for the documents that he quotes, which are not elsewhere accessible. Fr Thekedatu remarks tartly that 'he was a professor of physical science, and seems to have taken up the writing of history only as a hobby' (*Troubled Days*, p. 4 n. 8; see below).

A great deal of light has been thrown on the period under review in:

Thekedatu SDB, J. *The Troubled Days of Francis Garcia SJ, Archbishop of Cranganore (1641-59)* (Rome: Univ. Gregoriana, 1972)

This is based on extensive research in a number of archives. Fr Thekedatu refers in the bibliography to a number of as yet unpublished dissertations.

Bufalini OCD, P. Faustino "L'Opera Pacificatrice" di Mons. Giuseppe Sebastiani Vescovo Missionario OCD, nello scisma dei Christiani di S. Tommaso, Malabar (1653-1663)' (Rome, 1959)

An unpublished dissertation based almost entirely on the documents of the Carmelite Order, this work is known to me only through the references made by Fr Thekedatu.

Mention should perhaps be made of the excellent survey provided by a layman: Mackenzie, G.T. 'Christianity in Travancore', *Travancore State Manual* (Trivandrum, 1906), vol. II, pp. 135-223

Werth SM, K.P. *Das Schisma der Thomaschristen unter Erzbischof Franciscus Garzia: dargestellt nach den Akten des Archivs der Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* (Limburg, 1937)

This is well written, and contains much information of value; but being based only on the archives of the Propaganda it tends to be one-sided. And Fr Werth did not know the country, nor the people, of whom he is writing.

Wicki SJ, J. (ed.) *O Homem das trinta e duas Perfeições e outras Histórias* (Lisbon, 1958)

This book contains in the two Appendices documents which relate to the theme of this chapter.

Select Bibliographies

CHAPTER 14 OTHER ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS

No fully satisfactory account of Roman Catholic missions in the seventeenth century exists. Information has to be collected from many sources.

Müllbauer, M. *Geschichte der katholischen Missionen in Ost-Indien*

Müllbauer is as before indispensable; but the account he gives is brief; and many of the sources now available were not known to him.

Propaganda

The historian now has at his disposal an immense new source of information in: SCPF, *Memoria Rerum: 350 Anni a Servizio delle Missioni* (Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, Rome); vol. I. i, ed. J. Metzler (Herder, Rome, Freiburg i. Br., Vienna, 1971)

This deals mainly with the period 1622–1700, i.e. with the foundation of Propaganda and its early years under Francis Ingoli.

The Essays naturally deal with affairs mainly from the point of view of Rome, but are a valuable corrective to accounts of the same affairs as seen from India.

Vicars Apostolic

Two full-length studies of Matthew de Castro, the first vicar apostolic have been produced:

Cavallera *imc*, C. (bishop of Nyeri) 'Matteo de Castro Mabalo' (Rome, 1936)

This is only mimeographed; I have not been able to see it.

Ghesquière OSB, T. *Matthieu de Castro, premier vicaire apostolique aux Indes; une création de la Propagande à ses débuts* (Louvain, 1937)

This is specially valuable for its many quotations from the writings of Castro himself.

For the later vicars apostolic in India, reference may be made to:

Jann, A. *Die katholischen Missionen* (as in chap. 6)

For a judgement from a strictly Portuguese point of view, see:

Silva, S. *History of Christianity in Canara*, vol. I (1957); vol. II (Karwar, 1961)

This work includes important documents on Thomas de Castro from the Vatican archives.

Jesuits

For the story of the Jesuits, the chief authority is naturally the series of Jesuit letters.

For a careful and sober judgement on the historical value of these, see:

Correia-Afonso SJ, J. *Jesuit Letters and Indian History* (Bombay, 1955)

Chapter 14

For good measure this writer gives us, in appendix D, pp. 176–86, a ‘Tentative List of the Principal Editions of the Jesuit Letters from India, 1542–1773’, an admirable survey of Jesuit publications throughout the period indicated.

The first letters to be published appear to be those of 1581.

Two major series belong to the seventeenth century:

1. *Annuae litterae Societatis Jesu ad Patres et Fratres eiusdem Societatis* (1606–82).

These have not been published in full, but see details in J. Correia-Afonso SJ, *Jesuit Letters and Indian History* (Oxford, 1969).

The letters for 1581 to 1614 were published in thirty volumes; and then, after a long interval, those for 1650 to 1654. It is clear that much valuable information has disappeared, probably for ever. These did not deal only with Indian affairs.

The best known series:

2. *Lettres Édifiantes et Curieuses, écrites des Missions Etrangères par quelques Missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jésus* (34 vols, Paris, 1702–76)

This series deals almost entirely with a period later than that recorded in this volume. No final estimate of the historical value of these letters has yet been reached.

Benedict de Goes

Maclagan, E.D. in *Jesuits* etc. pp. 335–42

This brief study (see pp. 341–3) contains some interesting information.

For the English reader the best starting-point is the account given in:

Payne, C.H. *Jahangir and the Jesuits* (London: Routledge, 1930), pp. 119–84

Payne’s account is mainly based on the *Relaçam* of Ferdinand Guerreiro, parts II (1605), IV (1609) and V (1611), to which full references are given.

Tacchi-Venturi, Fr P. was the fortunate discoverer of a number of manuscripts of Fr Matthew Ricci SJ. These were published under the title:

Opere Storiche del P. Matteo Ricci (2 vols, Macerata, 1911)

The reconstruction of the journey of Goes is in vol. I, pp. 526–58.

Wessels SJ, Fr J. *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia 1603–1721* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1924)

Wessels is accurate and reliable.

The Mission to Mogor

For the later history of the mission to Mogor, the best general survey is

Maclagan, E.D. *Jesuits*, chapters 5, 6, 7, 13, 14, 16, 17

Select Bibliographies

For the work of Jerome Xavier, as before:

Camps OFM, A. *Jerome Xavier and the Muslims of the Mogul Empire* (Schönebeck-Beckenried, 1957)

This is authoritative. The catalogue of the surviving letters of Xavier, given on pp. 50–60, is of special value.

Hernández SJ, Angel Santos *Jeronimo Javier SJ*

This biography enters into considerable detail, and is a most commendable work, limited by the fact that Fr Santos is not familiar with any Indian language.

‘Eulogy of Fr Jerome Xavier SJ, Missionary in Mogor’, in *Chrono-Historia de la Compañia de Jesús en la Provincia de Toledo* (Madrid, 1710)

This interesting eulogy has been printed by Fr H. Hosten SJ in *JASB* NS 23 (1927), pp. 109–30.

Of the Mission to Tibet, an interesting account is given in:

Maclagan, E.D. *Jesuits*, pp. 335–68

This is largely based on:

Wessels SJ, J. *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia 1603–1723*

Il Nuovo Ramusio (Rome: Librarie dello Stato, 1952ff)

This will in course of time publish all accounts of European contacts with Tibet; a notable edition, beautifully produced.

Important is:

Toscano, G.M. *Alla scoperta del Tibet. Relazioni dei Missionari del sec. XVII* (Bologna: ed. Miss. Ital., 1977), a much improved edition of *La Prima missione cattolica nel Tibet* (1951)

But the writer seems not to have seen the documents preserved in the ARSI.

The story of the Mission to the Fisher Coast is continued, as before, in:

Besse SJ, L. *La Mission de Maduré* (Tiruchirāpalli, 1914)

For the work of the Theatines, the classic work is:

Ferro, B. *Istoria delle Missioni de' Chierici Regolari Teatini, con la descrizione de Regni, Provincie, Città, Fede, Riti, e Costumi della Genti, ove andarono, e passarono le Missionari, con li viaggi pericolosi, fatiche fattevi, e frutto raccoltovi per la Cattolica Religione* (2 vols, Rome, 1704)

This work, of which there is a copy in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, was used by Müllbauer. It deals mainly with Georgia and India.

Spinola, Antonio Ardizzone *Cordel Triplicado de amor . . . lançado em tres livros de sermones . . . pregou-os na India na See Primacial de Goa, e em Lisboa na Capella Real* (Lisbon, 1680)

Chapter 14

Spinola was a notable Theatine champion of the development of the indigenous ministry.

The Franciscans

The story of the Franciscans in the earlier period has been brilliantly lighted up, as is indicated in the text, by the discovery in the Vatican Library in 1924 of a work long believed to have been lost:

da Trindade, Paulo *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, ed. Fr Fernando Felix Lopes (3 vols, Lisbon, 1962–7)

Paulo, like so many historians of missions, was a little too much inclined to delight in the marvellous. But it is impossible to exaggerate the value of his work, based on years of research in the very areas with which he deals.

The later period can be followed in the many volumes of A. Meersman, especially: Meersman OFM, A. *The Ancient Franciscan Provinces in India (1500–1835)* (Bangalore, 1971)

and an earlier work:

The Friars Minor or Franciscans in India (Karachi, 1943)

All Fr Meersman's works are generously supplied with bibliographies.

Note also the study:

Lopes OFM, F.F. 'Franciscans in Portuguese India', *Studia*, 9 (Lisbon, 1962), pp. 29–142

For the Capuchins, the standard work is:

da Cesinale, R. *Storia delle Missioni dei Cappuccini* (3 vols, Paris, Rome, 1867, 1872, 1873)

This deals with the history up to 1700.

A shorter account, with an excellent bibliography, is:

de Terzorio, C. *Manuale Historicum Missionum Ordinis Minorum Capuccinorum* (Isola del Liri, 1926)

And in Italian:

de Terzorio, C. *Le Missioni dei Minori Cappuccini: Sunto Storico* (Rome, 1913ff)

A Capuchin who from time to time crosses our path is Père Norbert (1697–1769), whose real name was Peter Parisot.

Norbert, Père *Mémoires historiques présentées en 1744 a Benôit XIV sur les missions des pères Jesuites aux Indes Orientales*

This is a bitterly anti-Jesuit work, the reliability of which would not be admitted by any Jesuit. There is an interesting article on him in:

Dict. de Théol. Catholique, 11, cols. 2040–3, s.v. Parisot, by E. Ammann.

More briefly in:

Select Bibliographies

Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche and *Enciclopedia Cattolica* s.v.

Augustinians

A considerable amount of information about the Augustinians is now available, but it has to be sought for the most part in periodicals.

Noteworthy are the following studies.

de Gaça OSA, Simon 'Breve relazione dei conventi e missione delli Religiosi de Sant' Agostino dell' Indie orientali' (1682)

The report is printed in full in:

Anal. Aug., 4 and 5 (1911-13)

Much space is given to the affairs of Bengal and Arakan.

Hartmann OSA, A. 'The Augustinians in Golden Goa; according to a manuscript by Felix of Jesus OSA', *Anal. Aug.*, 30 (1967), pp. 5-147

'The Augustinian Mission of Bengal 1579-1834', *Anal. Aug.*, 41 (1978), pp. 159-213

This is an authoritative study.

Lopez OSA, T.A. 'Expansión de la Orden de San. Ag. por la India', *Missionalia Hispanica*, 28 (Madrid, 1971), pp. 265-322, and 29 (1972), pp. 5-59.

'La Orden de San Agustín en la India (1572-1622)', *Studia* (Lisbon, July 1974), pp. 563-707; (December 1974), pp. 145-236

This is an elaborate study, but contains a good deal that is already available in printed sources.

CHAPTER 15 NON-ROMAN CATHOLIC CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA

A new book on early Anglican Christianity in India is much needed:

Chatterton, E. *History of the Church of England in India since the Early Days of the East India Company* (London: SPCK, 1924)

This is based on a good deal of research; but it is annoying in its lack of exact references, and disregard for some of the principles of scholarly historical writing.

Gibbs, M.E. *The Anglican Church in India 1600-1970* (Delhi: ISPCK, 1972)

This is disappointingly thin on the early period, and the arrangement of the bibliography is rather confusing.

Much can be learned by working through the indices of the many volumes of:

Danvers, F.C. *Letters Received by the East India Company*, vols I-VI (1896ff)

Fawcett, Sir Charles *Court Minutes of the East India Company*, vols I-XI (1907ff)

The English Factories in India, NS, vols I-IV (1936ff)

Foster, W. *The English Factories in India*, vols I-XIII (1906ff)

Chapter 15

Of books written in the seventeenth century, three stand out above all others as giving a clear picture of what Anglicans were and tried to be in that remote time and place.

Foster, Sir W. (ed.) *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India 1615-19 as narrated in his journal and correspondence* (Oxford, 1926)

The editing is unexceptionable. Roe stands out as a great man and a great Christian.

Ovington, J. *A Voyage to Suratt in the year 1689, giving a large Account of that City, and its Inhabitants, and of the English Factory there*, ed. H.G. Rawlinson (Oxford, 1929)

In this edition the introduction and bibliography are most helpful. The illustrations are few but well chosen.

Terry, E. *A Voyage to East India* (London, 1755; reprinted 1777)

Terry's prolixity tends to conceal from the modern reader his real merits as an observer. His shorter account is printed by:

Foster, W. (ed.) *Early Travels in India 1583-1619* (Oxford, 1921), pp. 291-332

Of later works three stand out as deserving of special commendation:

Anderson, P. *The English in Western India: being the Early History of the Factory at Surat, of Bombay, and the subordinate Factories on the Western Coast from the Earliest Period until the Commencement of the Eighteenth Century* (Bombay: Smith Taylor and Co., 1856)

Anderson is well-informed, prudent and judicious; he gives a fair measure of space to matters of religion.

Hyde, H.B. *Parochial Annals of Bengal: being a History of the Bengal Ecclesiastical Establishment of the Honourable East India Company in the 17th and 18th Centuries, Compiled from Original Sources* (Calcutta, 1901)

'The local records of the Company were almost entirely destroyed in the sack of Calcutta by the Nawab's army in 1756' (p. v). In consequence the story is much fuller for the later than for the earlier period.

Penny, F. *The Church in Madras, being a history of the Ecclesiastical and Missionary Action of the East India Company in the Presidency of Madras in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (London: Smith Elder, 1904)

Penny seems to have tracked down every existing source, and we owe to him knowledge of many persons and events which without his work would have remained unknown. But he has limited his purview to 'ecclesiastical events as they affected or were affected by the East India Company and its local government at Fort St George' (p. vii). Pp. 1-139 deal with the period covered in this volume. A complete list of chaplains and missionaries is on pp. 661ff.

Additional material is to be found in:

Select Bibliographies

Ashley-Brown, W. *On the Bombay Coast and Deccan: the Origin and History of the Bombay Diocese: a Record of 300 years' work for Christ in Western India* (London, 1937)

and

Hill, E.E. *History of the Chaplains' Department in Western India*, Ch. Historical Pamphlets No. 7 (London: SPCK, 1920)

The only biography of an English chaplain in India in the early days known to me is: Neill, E.D. *Memoir . . . of Patrick Copland* (New York, 1871)

There is a copy of this work in the British Library.

For the work of the Dutch Reformed Church in India and Indonesia, the two classic works are:

Van Boetzelaer Van Dubbeldam, Baron C.W.T. *De Protestansche Kerk in Nederlandsch Indië* (The Hague, 1947)

De Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland en de Zending in Oost-Indië in de Dagen der Oost-Indische Compagnie (Utrecht, 1906)

See Appendix 29 for:

Rogierius, Abraham *Open Door to the hidden heathen Religion (De open-deure tot het verborgen Heydendom)* (Leyden, 1651); new ed. by Prof. W. Caland (The Hague, 1915)

See further Appendix 31 for:

Baldaeus, Philip *Naauwkeurige beschrijvinge van Malabar en Choromandel . . . Afgoderye der Oostindische Heydenen* (Amsterdam, 1672); Eng. trans. *A True and Exact Description of the most celebrated East Indian Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel; and also of the Isle of Ceylon. Also a most circumstantial and complete account of the idolatry of the Pagans in the East Indies*, in Churchill's *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. II (London, 1752), pp. 509-793. New ed. of the *Afgoderye* by A.J. de Jong.

For John Casearius and his contribution to the *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus*, see Appendix 30.

An older work is:

van Troostenburg de Bruyn, C.A.L. *De Hervormde Kerk in Nederl. Oost-Indië onder de O.I. Compagnie*

This deals mainly with Indonesia.

Through the kindness of Professor J. van den Berg of the University of Leiden, I have been able to see a rare book:

van Troostenburg de Bruyn, C.A.L. *Biographisch Woordenboek van Oost-Indische Predikanten* (Nijmegen: Milborn, 1893)

This contains brief biographies of all ministers, more than a thousand, sent to the Dutch possessions in Asia in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Few among these served in continental India, and still fewer during the period covered by this book.

There are innumerable references in the sources to members of various Eastern churches, usually grouped together as Armenians. I do not know of any complete study of this continuous presence of Christianity in India. The only way to track down the references is to use the indexes to the standard works of history, secular and Christian.

Seth, Mesrobp J. *Armenians in India* (Calcutta: The Author, 1937)

This is a meritorious collection of sources and evidences, though somewhat uncritical in detail.

Macfarlane, Iris *The Black Hole, or the Makings of a Legend* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1975)

The author has collected a number of references to Armenians in India, all unfavourable.

Abramyan, R.A. *Armenianskie Istochniki XVIII Veka ob Indii* [*Eighteenth Century Armenian Sources on India*] (Erevan, 1968)

For this interesting Russian work see Appendix 32.

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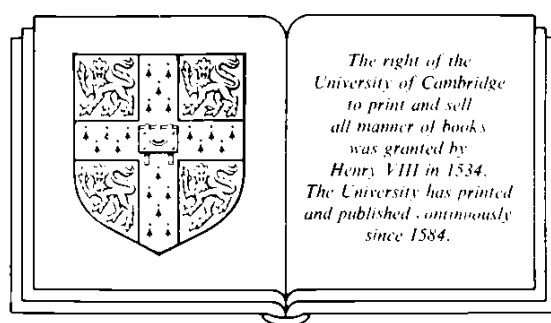
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 Zarathustra, 376; *see also* Zoroastrians
 Zeno(n), Fr, Capuchin, 362, 501 n. 111
 Zoroastrians, Zoroastrianism, 23–4, 47, 201, 429 n. 68, 433 n. 52; Akbar and, 169; European discovery of, 376
 Zū'lqarnain, Mirzā, Armenian grandee at Akbar's court, 343–4, 385–6

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1707–1858

STEPHEN NEILL F.B.A.



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Preface

When, many years ago, my attention was first drawn to the history of Christianity in India, my primary concern was with the south, and with those areas with which I was familiar and in which I had myself worked as a missionary. But I soon came to realise that the story of Christianity in India must be regarded as a unity, including every area from Kerala in the south, the home of the ancient church of the Thomas Christians, as far as Kashmir and the homes of the mountain and forest peoples of the far north-east. With more extensive study, the perspective further enlarged itself, and Christianity in India was seen as a not unimportant part of the gigantic drama of the confrontation between Western and Asian cultures, which had been played out in other ways in China and Japan and other Asian countries. All Western cultures have been deeply influenced by Christian ideas, and these have resulted in convictions – about God and man, about human destiny and human freedom – different from those by which the Asian cultures have been determined. In India the confrontation was particularly intense, because of the length of the period during which East and West were engaged with one another, and because of the fact that so many of the actors on the British scene were themselves devout and fervent Christian believers.

This wider perspective has determined the shape which this volume has taken. It has been necessary to include all forms of Christianity in India – European, Middle Eastern and Indian; to give considerable space to the Indian cultural background and to the growth of European power and influence; to the Indian reaction to what appeared as Christian aggression, and to the growth of Indian churches increasingly independent of their Western origins.

The Indian Church History Association has promised us a six-volume History of Christianity in India, of which Volume II, covering the period 1542–1700, has already appeared. It seems likely that this work, if it is ever completed, will meet our need for a comprehensive survey of Christian missions in India, a subject with which I have not attempted to deal in detail. The two works may prove to be complementary to one another.

It remains for me to thank again the many libraries which I have used, the

friends and correspondents in India and elsewhere who have read and criticised some of my chapters, the staff of the Cambridge University Press, and Mrs Pauline McCandlish who has heroically typed out the drafts and revisions which have finally taken form in the present volume.

S. N.

Oxford

1984

Editorial Note

Bishop Stephen Neill's *A History of Christianity in India: The Beginnings to 1707* was published by Cambridge University Press in February 1984. He had substantially completed the present volume at the time of his death. The Press wishes to record its thanks to the Reverend Dr Alistair McGrath of Wycliffe Hall, Oxford for the inestimable help he has given in finalising the typescript.

Abbreviations

<i>AHSI</i>	<i>Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu</i>
BFBS	British Foreign Bible Society
BMS	Baptist Missionary Society
<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
CCA	Calcutta Christian Advocate
CCO	Calcutta Christian Observer
CHI	Cambridge History of India
CMI	Church Missionary Intelligencer
<i>CM Record</i>	<i>Church Missionary Record</i>
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CSI	Church of South India
DBN	Dictionary of National Biography
EMM	Evangelische Missionsmagazin
ERE	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics
ICHR	Indian Church History Review
<i>i.p.i.</i>	<i>in partibus infidelium</i>
ISPCK	Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JASB</i>	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i>
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland</i>
LMS	London Missionary Society
<i>Mem. Rer.</i>	<i>Memoria Rerum</i> (Wicki)
<i>Miss. Reg.</i>	<i>Missionary Register</i>
<i>New C.Mod.H.</i>	<i>New Cambridge Modern History</i>
NCE	New Catholic Encyclopedia
NR	Nuovo Ramusio (Peteck)
NZM	Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
OFM	Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans)
OFM Cap	Order of Friars Minor (Capuchins)
OMI	Oblates of Mary Immaculate

OSB	Order of St Benedict
<i>Parl. Papers</i>	<i>Parliamentary Papers</i>
<i>RE</i>	<i>Real-Encyclopädie</i>
SJ	Society of Jesus
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies
SPCK	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
SPG	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts
<i>ZM</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft</i>
<i>ZMR</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft</i>

I · India and Political Change

1706–86

I THE INDIAN REVOLUTIONS

When Aurungzīb died, he was still ruling with despotic, though not everywhere accepted, authority over a vast empire, with a surface of something like a million square miles and a population of perhaps 170 million subjects. Only the emperor of China could be in any way compared in authority with him. The Mughul empire was not as strong as it appeared, but it was still immensely strong. It was true that Aurungzīb had designated no unquestioned heir; but this had happened in the past and it could be supposed that, among the contending princes, one would show himself indubitably superior to the others and would take possession of the vacant throne. (Actually this did not happen, and there was no obviously suitable candidate for the succession.) There seemed no convincing reason to doubt that the Mughul dominion would have a long and successful future before it.

The Europeans by contrast were a quite insignificant factor in the situation. Only the Portuguese, in some small regions, had made themselves actually possessors of Indian land and of sovereignty where they had settled. The others – French, British, Danes, Dutch – were dependent on the favour of Indian potentates, obtained from them the use of certain lands and duly paid the rent whose payment was the condition of their survival. The idea of European dominion on a large scale was entertained only by a small number of visionaries.

Nothing turned out as had been expected.

In 1807 the Mughul dominion was no more than the shadow of a shade, the Mughul emperor a pensioner depending on British bounty and on British help for such authority as it was still within his power to exercise. The British had made themselves masters of the greater part of the country, with only one great enemy, the Sikh power, still to overcome. They were well on the way to the accomplishment of their greatest achievement – that unity of the entire sub-continent which had eluded the ambitions of Mauryas and Mughuls alike.

There is very little in history that can be accurately foreseen, and much that turns out otherwise than has been foreseen. As the Mughul powers

declined, India fell back increasingly into the situation that had frequently existed in the past: of a number of rival powers, none strong enough to establish itself over more than a limited area. At the middle of the eighteenth century there were five main blocs of power in India. One of these might have emerged as the supreme power, but, as often before, rivalry and ambition made this impossible; divided India fell a victim to the one power which was strong enough to tackle each of the others in turn, and by military excellence or by superior diplomacy to reduce them to the status of dependants. The British had arrived.

It could well have happened that the European powers, having fallen into the trap of fighting out their European quarrels on Indian soil, might each have so reduced the power of the others that no one of them would have been a serious contender for the supreme power. In point of fact, it seemed for a good many years that, if one European power was to emerge greatly superior in power to the others, this power was more likely to be France than Britain. As history moved forward, it was a combination of better support from home, greater competence in the training of Indian troops for battle, superior military skill and a large slice of luck that in the end gave the prize to the British and not to the French.

Few had foreseen this possibility. The Europeans had come to trade; the majority of them would have been quite content with favourable conditions for trade, and with the measure of tranquillity without which trade becomes impossible. The Indians then, as often since, had greatly underestimated both the power that lay behind the insignificant British presence in India and the persistence of the British in pressing forward to the fulfilment of their aims. With hindsight it is possible to see a certain inevitability in British progress in India; it was not clear at the time. When things were happening, few realised their significance; when the result was achieved, it came to almost everyone as a surprise.

There are many interesting, indeed exciting, events in the history of India in the eighteenth century. But perhaps, seen in the context of wider history, those events which certainly changed the entire character and situation of India may be seen as having a significance in the whole history of the human race. This was the first example of a direct confrontation over a long period of two civilisations of wholly different origins and developments, and therefore may be seen as having a special significance in the age-long and toilful effort of the human race towards the production of one world.

For three thousand years, 4000–1000 BC, civilisation, as distinct from culture, was more or less concentrated in the area of the great rivers Nile, Euphrates and Tigris. Then followed the great outward explosion of civilisation and of the human race. With the great westward migration of the Aryans emerged the civilisations of Greece and Rome, which eventually took

shape in the Eastern and Western empires, the former of which lasted for a thousand years. The basis and the inspiration of these empires was Christian. At much the same time an eastward migration laid the foundation of Chinese culture and the Chinese empire, with its extended influence in Japan and Korea. The teachings of Confucius were the extraordinarily perdurable cement which held together over many centuries a stable Confucian society. Some of the Aryans moved south-eastwards, and by AD 1000 had coalesced, with a number of other races, in what we know as Indian civilisation. Here the penetrating influence was Hinduism in one of its many and varied forms. Hinduism had given up its extension towards south-east Asia; the inner extension went on, as more and more of the simple people of remote and mountainous regions were brought within the capacious embrace of the Hindu system.

Through all these centuries of development, Europe knew very little of China, and China knew nothing of Europe. There was much commerce between India and China but little exchange of culture. Europe had always known something of India, but dimly, and India's knowledge of Europe was scanty and largely fantastic. Humanity seemed to be divided not so much between rival systems and civilisations as between diverging patterns of civilisation, which were almost unaware of one another. The Muslim civilisation of the Middle East, the last of the world civilisations to develop, served to enhance division, rather than to promote communication and mutual understanding.

When the ships of Vasco da Gama anchored off the shores of India in 1498, an epoch ended; the barrier between the nations was breached. It is important not to underestimate the service rendered to mutual understanding by the Portuguese and other Europeans in the period between 1498 and the end of the eighteenth century. The science of Indology had been well and truly founded. Europeans had begun to be intensely interested in India, as is shown by the rapid sale of books dealing with Indian subjects in a number of languages. The first steps had been taken in the interpretation of Indian religions and philosophies to Western minds. Some Indians, a minority, had become interested in the West; the more percipient among them had realised the advantages accruing from acquaintance with a European language. Exchange of knowledge in the area of religion had been begun, though it cannot be said to have made notable progress. But, with the British conquest of India, some Europeans had made a beginning with a serious study of the religions of India. Some Indians had become aware of the Christian faith, though not as yet in any sense as a threat to their inherited systems of religious faith.

So three systems were now to be confronted with one another, each with a religious foundation whose penetrating power could not be denied. The

Muslim dominion was established on the unshakeable principle of the superiority of the Muslim to all others. Even the adherent of one of the religions of 'the book' could not hope for any kind of equality; the best he could aspire to was acceptance as one of the tolerated subordinate peoples. The unchanging factor in all the manifold forms of Hinduism was the basic principle of caste – that some human beings by their birth are inferior to others and cannot ever be anything else. The Christian tradition, though often violated in practice, rests on the firm conviction of the equality of all men in the sight of God. Confrontation of these different systems was inevitable; it was more than likely that confrontation would at times lead to violent conflict.

When Britain took over the direction of the destinies of India, the English people had been passing through an interesting series of political and social emergencies. George III had tried to put into execution the advice given to him by his mother – 'George, be a king' – only to find himself up against a force which even he could not master. England had reached the point of being convinced that in all English affairs Parliament is supreme; the day of unchallenged and unconditioned sovereignty was at an end. In India, Muslim and Hindu alike had lived for centuries under absolute and personal rule. This was no longer to be the case. England had fought and lost a war on the issue of 'no taxation without representation'. How the Indian peoples were to be constitutionally represented was a question that had had to be left for the future; but the wisest of British administrators were from the start aware that it must sooner or later be faced. English law had been built up slowly on the principle of the equality of all men before the law; it could not admit any difference, and could not accept the view that the killing of a Brahman was in some sense more heinous than the killing of a peasant. Wise men such as Warren Hastings laid it down firmly that, as far as possible, Indians must be governed in accordance with their own traditions and under the laws which they themselves had developed and accepted. But there were limits to this principle. There was a higher law to which all human laws must be regarded as subject. The Methodist revival had swept over England, and had brought it about that the cynical principle of Walpole that every man has his price would no longer be taken as acceptable; the integrity of the Indian civil service came to be universally accepted as exemplary. All these things were coming about in the second half of the eighteenth century; they could not be without effect on the British impact on India, and in course of time on the Indian understanding of the nature of government and society. Even if no Christian missionary had ever set foot in India, some influence of the Christian element in the British way of doing things would have made itself felt in India.

It happened that many of the leading figures in the British administration

in India were themselves convinced and committed Christians. (This is a point which has in many cases been overlooked by secular historians, both British and Indian.) Only in rare cases had these men been affected by the new evangelical enthusiasm; they represented for the most part the sober, unemotional, ethically determined form of English society of which Dr Samuel Johnson was the perfect representative. For the most part they were strict in not permitting their Christian convictions to impinge directly on their manner of carrying out their official duties, and had a scrupulous regard for the religious susceptibilities of those with whom they had to deal. But they were aware throughout of the existence of a higher power, and that man in authority is accountable to an authority higher even than that provided by a king in Parliament.

In the eighteenth century the Christian missionary approach to India was strengthened by the participation for the first time of Protestants, in the first instance Germans, in the Christian approach to India. Before the end of the century, Germans had been joined by English missionaries, and a little later by Americans. The Roman Catholic missions naturally continued in existence. The Christian missions were still on such a small scale, and limited to such small areas of the country, as not yet to be felt by Indians as any threat to their established ways of doing things. This was something that would change with time. But already at the end of the eighteenth century Christianity in India had become part of world Christianity, and Indian Christians had become so much a part of the life of India that the destiny of the Christian churches in India had become inseparable from the destiny of India as a whole.

This implication of India in Christendom, and of the faith of Christendom in India, is the subject of this book.

2 DIVIDED INDIA

Mughul power had had its origins in the vigour and military skill of the hardy peoples of Central Asia, modified by elements of Persian culture and, after they had come to settle in India, by traditional Persian skills in diplomacy and administration. But marriage of Mughul leaders, generation after generation, with Indian princesses had reduced the Central Asian element in their descendants to little more than a memory, and may have accounted for a diminution in the inherited vigour of the race.

It was the misfortune of the Mughuls that the family, having in two centuries produced one really great ruler, one marked out by far more than ordinary ability, and two who could take rank with any other rulers of their time, by the beginning of the eighteenth century failed in the primary duty of a royal house – that of producing heirs capable of worthily carrying on the

succession.¹ Two Mughul rulers in that century managed to maintain themselves for considerable periods on the throne. But the first, Muhammad Shāh (1719–45), rarely succeeded in rousing himself to take that grip on affairs that the situation demanded. The long reign of the second, Shāh ʿĀlam II (1759–1806), was a series of tragedies. In 1788 he was blinded by a brutal Rohilla chief, Ghulām Qādir. At last in 1803 he was formally taken under the protection of the real rulers of the country, the English.

The historian is inclined to read back into eighteenth-century India ideas of loyalty which, though at home in some Western countries, had no lodgement at that time in the Indian mind. Loyalty may be to a family, to a common religion, to the memory of great events, or to a shared ideal of freedom or of political sophistication. None of these factors was effective in Mughul India. The term 'empire' implies a cohesion that was never really there; though the break-up of dominion began to become evident only after the death of Aurungzīb, the divisive forces had been operative long before that time.

There was no clear rule of hereditary succession. 'The king is dead; long live the king' makes possible the smooth transference of fealty from a dead sovereign to the one who is immediately recognised as his successor. If, as all too often happened, a number of rivals laid claim to the throne and were engaged in internecine conflict, loyalty to one could not be other than treachery to another.

Mughul rule was essentially foreign rule. A Muslim dynasty claimed to rule over a population which was mainly Hindu or Sikh. The policies of Aurungzīb had exacerbated the differences, but they had been there all the time; even the consummate skill of Akbar had not availed to eliminate the tension which existed between the one religious community and the other.

The attitude of the common people, the tillers of the soil on whom the prosperity of empires ultimately depends, was one not so much of loyalty as of submission, grateful if the ruler provided a satisfactory measure of order and security, resentful if his exactions passed beyond the limits of what was felt to be reasonable and lawful. Akbar had wisely laid it down that the tribute to be paid by the cultivator to the state as revenue must never exceed one third of the gross produce of the land. It seems that by the time of Aurungzīb that had been increased to at least a half. Moreover the ryot was not brought into direct contact with the highest authority, but was increasingly made subject to the rapacity of revenue farmers or other officials of minor but troublesome authority.

Part of the trouble was that the empire was just too large. Slowness and difficulty of communication made it almost impossible to maintain control by the centre over the more distant areas. Even Akbar had had to spend much time fighting for the maintenance of his authority. As the centre weakened,

there was inevitably a tendency for the governors of provinces to regard themselves as independent rulers, as sovereigns in their own right, even when they maintained a show of deference to the now shadowy imperial authority.

The Indian ideal of sovereignty had been closely linked to that of the *cakravartin*, the lord of the world, which once or twice had almost been realised on the Indian scene, and reappeared at intervals in the thoughts of men. Each of those who aimed at throwing off Mughul authority wanted to be not just a ruler, one among many, but to be *the* ruler, the one to whom all others would be subject. Thus each thought only in terms of his own interests. Treaties and agreements might be made, coalitions formed; but these could be broken as readily as they had been made. Hence the endless kaleidoscope of units forming, dividing and reforming by which the history of India in the eighteenth century is marked. It is not the case that that history is a story of little men without the greatness that had marked earlier years. There were men of considerable ability, more than one of whom might under more favourable circumstances have risen to imperial power. But one neutralised another. There was no idea of a division of territory and rule, and of friendly co-existence. Each momentary ally is also an enemy to be destroyed when the time has come. Though none may be strong enough to prevail over all the others and to reach the imperial summit, each is strong enough to prevent the others from attaining the desired goal. Thus none was able to exercise the fullness of his powers or to carry into effect the achievements of which he might otherwise have been capable. All the time there was waiting in the wings that shrewd, at times unscrupulous, and endlessly patient power that in the end was to step in and take over the supreme authority and to accomplish what other rulers had in vain tried to bring about – the unity of the whole sub-continent from the Khyber Pass to Cape Comorin.

If the Mughul dominion was destined to come to an end, it seemed for a good many years that the Marāthās were the claimants most likely to establish their claim to succession. Śivājī (d. 1680) had left his people with a great domain. It seemed that this might grow and spread until it embraced the greater part, if not the whole, of India. For a variety of reasons this never came about.

In the first place, the Marāthās never created a closely integrated dominion; their organisation resembled, rather, a somewhat loose pentarchy. The most dynamic centre, where a powerful *peshwā* ruled under the aegis of a fainéant king, was Poona. But in more or less close alliance with him were the *gaikwār* in Baroda, *holkar* in Indore, *scindia* in Gwālior, and *bhonsle* in Nāgpur. Each of these rulers had his own ambitions and personal concerns. Marāthās could unite against an enemy, but could again be quickly divided by jealousies and rivalries among themselves.

For all that, the Marāthās could on occasion turn out powerful armies. The aim was not so much to conquer and to administer as to raid and then return, taking away everything that could be moved, whether produce or money or (as not infrequently) women. The misery caused to the victim populations was intense. There was little security for life or property, and, when the exactions of the Marāthās had been met, only the stoical and invincible patience of the Indian peasant enabled him to survive.

During the eighteenth century the Marāthā character underwent considerable change. As with the Mughuls, the acquisition of power led to a softness and a life of luxury which contrast strangely with the austerity of the days of Śivājī, when under his leadership the sturdy race of hillmen stormed the fortresses of the Mughuls. The nobles began to adopt the ways of the older ruling powers, to build themselves lofty palaces and to fill them with objects of art such as they were not as yet able themselves to produce. Such a manner of living was not conducive to success in the hazardous military adventures which alone could open the way to universal dominion.

Śivājī left no successor equal to himself. But in the earlier years of the eighteenth century one Marāthā leader showed a capacity which, if he had lived, might have enabled him to transform the loose federation into a real empire. Historians have bestowed almost unstinted praise on the fighting Peshwā Bājī Rāo (c. 1700–40), both for his character and for his abilities. He was equally outstanding as soldier and as statesman; brave in the field and generous in victory; of commanding appearance and unequalled among his people as an orator. But Bājī Rāo died at about the age of forty-two, and there was no one to take his place.

For years the Marāthās had carried on a running war with the Mughuls, almost always to the disadvantage of the older power. In 1738 an even greater danger threatened the Mughul throne from a very different quarter. Two years earlier a Kurasāni adventurer, Nādīr Qulī, had dethroned the last of the Safavī line of Persian rulers and made himself master of Persia with the title Nādīr Shāh. Like many other rulers from Central Asia and Afghanistan, Nādīr Shāh had begun to cast his eyes on the fertile fields and the treasures of India. On 27 December 1738 he crossed the Indus. On 12 March 1739 he reached Delhi and camped in the Shālīmar gardens. There had been no siege and no victory; but in the tumult which naturally followed this foreign occupation a number of Persians had been engaged and killed by the inhabitants. Enraged beyond reason, Nādīr Shāh gave up the city to flames and its people to the sword. The slaughter lasted throughout a whole day; the number of those who perished has been very variously recorded, the highest estimate being 150,000, the lowest 8,000; the former is too high, the latter considerably too low.² On the following day Nādīr Shāh gave orders that the slaying and pillage were to cease; his orders were obeyed, but by this time a considerable part of the city had been destroyed.

It was no part of the intentions of Nādir Shāh to set up a Persian dominion in India. Like so many of his predecessors he came to demonstrate military prowess and to enrich himself and his people. After a stay of little more than two months in Delhi, contemptuously leaving the ineffective Muhammad Shāh in his position as emperor, and carrying with him an enormous booty including the famous peacock throne of Shāh Jahān, he withdrew to his own country. The Persian invasion was not immediately fatal; but this demonstration of the feebleness of the Mughul regime was not lost on the many vultures standing round the injured body, concerned only to enrich themselves, and, if possible, to secure their own independence of the centre.

The story of the disintegration of the Mughul empire was not yet at an end. The hold of the Mughuls on the Deccan had always been precarious; by the middle of the eighteenth century it had ceased to exist except in name. The man who, almost single-handed, brought about this change, is commonly known by his title Nizām-ul-Mulk (1671–1748), though his personal name was Chīn Qilīch Khān.³ This alien from Bokhara held numerous appointments in the civil service of the emperor, and at one time was the most powerful man in the empire. In 1713 he had been appointed governor of the six *subāhs* of the Deccan with the title Nizām-ul-Mulk Bahādur Fath Jang. After a number of vicissitudes the *nizām* was recalled to Delhi by Muhammad Shāh and appointed *vazīr*. An able and on the whole generous and upright ruler, the *nizām* desired to reorganise the entire government of the empire and to restore its prosperity by taking control out of the hands of a sycophantic and incompetent court. Before long he realised that the task was too great even for one of his unusual abilities; in December 1723 he turned his back on Delhi and returned to the Deccan.

From this time on Nizām-ul-Mulk was in all but name an independent sovereign. He remitted no revenue to Delhi. He made his own appointments and promotions. Though he was wise enough not to claim the title of king and did not issue coinage in his own name, in all other respects he assumed the attributes of sovereignty and ruled in Hyderabad as absolute monarch. His strong administration and sensible principles of finance relieved the peasantry of many of the unjust privations that they had endured; the fertile lands began to enjoy prosperity such as they had not known for a long time. In December 1732 the *nizām* reached an agreement with the Marāthās, under which by directing the attention of the *peshwā* to the possibility of the extension of Marāthā power in northern India, he found his hands left free to consolidate his own power in the south.

For a quarter of a century Nizām-ul-Mulk had been the most outstanding personality in the Mughul empire; he might even have become emperor, if the tradition is true that in 1739 Nādir Shāh wished to set aside the feeble Muhammad Shāh in his favour. He was renowned both as soldier and as

diplomat; he was revered by the good and hated by the knaves. When he died, on 1 June 1748, worn out by years and labours, he had established essential independence for the extensive realm that he governed; and, although his successors were very far from being his equals, he had established a hereditary dynasty which was to outlast that of the Mughuls by almost a century.⁴

Bengal, with its teeming population and its endless watercourses, was another area over which the Mughuls had found it difficult to maintain effective control. In this area, as in the south, the dangerous principle had been adopted of intercalating between the emperor and the governors of the various provinces a viceroy to whom each governor would be immediately subordinate. This merely complicated the administration and did not increase efficiency. Bengal, Bihar and Orissa had been formed into a viceroyalty. From 1726 to 1739 these provinces had been well and wisely governed by Shujā^c-ud-dīn.⁵ On his death, the governor of Bihar, ^cAlī Vardī Khān, obtained from the emperor a commission to succeed as viceroy, and on 12 May 1740 established himself at Murshidābād, the capital of Bengal, as viceroy of the three provinces, in nominal submission to the emperor at Delhi but in practice as independent ruler of a vast and populous region. In 1751 he was compelled to cede Orissa to the Marāthās; but two great provinces still remained under his rule. He died in 1756, leaving his realm to his grandson Sirāj-ud-daula, whose direct confrontation with the English was to lead him to irretrievable disaster.

One final calamity remains to be recorded. On the north-west frontier of India the Afghans were always restless, a menacing cloud which could never be completely dispersed. After the death of Nādir Shāh in 1747, one of his officers, Ahmad Shāh, an Afghan of the Abdālī tribe, gradually made himself master of the whole of Afghanistan and assumed the title of king. Before long the mind of the new ruler, like that of so many of his predecessors, was set on foreign conquests. In 1756 he reached India, plundered Delhi and then withdrew, leaving his son Tīmūr Shāh as viceroy of Lahore. The Marāthās reacted vigorously. Their power was still great, and they were united as hardly ever before or since. Tīmūr Shāh was driven out and Lahore reoccupied. It seemed that for the moment at least the progress of the dragon was arrested.

Fate ruled otherwise. In August 1759 Ahmad Shāh Abdālī once again crossed the Indus. The Marāthās reacted vigorously to what they rightly regarded as a threat to the whole of India. The *peshwā* sent out invitations to rulers far and wide to join in the campaign. A highly experienced soldier, Sadāshiv Bhāu, was appointed as commander-in-chief.

The two armies met on the field of Pānīpat, where two decisive battles had already been fought in earlier days. The final engagement took place on 14 January 1761. The Marāthās fought with desperate courage, and for a time the issue of the battle seemed to be in doubt. But, weakened as they were by hunger and by the long hours of conflict, they were unable to stand before the superior tactics of Abdālī. In the course of the afternoon a large force of reserves was thrown into the fray; the line of the Marāthās was broken, and from that moment on massacre was indiscriminate. It is reckoned that 75,000 of the defenders, soldiers and camp-followers, perished. The army had ceased to exist, and Abdālī was master of all that he surveyed.⁶

The third battle of Pānīpat decided once and for all the question whether there should be a Marāthā empire in India. With their characteristic resilience the Marāthās succeeded in reorganising themselves; but with their diminished power it was unlikely that they would ever again put forward a successful claim to succession to the Mughul dominion. The withdrawal of the Marāthās within their own borders probably saved the *nizām* from extinction, and also made possible the career of the adventurer who later made himself ruler of Mysore. The most important consequence of all was not immediately evident. The defeat of the Marāthās at Pānīpat meant that there was no Indian power available to withstand the British as they set to work to establish unshakeable dominion in Bengal.⁷

3 THE FRENCH INITIATIVE

When India was strong, Europeans were weak. India's weakness gave the European settlements the chance to dig themselves more deeply into the soil of India and to make advances such as would have been unthinkable in the great days of Mughul power.

Portugal in India had been gravely weakened by the Marāthā occupation of Bassein in 1737. The other European powers managed not merely to maintain themselves but to strengthen their positions and to enlarge their commerce. In spite of all the troubles and turmoils, the first half of the eighteenth century was for the East India Company a time of great prosperity. The French share in the commerce of Asia increased even more rapidly, though still falling short of the British achievement. But it does not seem to have occurred to any of these powers that they might be called to play a leading part in determining the destinies of India.

It would be hard to determine exactly the point in time at which it began to dawn on their minds that they might transform themselves from bagmen into potentates. Tradition, to which both French and English writers have contributed, has associated it primarily, and probably rightly, with the mind and outlook of Joseph Francis, Marquis Dupleix (1697–1763), who became

governor of Pondichéri in 1745. It was the mind of this far-seeing statesman that detected the weakness of the Mughul empire, foresaw its inevitable collapse, and realised that a European power with courage and the knack of taking fortune at the tide might fill the vacancy by stepping into possession of the imperial dignity. The two steps to be taken in this direction were the training of Indian sepoy to fight under the command of European officers, and the setting of the Indian rulers at one another's throats. Robert Orme (1728–1801), the first notable English historian of these events, wrote of Dupleix:

When we consider that he formed this plan of conquest and dominion at a time when all other Europeans entertained the highest opinion of the strength of the Mogul government, suffering tamely the insolence of its meanest officers, rather than venture to make resistance against a power which they chimerically imagined to be capable of overwhelming them in an instant, we cannot refrain from acknowledging and admiring the sagacity of his genius, which first discovered and despised this illusion.⁸

The first twenty years of Dupleix in India gave hardly any indication of potential future greatness. Ten years were spent in Pondichéri, where sobriety and diligence combined to give him a deep understanding of the mysteries of European trade in India. Then for ten years Dupleix was governor of the French settlement at Chandernagore in Bengal. The steady development of French trade in Bengal gave good evidence of his abilities in the field of commercial enterprise. Only after returning to Pondichéri as governor in 1742 did he display those other gifts which have earned him a place in the history of the world.

This leap from the abilities of the counting-house to the mastery of political and military strategy may be accounted for in part by the marriage of Dupleix and by the influence of his wife. Thirty-five years old at the time of her second marriage, this remarkable woman had never seen France, having been born in Pondichéri and having Indian as well as French blood flowing through her veins. 'The Begum Dupleix' could speak Tamil fluently, and an upbringing in a thoroughly Indian atmosphere had given her an understanding of the Indian mentality and of the intricacies of Indian politics such as her husband was never able to acquire.

Dupleix learnt his first lesson in 1746, when a force of 10,000 picked cavalry sent against him by Anwar-ud-dīn, the *nawāb* of the Carnatic, was easily defeated by a force of 250 French soldiers and 700 sepoy trained by French officers. His second came with his decision to support Chāndā Sāhīb, who had emerged from seven years as a prisoner of the Marāthās to put forward a claim to the office of *nawāb* of the Carnatic against Anwar-ud-dīn, and later against his son Muhammad 'Alī. This led inevitably to confron-

tation with the English, who were supporting Muhammad [°]Alī, and this in turn to the downfall of Dupleix and his recall to France.

A new field of intrigue opened up to Dupleix in Hyderabad, equally open to the infiltration of European influences. There he acted through a colleague, Charles-Joseph Patissier, Marquis de Bussy-Castelnau. Bussy was the ideal instrument for the purposes of Dupleix. He had no high opinion of the character of the Indians with whom he had to deal, but his manner was courteous and suave; he knew how to adapt himself to Indian ways and expectations, and so in a great many matters of importance to get his own way. With only a small force at his disposal, he was able to maintain himself for many years in the Deccan; and where Bussy was no other power could hope to insinuate its influence into the area under his control.¹⁰

These French agents, or adventurers, at the courts of Indian princes were a notable feature of Indian life in the eighteenth century. Long after the power of France in India had really been broken, they continued to exist, perhaps because they had nowhere else to go, perhaps hoping against hope that some unpredictable turn of fortune would restore to France that pre-eminence which in their opinion she should never have lost.¹¹

4 THE ENGLISH TAKE A HAND

There was no particular reason to suppose that an obscure and discontented writer in the service of the Company in Madras, Robert Clive (1725–74), would be destined to win outstanding renown as a commander of troops in the field. It was little more than chance that gave him his first opportunities of military experience. He had had no education at all in military science to prepare him for this opportunity. But Major Stringer Lawrence, under whom Clive had fought, wrote of him in 1761:

A man of undaunted resolution, of a cool temper, and a presence of mind, which never left him in the greatest danger. Born a soldier, for without a military education of any sort, or much conversing with any of the profession, from his judgement and good sense, he led an army like an experienced officer, and a brave soldier, with a prudence that certainly warranted success.¹²

Clive's first opportunity of independent command did not come till 1751. Chāndā Sāhīb, the pretender supported by the French, sent a large army to Tiruchirāpalli, in which he had managed to shut up his rival Muhammad [°]Alī. It was decided to make a raid on Arcot to distract attention from Tiruchirāpalli, and Clive was offered the command. The capture of the city was easy. On 31 August 1751 Clive with his small force of 200 Europeans and 600 sepoys entered Arcot almost without opposition. What secured his fame was not the capture but the siege that followed, during which Clive and his

troops for fifty days defended a perimeter a mile long against greatly superior forces, and repulsed every assault. When in his little army there were only 240 men still capable of standing to arms, a fierce assault was made by the enemy, and repulsed only with the greatest difficulty. In the nick of time word reached the besiegers of an attack planned by the Marāthā chief Morari Rāo; on 15 November they silently vanished, and Arcot was saved.¹³

Clive followed up this success with an even more notable victory in the open field. Dupleix had sent out a considerable force to effect the capture of Madras. In March 1752 Clive, with considerably weaker forces and hindered in mobility by an almost total lack of cavalry, put to flight the French contingent and their Indian allies. This put an end to the war, and also put an end to the hopes and plans of Dupleix, who in 1754 was recalled to Paris and had no further career in public service.

It can be argued that Dupleix did not receive from France the help he expected and deserved, and that the French soldiers sent to serve under him were of the poorest possible quality. On the other hand, it may be held that, more fertile in forming grandiose plans than gifted in putting them into effect, Dupleix was largely responsible for his own failure. Like many others, he underestimated the sheer persistence of the British, their capacity for repairing losses and entering again into the field. He never understood the importance of sea-power. The Indian troops trained by French officers proved in the field to be less efficient than those often enlisted by the British. Above all, the French failed to produce any commanders worthy to be ranked with Stringer Lawrence, the creator of the British army in India, or with Clive, the inspired amateur. At the mid-point of the career of Dupleix the fortunes of France were at their highest peak; by the time of his recall, they had already begun the long, slow decline into insignificance. Though the French continued their intrigues and efforts well into the nineteenth century, there was never any serious possibility of their being able to supplant the British.

Clive did not fight his battles with the intent of conquering provinces and ruling over them. The English were in India to trade; the French were their rivals. South India was not large enough to accommodate two such rivals; one or the other must be driven out. Clive was resolved that it would not be the English who were driven out – it was as simple as that.¹⁴ At the age of twenty-seven he had accomplished all his immediate objectives and could return to England covered with glory.

The triumph of the English in the south, still the main scene of their activities in India, had been complete. But, before many years had passed, their attention was to be drawn by changed circumstances to Bengal.

It was a misfortune for both India and Bihar that the young successor of ʿAlī Vardī Khān as governor (*subāhdār*) of Bengal and Bihar, Sirāj-ud-daula,

soon showed himself wholly unfitted for the burden that had been laid upon him. There was in him a more than ordinarily savage streak of cruelty. His licentiousness passed far beyond the wide limits laid down by Indian tradition for ruling princes. The Bengal Select Committee did not go beyond the truth when it wrote that

the Nabob is so universally hated by all sorts and degrees of men; the affection of the army is so much alienated from him by his ill-usage of the officers; and a revolution so generally wished for, that it is probable that the step will be attempted (and successfully too) whether we give our assistance or not.¹⁵

The *nawāb* had good grounds for objecting to a number of actions taken by the English in Bengal. Instead of following the ordinary paths of diplomatic and commercial pressures, he decided to destroy them. Initial successes went to his head, and he came to believe that the total destruction of his European enemies was within his power. The incompetence and pusillanimity of the English leadership could not but encourage him. On 20 July 1756 Fort William was captured with scandalous ease. The capture was followed by the tragedy of the Black Hole, in which a number of English prisoners died of heat-stroke and suffocation.¹⁶

Fortunately for the English, there was more resolution in Madras than in Calcutta. An expedition was quickly fitted out. Clive arrived in Bengal before the end of the year 1756, and on 2 January 1757 Calcutta was recovered. On 24 March Chandernagore was captured by the English and the French were paralysed. On 22/3 June Clive reached Plassey, with an army of 800 Europeans and 2,200 sepoys and *topasses* (people of mixed descent), and found himself within reach of the *nawāb*, whose troops exceeded his own in number by considerably more than ten to one. Should he attack, or should he wait? Wisely he decided to attack.

When the battle was joined, it proved to be little more than a skirmish, decided by fighting which lasted no more than a few hours. As soon as the English began to advance, panic spread in the ranks of the *nawāb*'s army; the French artillerymen withdrew into safety, and Clive's army had nothing to do but to chase a flying foe. The casualties on the English side were minimal.¹⁷ Plassey may have been only a skirmish; it was nevertheless one of the decisive battles of the world. It made it plain that the English were the dominant power in Bengal as they were in the south. This was confirmed a few years later when at the battle of Baksar (1764) Major Hector Munro defeated, in a far fiercer fight than Plassey, the combined forces of Mīr Qasīm, the new *nawāb* of Bengal,¹⁸ Shujā^c-ud-daula, *nawāb* of Oudh, and Shāh 'Ālam, the feeble and helpless emperor. An immense area of the Gangetic plain lay in submission; there was no power left to resist the English. What were they to do with their success? It seems even at that date

not to have been obvious to them that they must take on the responsibility of rule. The idea of a nominally Christian nation ruling over millions of Hindus and Muslims seemed wholly incongruous. Yet, without realising it, they were already launched on the road that led to supreme power.

The first beginnings of English supremacy in Bengal were as unpropitious as could be. English servants of the Company found themselves in a position of power without responsibility; if it is true that power corrupts, it is even more certain that, of those who find themselves in a situation of power with no responsibilities attached, very few resist the temptations to unscrupulous cupidity to which they are exposed. Those in that privileged position used to the full the 'English privilege' granted in 1717 in a *firmān* of the Emperor Farruksiyar, of trading everywhere in Bengal without the exaction of any duties beyond a single payment of Rs. 3,000 a year.¹⁹ This was the one and only period in the connection of Britain with India during which it was possible for an Englishman to become exceedingly rich in a short period of time.²⁰ Even though such ready-made plutocrats never attained to anything like the wealth of the great Indian families of merchants and bankers such as the Seths, the drain on India was great, and oppression reached heights previously unknown. The period was short (it did not last more than at most fifteen years); but during that short time the harm done to the name of the English in India was almost irreparable. On 24 May 1769 the eminent civilian Richard Becher, at that time resident at Murshidābād, wrote sadly:

It must give pain to an Englishman to have Reason to think that since the accession of the Company to the Dewannee²¹ the condition of the people of this Country has been worse than it was before; and yet I am afraid the Fact is undoubted . . . This fine Country which flourished under the most despotic and arbitrary Government, is verging towards its Ruin, while the English have really so great a share in the Administration.²²

The Hindu had little reason to rejoice at having exchanged a Muslim for a Christian master.

It was the misfortune of the English that Robert Clive left India in February 1760, intending to enter Parliament at Westminster. It was their good fortune that Clive returned to Bengal in 1765, and showed himself no less eminent as a statesman than he had been as a soldier. In less than two years he had eliminated the worst of the evils, and by four major decisions had laid solid foundations for English rule in India on the basis of honesty and integrity.

Clive's first decision was that there should be no more conquests in India:

If ideas of conquest were to be the rule of our conduct, I foresaw that we should, by necessity, be led from acquisition to acquisition, until we had the whole empire up in arms against us; and whilst we lay under the great disadvantage of fighting without a

single ally (for who could wish us well?) the natives, left without European allies, would find in their own resources, means of carrying on the war against us in a much more soldierly manner than they ever thought of when their reliance on European allies encouraged their natural indolence.²³

Clive's second decision was that strict limits must be set to the opportunities for immediate and rapid enrichment which had been open to the Englishman in the days of chaos. One of the chief sources of sudden wealth was presents from the local rulers and magnates. This was to be stopped. Here Clive was only carrying out what had been decided in London – that all employees of the Company must sign a contract, undertaking not to receive 'from the Indian princes . . . any present whatever, exceeding the value of four thousand rupees, without the consent of the Court of Directors'.²⁴ When word of this was received, those most deeply affected could hardly believe that it was seriously intended to cut off one of their main sources of revenue; they soon found that Clive was in deadly earnest, and they must sign or be suspended from the service.

Clive was one of the first to realise that, if the servants of the Company were to be forbidden to pillage the people among whom they lived, proper remuneration must be provided for them. Up to this time the emoluments of the servants of the Company had been ridiculously small in relation to the responsibilities they had to bear and the expenses they were bound to incur. The official allowances received by Clive as governor of Bengal amounted to no more than £841 a year. His first plan for remedying this situation was rejected by the directors in London; but the principle gradually came to be accepted. From that time on, the pay of the Company's servants was always adequate; but it was a far smaller reward than could be expected by those engaged in trade and commerce.

Finally, for good or ill, Clive rearranged the relationship between the English and the local government, and acquired for the Company something like official status. On 16 August 1765 the shadowy Shāh 'Ālam conferred on the East India Company the *diwanni* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa as a free gift in perpetuity, together with exemption from the payment of customs. This meant, technically, that the Company and its servants were now incorporated into the Mughul system of administration. Practically, it meant that Clive and his subordinates were in full control of the affairs of Bengal, as far as securing the interests of the Company went, without being involved in the complex and dangerous task of general dominion.

5 BRITAIN SUPREME

On the coruscations of flame succeeded a period of more sober illumination. Clive had been brilliant. Warren Hastings (1733–1818) had many great

qualities, but these were less flamboyant than those of Clive and less likely to catch the eye of a casual beholder.

When Hastings was appointed in 1772 as ruler of British India, he was thirty-nine years old. He had already had long experience in India, both in Madras and in Calcutta, and was marked by a sympathy for the Indian peoples unusual in the Europeans of his time. Unfailing generosity, a resolute will and tireless industry fitted him well for the task of bringing a measure of order out of the chaos and corruption which still persisted after the withdrawal of Clive. His first two years as governor were a time of intense and productive activity. Even when he left India twelve years later much still remained to be done. But the best testimony to the success of his work is perhaps the pathetic complaint registered by the young John Shore, at the time of writing not yet twenty-one years old, but later to become a devoted admirer of Hastings and the most pious governor-general to have served India before the arrival of Lord Irwin in 1926:

The Court of Directors are actuated in such a spirit of reform and retrenchment, and so well seconded by Mr Hastings, that it seems that the rescission of all our remaining emoluments will alone suffice it. The Company's service is in fact rendered not very desirable.²⁵

There is no need to record here the endless intrigues, both in India and in Leadenhall Street, which robbed Hastings of his almost youthful cheerfulness, turned him into a weary and disillusioned ruler, and in the end could find no better reward for his services than the dragging years of impeachment and impoverishment. But attention must be drawn to two convictions and principles that colour all his actions in his years of power. First, Hastings had a passion for justice: justice must be done and be seen to be done, without fear or favour, and without distinction between Indian and European.²⁶ The European must not be allowed to believe that he has a right to insult and to oppress the Indian. In the second place, accepting the necessity for British control, he believed firmly that India must be governed in the main by Indians, along the lines of their own understanding and in accordance with the great Indian traditions of the past. In sending to the directors in London the first results of his attempts to codify the principles of Indian law, he affirmed that the way 'to rule this people with ease and moderation' was to leave them in the possession of what 'time and religion had rendered familiar to their understandings and sacred to their affections'. These things were not to be displaced by the 'superior wisdom' which some planned to introduce from Europe.²⁷ Hastings could comment as harshly as any of his contemporaries on the duplicity and tortuousness by which he was surrounded in Bengal; he never lost the capacity to look beyond them, and to

apply to those over whom he was called to exercise dominion the term 'a great People'.

Out of purely practical concerns grew the measures which entitle Hastings to be regarded as one of the founders of scientific Indology. Himself a considerable scholar in Persian, he delighted in the society of learned men, and encouraged them in their pursuits. But business was more important than pleasure. A number of Brāhmans learned in the law was commissioned to gather together all that was significant in the Hindu law of inheritance, family duties and so forth. When the material had been collected, it was found that there was no one who could translate it from Sanskrit into English. A Persian version was made, and from this Nathaniel Halhed, one of Hastings' protégés, translated it into English. The book was published in 1776, with the title *A Code of Gentoo Laws*.²⁸

The mental barrier which had kept Englishmen from the study of Sanskrit was first broken through by Charles Wilkins, whom Hastings had sent to Benares to sit at the feet of the Hindu pandits. His translation of the *Bhagavadgītā* was printed in 1785, with a preface by Hastings himself, who noted privately that this 'was part of a system which I had long since laid down and supported, for reconciling the people of England to the natives of Hindustan'.

In 1783 the polymath Sir William Jones (1746–94) arrived in Calcutta as a judge of the supreme court. He had already devoted himself to the study of Arabic and Persian. He now threw himself with eagerness into the study of Sanskrit, and was the first to affirm publicly the interconnections of the Indo-European family of languages, having noted the similarities between Sanskrit and the Greek and Latin tongues.²⁹ In the year after his arrival, Jones founded, with the help of Hastings, that notable guardian and promoter of Asian truth, the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In one respect only did this paragon disappoint society in Calcutta – from a perhaps exaggerated regard for his health, he refused all invitations to supper parties, preferring to stay at home with his books. Of his conversations with Hastings he wrote that '(without compliment) I am always the gainer'.

Much of the improvement in the tone of Calcutta society must be ascribed to the influence of Warren Hastings. After his ambiguous relations with the Baroness Imhoff had been regularised by marriage on 8 August 1776,³⁰ he lived a life of perfect propriety.³¹ He entertained a good deal, as was expected of a governor, but his own habits were abstemious in the extreme. He was regular in attendance at church, and took his share in the building of St John's Church, which at last replaced the old St Anne's, destroyed during the brief occupation of Calcutta by Sirāj-ud-daula. He seems, during his Indian period, to have lacked any deep belief in the doctrines of the Christian

faith, and to have been rather an eighteenth-century deist, with a strong sense of a divine providence presiding over the affairs of men. Yet he lived, and was to die, 'a communicant member of the Church of England. And there is nothing in his thousands of papers to impugn the reality of his faith.'³²

In his position as governor-general Hastings could not but influence many of those by whom he was surrounded. One striking example of the improvement, in his time, in British attitudes towards Indians is provided by a young man whom Hastings cherished as a friend, and whose work he applauded. Augustus Cleveland was perhaps the first in that innumerable line of English civil servants who have loved the peoples of India and given their lives for them. As collector of Rājmahāl Cleveland set to work, unarmed, to lead into the ways of peace the hill Pahāris, who had been the terror of the quieter peoples of the plains. His success was outstanding. But he was cut off untimely at the age of twenty-nine. Hastings, deeply grieved, wrote his epitaph: 'Employing only the means of conciliation, confidence, and benevolence . . . [he] attached them to the British Government by a conquest over their minds, the most permanent as the most rational of dominions.'³³

The character of Hastings represents an interesting combination of the twin aspects of British activity in India which have lived together through the centuries in an uncomfortable Esau–Jacob relationship. Esau is purely commercial in his outlook. What matters is trade and revenue and profits; to these everything else must be subordinated. Jacob, on the other hand, has a strong sense of higher things. India has been given to England as a trust, and due attention must at all times be paid to the interests and to the well-being of Indians. English writers tend to identify themselves with Jacob, while not denying the existence of Esau. Indian writers on the whole regard Jacob as no better than a hypocrite, and his professions of virtue as no more than face-saving; England is in India for England's good; the attempt to take up any other attitude is mere pretence. But both strains are clearly present in Hastings. He was appointed as governor-general because he had been so successful in promoting the financial and commercial activities of the Company in Madras; but he never gave in to the idea that the interests of Britain and of India are necessarily contradictory. Unlike the majority of his contemporaries, he had Indian friends to whom he was deeply attached; in return he enjoyed the esteem, indeed the affection, of a number among them. An Indian writer has paid notable tribute to the presence of the Jacob element in Hastings:

The voluminous records of his administration evince his solicitude for the people he was called upon to govern, his desire to respect their customs and their past traditions, and to associate the native of the soil with the administration . . . Hastings' concern for the security of the ryots is evident. The affection and esteem for the

people of Bengal which he developed while he lived among them as a humble clerk of the Company survived his elevation to a position of great power.³⁴

Hastings was by nature a man of peace. But he was drawn without his own fault, and as a result of decisions in which he had had no share, into two considerable wars. The authorities in Bombay had become needlessly embroiled with the Marāthās, who after their terrible defeat in 1761 had shown remarkable powers of recovery. The situation had become so serious that Hastings could not but intervene to rescue the beleaguered presidency. His prudent intervention turned the tide; British victories included the storming, on 3 August 1780, of the great fort of Gwalior, at that time believed to be impregnable; the reputation of Britain in India was thereby greatly enhanced. But the acquisition of new territories was no part of the purposes of Hastings; all that he desired was that the power of the Marāthās should be contained and that Bengal should not again be exposed to the terrible raids which had won for their perpetrators a name of hatred and detestation throughout the land. This being so, the terms of the treaty of Salbai, signed on 17 March 1782, were generous in restoring to the previous owners almost all that had been taken from them by the English in seven years of war.³⁵ The success of Hastings' diplomacy was manifest in twenty years of peace, or at least of armed truce – years which saw the consolidation of British power in India.

For a number of years Madras had been threatened by a danger on a not very distant horizon. Haidar 'Alī had risen by his own efforts from an inferior position in the army to high command, and about 1762 had made himself master of Mysore. Although illiterate, Haidar, like those two other corporals Napoleon and Hitler, possessed in addition to his military qualities considerable political intelligence. Had he been able to hold together in lasting coalition the *nizām* and the Marāthās, there is little doubt that the three powers together could have driven the English into the sea – perhaps in alliance with the French, who under the tireless Bussy were making their last and fruitless effort to regain their lost leadership in India. But cohesion was just what was lacking in the Indian powers; they quarrelled when they should have united, and their lack of unity was England's opportunity.

In 1780 Haidar was incautious enough to become embroiled with the English. At first everything went his way; in August of that year his troops were visible from the roofs of Fort St George. His progress was marked by the smoke of burnt and pillaged villages, and the inhabitants were reduced to such a state of misery that, when the tide turned against Haidar, the English appeared to them not as conquerors but as deliverers. Once again Hastings acted without delay, and despatched Sir Eyre Coote, the commander-in-chief, to the Carnatic with extensive powers. This crotchety, irascible and

prematurely aged general could not be described as a great soldier, but he was a great deal better than anyone else; the danger receded and Madras was saved. The death of Haidar in 1782, and the conclusion of the peace of Mangalore with his son and successor, Tipu, for the moment eased the pressure, and enabled the British to gather their powers for the final settlement with the rulers of Mysore, by which, when it came, they were able to establish themselves as the unquestioned rulers of the whole of South India.

6 CALCUTTA UNDER HASTINGS

It is not easy to form a clear picture of what European society in Calcutta was really like during the days when Hastings ruled. The traditional picture is of a hard-drinking, loose-living, self-indulgent society, with no interests other than that of making money. Those who hold this view can point to a good deal of evidence in its favour. Undoubtedly there was a great deal too much drinking. The amusing, but not altogether reputable, lawyer William Hickey mentions, without any appearance of concern, that 'having one day had company to dinner I, according to custom, drank too much claret' with on that occasion almost fatal consequences.³⁶ There being few English women in the settlement, concubinage in one form or another was common. But some men lived with Indian women of good family, had by them children whom they acknowledged, sent them to English schools (Harrow for some reason seems to have been specially favoured), and brought them back to India in the service of the Company.³⁷

Two factors may be held in a measure to explain, if not to excuse, some of the worse features in Calcutta life. For a considerable part of the year many Europeans had little to do; while the ships were in, there was almost frenzied coming and going on business, but once the ships had sailed periods of serious underemployment set in. And the expectation of life was not great. Most European residents of Calcutta found the climate detestable; and, though some like Hastings himself endured it for many years with little ill-health, they were the exceptions, and the old saying that two monsoons are the life of a man is borne out by the statistics of mortality.³⁸

With all its faults this was far from being a boorish or uncultured community. Many of the men were younger sons of well-to-do or even aristocratic families in England, sent out to make money quickly and to return in affluence. There were so many old boys of Westminster School that Warren Hastings, himself an old Westminster, used to hold an annual dinner for them. The latest books were eagerly awaited. Musical evenings were not infrequent; and society was much addicted to amateur theatricals – though achievement seems at times to have run a good distance behind intention.

Church attendance was not unknown. When the new councillors who were to be the bane of Hastings' existence arrived in Calcutta in October 1774, they went to church in a body before proceeding to the business which had brought them to India. If one witness is to be believed, such attendance was a highly ceremonious affair: 'You brought at least seven servants with you – four chair-bearers, two running footmen with spears and one parasol bearer.'³⁹ Outside Calcutta there was not a single chaplain resident in any of the English settlements in Bengal, and provision for worship was scanty and irregular, if it existed at all. There was more excuse in the eighteenth century than there had been in the seventeenth for the Indian conviction that the Englishman had no religion at all. And it has to be admitted that even those who attended church did not provide clear evidence that the Christian faith had exercised much influence on the formation of their views and habits. Nor is there any evidence that any of these churchgoers, occasional or regular, had any interest in sharing the truth of the Christian faith with their Indian neighbours. As in the seventeenth so in the eighteenth century: there seems to be only one record of an Indian being baptised in the Church of England. When the ebullient William Hickey returned to England in 1779, he was accompanied by a very young servant named Nabob. The boy was sent to school, and while there expressed an earnest desire to become a Christian. So Hickey arranged to have him instructed, and he was in due course baptised in St James' Church.⁴⁰ Not that his baptism seems to have done the boy much good; after his return to India Hickey was loud and frequent in complaints of his treachery and ingratitude.

7 PARLIAMENT TAKES A HAND

The people of England had been slow to understand the significance of what was taking place in India. This rather sluggish unawareness had been changed as news of the conquests of Clive reverberated through the consciousness of the nation. When Clive finally returned to England in 1767, he was received with almost excessive adulation as a national hero and the saviour of his country's cause. Men became aware that, whatever the technicalities of the legal situation, the East India Company was in point of fact exercising rule over millions of people, a function which it was very ill fitted to perform. It was represented in India 'by men who were avowedly traders, whose interests were principally engaged in maintaining the Company's dividends, and who lacked completely the professional training essential to efficient administration'.⁴¹ Such a state of affairs could not be allowed to continue.

A Regulating Act was passed in 1772. But this act, though in some sections revolutionary and pointing in the right direction, was in others badly drawn,

obscure and calculated to paralyse rather than to promote reform. A governor-general was to be appointed, in theory with considerable powers. In the act Warren Hastings was named as the first governor-general. But he was provided with four councillors, and no more than a casting vote in case of an equality of votes. As three of the councillors appointed went out to India with the fixed intention of opposing Hastings on every matter of importance, it was certain that he would be condemned to years of frustration and disappointment. After five years of experience of the working of the act, he wrote: 'I am not Governor, all the means I possess are those of preventing the rule from falling into worse hands than my own.'⁴² Just at the moment at which he needed more power to continue the great work that he had begun, such power as he had was taken from him.

In the extensive literature on India produced in English in the last third of the eighteenth century one word recurs with almost monotonous iteration – responsibility. No one seems to have regarded it as possible that England should withdraw from the affairs of India or from the exercise of sovereignty in the extensive areas which had come under British control by military conquest; indeed there seemed to be no one power, or group of powers, to which authority could reasonably be handed over. This being so, by whom should authority be exercised? If there were to be British authorities in India, to whom should they be held accountable?

The situation had arisen with some rapidity. The minds of many, both in India and in Britain, were confused and uncertain. One mind summed up the situation with perfect clarity, and was prepared to hammer home with inexhaustible eloquence the only possible answer to the question. To Edmund Burke it was perfectly clear that all authority, wherever the British exercised any powers, derived from the sovereign in Parliament. If, therefore, the East India Company had, by any means, acceded to a position of political power, it was for Parliament alone to determine the persons by whom authority in that country was to be exercised, to make plain the limits of that authority, and also to lay down the manner in which it was to be exercised. To Parliament alone must the authorities in India be held accountable. India had become a national responsibility; in no way could that responsibility be evaded.

It was by no means self-evident how a body of elderly squires, and even more aged noblemen, sitting in Westminster could effectively exercise authority over so distant a dominion; but the problem would not disappear simply by wishing that it did not exist. Honourable members might absent themselves from the debates, or allow themselves to be lulled into somnolence by the superb rhetoric in which Edmund Burke unfailingly clothed his arguments. But gradually it dawned on the English people that, though they might have stumbled into authority unawares, responsibility was there

and something must be done about it. Information was often inadequate. Old prejudices died hard. Blunders were made. No finally satisfactory solution to the problem was ever found. But the principle once accepted could never be denied: the British people had accepted sovereignty over millions of people, alien in language, culture and religion, in a distant continent; it was now the business of the British people, acting through Parliament, to rule these peoples according to the law of God, as this was understood in the eighteenth century and as it was, however imperfectly, enshrined in the British Constitution.

The attempt had been made to remedy one impossible situation by introducing a new impossibility. Now, to set things right, William Pitt the younger in 1784 introduced into Parliament his great India Act and secured its passage. He himself was well aware of its imperfections, but described his aim as being that of 'securing the possessions of the East to the public, without confiscating the property of the Company; and beneficially changing the nature of this defective government without entrenching on the chartered rights of men'.⁴³

One of the chief merits of the act was that it cleared up the problems surrounding the head of government in India. In future there was to be a governor-general, who would ordinarily be appointed from England and not from among those already in service in India. He was to be assisted by three councillors, none of whom would be an Indian but all of whom must be members of the covenanted service of the Company, and not as in 1773 outsiders with no knowledge of India. A supplementary act, passed in 1786, gave the governor-general the necessary powers to overrule the majority of his council, and also to assume the office of commander-in-chief, if an emergency made this step desirable.

Clearly, much would depend on the man first appointed as governor-general under the new act. In view of the disturbed state of India the authorities held the view that their choice should fall on a soldier. As early as 1782 the attention of the ministry had been directed to Charles, Earl Cornwallis, a soldier whose capitulation to the Americans at Yorktown, made inevitable through the faults of others, had not been allowed to tarnish his reputation or to interfere with his career. At the time of his appointment Cornwallis was forty-eight years of age, old enough to be well qualified by experience, but young enough to be willing to learn.

A better choice could hardly have been made. Cornwallis' first and greatest asset was a reputation for perfect integrity, which was never questioned by anyone. But there were other factors which could tell in his favour. He was a typical English grandee, accustomed to splendid living such as Indians admire but frugal in his personal habits. This meant that he had ready access to the greatest in the land, could approach them without

anxiety, and could move with perfect freedom in their society. Conscious of his own dignity and of the confidence reposed in him by those who had appointed him, he could not regard any of his colleagues in India as being in any way a rival to him. Having nothing further to hope for from the favour of the great, he had nothing to fear, if for any reason their favour was turned in other directions. He could be his own man and do what seemed to him to be right. In the picturesque phrases of Henry Dundas, 'Here there was no broken fortune to be mended, here was no avarice to be gratified. Here was no beggarly mushroom kindred to be provided for – no crew of hungry followers gaping to be gorged.'⁴⁴

Clive had been loyal primarily to himself and to his own interests. Warren Hastings had been loyal both to himself and to the Company. The loyalty of Cornwallis was directed to his king and to his country; but he never for a moment supposed that the true interests of England and its government could be opposed to those of the people of India. That this was his point of view soon became evident to those among whom he lived. A correspondent of Hastings wrote to him on 8 January 1787: 'Cornwallis has made us all happy; as he becomes more known he rises in the respect of the natives; they see the revived Hastings in him, they expect good, a firm and upright government resolved on doing what is right.'

So it was decreed that, for a period of more than a century and a half, the destinies of Britain and of India were to be intimately related to and entangled one with the other, and this on every level of human existence – political, social, institutional, legal, individual and so on. The subtle and intricate means and methods by which the mutual influence was carried into effect have never been worked out in detail, and they still present historians with a number of unsolved problems. What has not been invariably noticed is that, in this complex area of relationships, confrontation on the religious level, no less than on any other, was bound to arise. The life and thought of India had been deeply influenced and conditioned by Hindu and Muslim traditions in religion and philosophy. Britain, though at the end of the eighteenth century many British citizens showed few signs of Christian influence on life and conduct, stood firmly within the Judaeo-Christian tradition and its estimation of human personality and human rights. When a relationship of somewhat casual co-existence was changed into a situation of government and dependence, it was certain that on many matters of conduct and of social concern, East and West would have great difficulty in agreeing.

Discussion between the two worlds might have been carried on in the urbane manner which commended itself to such a universal genius as Sir William Jones. Jones made no secret of his genuine, though undogmatic, adherence to the Christian faith in which he had been brought up; he could write sincerely of 'our divine religion, the truth of which (if any history is

true) is absolutely proved by historical evidence'. At the same time he could affirm that 'I am . . . charmed with Crishan [Krishna], an enthusiastic admirer of Raame and a devout adorer of Brimha [Brāhma] Bisher [Viṣṇu] Mahiser [Mahasvára]',⁴⁵ and express the opinion that the Hindu doctrine of transmigration is to be preferred to the Christian doctrine of eternal loss. Not all participants in the meeting of East with West were as large-hearted as Sir William Jones. On all sides in the controversies there were those who introduced an element of asperity into discussions that might with advantage have been carried on in more equable fashion. But no serious observer can have doubted that, with the opening of the nineteenth century new factors had been introduced into the dialogue between India and the West which in one form or another had been carried on for centuries before that date.

2 · The Tranquebar Mission

I THE PERIOD OF ZIEGENBALG 1706-19

On 9 July 1706 the first Protestant missionaries to India, Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Henry Plütschau, arrived at Tranquebar on the Coromandel Coast about 150 miles south of Madras. A new epoch in the history of the Christian mission had begun.¹

The Danes had been in Tranquebar (*Tarangambādi*, 'the dashing of the ocean waves on the shore') since 1620.² The area which they rented from the king of Thaṇjāvur (Tanjore) was no more than five miles by three in extent. Then as now Tranquebar was a small, agreeable port-town, with no good harbour, and a population which was reckoned at 15,000. There was one other village, almost large enough to be called a town, Poreiyār, and fifteen smaller villages. The Danes were more careful than some other powers of the spiritual welfare of their subjects. The establishment in their Indian outpost included two resident chaplains; these held no permanent appointment, and, when one of them was due to return to Denmark, his place was usually taken by the chaplain of one of the ships which periodically arrived from Europe. There are occasional references in official documents³ to the duty of converting the non-Christians; but nothing seems to have been done, the chaplains confining themselves strictly to their statutory duties as ministers to the European residents of the colony.

When the missionaries arrived, there was no committee of reception to greet them. No one wanted them, and many were prepared to give unconcealed expression to their displeasure.

At the head of the colony was the commandant, who, as the sequel showed, was prepared to exercise dictatorial powers. But his was not a royal appointment. He was no more than the chief representative in India of the Danish East India Company; he was appointed by the authorities of the Company, and to them all communications with Europe had to be addressed. The missionaries were Germans; nevertheless they claimed to have come to India with a special commission from the king of Denmark, and with the right to communicate directly with him and with other members of the

royal family – a right of which they would not hesitate to make use.⁴ Such direct access could not be agreeable to the governor.

The Danish chaplains inevitably regarded the status of the missionaries as highly questionable. Their own position was not open to question: they had been ordained to the service of the Church of Denmark, and temporary absence in India would in no way prejudice their right to be accepted as being on equal standing with other ordained ministers and to enter again a highly respectable position as servants of the state church. The position of the interlopers could not but appear, by comparison, highly dubious. They had, indeed, been ordained by the bishop of Zealand, but not to any ministry recognised by the Church of Denmark. They had no church and no congregation. It was to be feared that they would interfere with the monopoly of ministration claimed by the chaplains.

There were two churches in Tranquebar – the Zion church, built in 1701 by the efforts of the Danish inhabitants for their own use, and a Roman Catholic church of rather earlier date. The first Roman Catholics in the place had been of the fisher caste. But it had come to be taken for granted that the children of slaves of Christians, and the offspring of irregular unions between Europeans and Indian women, would be baptised in the Roman Catholic church, which had entered on the position, if not of state church, at least of a state-protected church. The Roman Catholic priest exercised a more than patriarchal discipline over his flock. It was unlikely that he would welcome the rivalry of those who could, and did, claim more directly than he could the authority and the protection of the state.

The majority of the population were Hindus, though there was a fairly strong Muslim element. These Hindus may well have viewed the arrival of the newcomers with complete indifference. It had come to be taken for granted that Indian Christians would be of the lowest castes; what religion they happened to profess could not be of any interest to their superiors. But it was certain that, if the missionaries approached the higher castes, still more if they managed to effect any conversions among them, the opposition of the non-Christians would be fierce and contentious.

The famous Cardinal Bellarmine, in his *Disputationes* (1586–93), had pointed out, as one of the evidences for the divine origin and authority of the holy Roman church, the successful missions carried out by that church in every part of the world, in comparison with which Protestants had hardly anything to show.⁵

The new beginning made in the eighteenth century was due in the main to the interest of a single ruler. King Frederick IV of Denmark, while still crown prince, had given some attention to the question why the Lutheran churches had nowhere undertaken work for the conversion of non-Christian

peoples. After he had become king (1699), his mind reverted to the question and he decided to take action. As was natural at the time, he thought first of the non-Christians resident in his own dominions and of his duties towards them as a Christian prince. This meant, first (since the king of Denmark was also king of Norway), the Lapps in the northern part of the kingdom, where some of 'our subjects unfortunately still live in heathen ways and blindness'; secondly, the Hindus on the far side of the world in India. There was little interest in the proposal in Denmark, but the king's court chaplain Dr Lütken, who was German, warmly supported it; and, since no Danes came forward to offer themselves for missionary service, Dr Lütken turned to Germany.

Pious friends in Berlin pointed him to two young men, Henry Plütschau and Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, both of whom had studied under the godly Dr Lange in Berlin. Both had a connection also with the University of Halle, where Professor A. H. Francke (1663–1727) had entered on the career which led him, following in the steps of Philipp Jakob Spener (1635–1705), to the position of leading pietist in Germany.

An unexpected, yet perhaps not altogether unexpected, obstacle presented itself in the way of the candidates' going to India. It was intended that they should be ordained by the bishop of Zealand, Dr Bornemann.⁶ But the dread word 'pietist' had been uttered.⁷ The bishop became convinced that the two young men before him were pietists, and informed the king that they were not suitable candidates for missionary work in India. The king, having no other candidates before him and unwilling to lose this opportunity, ordered the bishop to hold a second examination. This time the pair, having perhaps been advised by their elders as to the kind of answers that they might suitably give, did better and passed the bishop's scrutiny. The bishop could no longer resist the king's importunity; Ziegenbalg and Plütschau were ordained together on 11 November 1705. Before the week was out they were on board the ship *Princess Sophia Hedwiga* bound for Tranquebar.

Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, when he arrived in India on 6 July 1706, was twenty-three years old. Gifted, intense, emotional, impetuous, wholly dedicated to the work that he had in hand, throughout his missionary career he had to contend with endless difficulties; but even his most ardent admirers are fain to admit that for a number of these difficulties he was himself responsible. Plütschau was cast in a very different mould. Six years older than his colleague, sober, rather slow, he was cut out to be an admirable follower but not a leader. The two worked well together in mutual confidence and fellowship.

There was little to guide the missionaries in the enterprise which they had undertaken. There were no Lutheran precedents. What they knew of Roman

Catholic missions was from their point of view more likely to serve as a warning than as an inspiration. For the most part the new envoys had to depend on their own resources – on what they could learn from the Scriptures and on a steady process of adaptation to changing circumstances. Ziegenbalg was astonishingly modern in the methods that he adopted; at many points his successors were well advised to follow in his steps.

From the start, education was to form an essential part of the missionary programme. More than two centuries after the death of Ziegenbalg twenty-three coats of whitewash were removed from an ancient building standing in the compound which the missionaries had been able to acquire for their use; there above the door was revealed the original inscription *Dharma-pallikkūdam*, Charity School. The aim of education, however, was not simply the diffusion of knowledge; it was to be part of the equipment of the Christian man, who must be able to read the Word of God for himself and to absorb it into his very being. Before long a Portuguese school had been created for those of mixed descent, and a Tamil school for Indians. To this was added later a Danish school for the increasing number of children who were either of pure European descent or being brought up in European fashion. Ten years after the foundation of the mission, a seminary was opened, with a particular view to the preparation of the future Indian assistants in the work of the church.⁸

Ziegenbalg realised from the start that knowledge of the local language was the key to the situation. The original plan was that Ziegenbalg should concentrate on Portuguese and Plütschau on Tamil. For no explicit reason, but to the great advantage of the work, this arrangement was changed, and mastery of Tamil became the primary objective of Ziegenbalg.

He had little to help him. No grammar was available. The Jesuits in the sixteenth century had printed a number of books in Tamil, but the work had been discontinued, and the Lutheran missionaries seem never even to have heard that such printed books existed.

Ziegenbalg quickly realised the difference between the spoken and the written forms of the language. If the Christian faith was to be respected, it must find expression in the higher forms of Tamil; and if this was ever to be achieved, the first necessity was the formation of as large a collection as possible of Tamil palm-leaf manuscripts. In a letter of 7 October 1709,⁹ he notes that such manuscripts are not expensive, but are rather difficult to come by, as the Hindus naturally are not eager to reveal their secrets to a foreigner. He has, however, ascertained that the widows of learned Brāhmans are sometimes willing to part with their husbands' books; his emissaries have gone out far and wide in search of such treasures, and as a result of their efforts he now has a collection of 300 books in Tamil.

At an early date he was pleased to find among his books a number which

came to him from Roman Catholic sources. This was of the greatest help to him, as he was now able to express himself on spiritual things, having a supply of terms in which Christian ideas could be expressed without the confusion of Hindu associations.¹⁰ The best book of all for this purpose was the Gospel book.¹¹ The possession of these books may at the time have seemed to Ziegenbalg a blessing; it may be doubted whether in the long run these borrowings from Roman Catholic usage were of advantage to the Lutheran churches. Robert Nobili¹² had relied heavily on Sanskrit for his rendering of Christian terms, and had thus saddled the churches in India with a number of artificial constructs as a result of which the Christian faith came to sound unduly foreign in the ears of those to whom these terms were unfamiliar.

One notable result of these Tamil studies was a change in Ziegenbalg's attitude to the Indian people and to the Hindu religion. When he arrived in India, he shared the view generally held by Europeans that Indians were a barbarous people, and that their religion was no better than a depraved superstition. In one of his earliest letters he writes of almost jovial iconoclasm. He and his colleague, on one of their walks abroad, had found outside a temple of the wife of Īsvara a large number of terracotta images: 'we overturned some, and knocked off the heads of others, to show the people that these were powerless and useless gods, unable to help themselves and still less to help their worshippers'.¹³ Ziegenbalg never changed his view that Hinduism, as an idolatrous religion, was displeasing to God and could bring no salvation to its adherents.¹⁴ But by 1709 he had come to realise that the Indians are a civilised people; and, as he penetrated more deeply into their classical writings, he was amazed to discover the depth of their moral insights and the admirable style in which their wisdom is expressed.

So it came about that this most devout and orthodox of Lutheran missionaries became one of the pioneers in the study of South Indian Hinduism and in making the results of his researches available to the Western world.¹⁵ The most notable of his contributions is the work entitled *Genealogy of the Malabarian Gods*, which was completed in 1713. It was a remarkable work, based not only on books but also on extensive correspondence with educated Hindus, many extracts from whose letters are included in the book. Ziegenbalg is still speaking in terms of 'the blindness and idolatry of these heathens in their foolish heathenism',¹⁶ but he is concerned to be scrupulously fair, and to represent things as the Hindus themselves understood and practised them.

The book was sent to Halle with the clear intention that it should be printed and circulated in Europe. It did not meet with a favourable reception. A. H. Francke, the renowned founder of the Orphan Asylum and other institutions at Halle, and director of the mission, wrote back to

Tranquebar that ‘the printing of the “Genealogy of the South-Indian Gods” was not to be thought of, inasmuch as the Missionaries were sent out to extirpate heathenism, and not to spread heathenish non-sense in Europe’.¹⁷ The manuscript slept undisturbed on the shelves at Halle for more than a century and a half, until it was discovered by the diligence of Dr W. Germann, who added to his many other services to Christianity in India the publication of the original German text.

Ziegenbalg was prepared to give much time to language study and to the investigation of Hindu ideas and customs. But all this was, to his mind, mere preparation for what he regarded as the most important of all his missionary tasks – the translation of the Holy Scriptures into Tamil.¹⁸ He seems to have begun the work before the end of the year 1708. Before the end of 1709 he writes with understandable but perhaps premature satisfaction of what he has been able to achieve:

In my doing of this work God has given me such notable support that everything has been reproduced in accordance with the original text, and in the exact sense intended by the Holy Spirit, and with such clarity that I hardly think that the Holy Word of God can be translated into European languages as clearly as into this Malabarian speech, even allowing for the fact that it has neither full-stops nor commas. I have made use of the most readily understandable words, and the most impressive forms of speech, so that a single style is found throughout.¹⁹

In his devotion to this exacting work Ziegenbalg had to endure one unexpected hindrance, and was gladdened by one unexpected help.

Towards the end of the year 1708 the friends of Ziegenbalg were dismayed to learn that he was in prison. He had managed to fall foul of the commandant Hassius by his intemperate zeal, and to have provoked him to what was undoubtedly high-handed action. As a prisoner he seems to have behaved with considerable patience and to have maintained an attitude of courtesy and consideration towards the commandant. After four months better counsels prevailed and he was released. A measure of reconciliation was achieved, but it does not seem that either party had any deep or lasting confidence in the other.

The unexpected help came from England. Anthony William Böhme, chaplain to Prince George of Denmark, the husband of Queen Anne, was in close touch with Halle and received reports of the work in Tranquebar. He believed that the English, who had no mission of their own but were increasingly aware of work outside Europe, would be willing to support so worthy an enterprise. A number of the letters from India were translated and circulated;²⁰ the response was immediate and enthusiastic. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge felt no difficulty about supporting work

carried on by German Lutherans. In addition to direct financial aid raised by public subscription, the society arranged for a Portuguese translation of the New Testament to be printed in Amsterdam and for a large number of copies to be sent to Tranquebar.²¹ Most important of all, the society purchased a printing press and despatched it to India. This had founts only in Roman type, and, while it could therefore be highly useful for printing in Portuguese, could not meet the yet more urgent need of the mission for the introduction of printing in Tamil.

While Thomas Tenison (1636–1715) was archbishop of Canterbury, certain strains developed in the relations between the Church of England and a Lutheran mission in South India. But when Tenison was succeeded at Canterbury by the ecumenically minded William Wake (1657–1737), complete harmony was restored. Nothing could exceed the cordiality of the terms in which in 1719 that prelate wrote to the Tranquebar missionaries.²²

Amid many interruptions, the work of New Testament translation went forward.²³ On 21 March 1711 Ziegenbalg was able to report that the work had been completed: 'this is a treasure in India which surpasses all other Indian treasures'.²⁴ While this was still in process of revision, a second printing press arrived, accompanied by three Germans who had been sent out to assist in this department of the mission, and, still more importantly, by a fount of Tamil types which had been prepared in Halle. Work was at once put in hand on the printing of the first part of Ziegenbalg's translation, containing the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. This appeared from the press in 1714. The second part, printed in smaller type from matrices which had been cast in Tranquebar itself, was ready in 1715.

Only rarely has the first translation of Scripture in a new language been found acceptable. Ziegenbalg's achievement was considerable; for the first time the entire New Testament had been made available in an Indian language.²⁵ But from the start Ziegenbalg's work was exposed to criticism on a variety of grounds, some of which will be enumerated in another context. When Fabricius' New Testament appeared in 1772, its superiority was so immediately evident that before long the older version ceased to be used. This does not detract from the merits of the pioneer; where he had led the way it was not too difficult for others to follow.

As soon as the revision of the New Testament in manuscript was completed, Ziegenbalg turned his attention to the Old Testament. The first allusion to this new labour appears in a letter of 13 September 1713 addressed to H. J. Elers in Halle.²⁶ There are repeated references in the letters of the later years. As the work of the mission grew and interruptions became more frequent, Ziegenbalg built himself a little house in a quiet area away from the centre of the town, where he could pursue tranquilly what he regarded as the most important work of all. On 28 September 1714 he reports

to Francke that the book Exodus has now been completed.²⁷ At the time of his death he had continued the work up to the Book of Ruth.²⁸

It has frequently been stated that the early German missionaries, being pietists, had little sense of the church as the people of God and believed that their work had been done when a certain number of souls had been snatched as brands from the burning. There is little, if anything, in the existing records to support this view of them.

Ziegenbalg would more properly be described as a high church Lutheran. He had a strong sense of the dignity of his calling. He wore informal dress at home, and at times on his travels wore Indian dress; but outside his home he was habitually dressed in black, with the wig which seems to have been inescapable for Europeans in those days. Some of his younger colleagues complained bitterly of this imposition, and habits more suitable to a tropical climate came gradually to be adopted.²⁹

As a missionary of the Danish crown, ordained in Denmark, Ziegenbalg felt himself bound by the liturgy and customs of the Danish church, though he translated such documents as Luther's shorter catechism directly from the German. Services were carried out with great solemnity. Accounts of funerals indicate participation by the entire community, and each seems to have been used as an occasion for witness to the non-Christians, who watched the habits of the Christians with more curiosity than understanding. Only in one respect does Ziegenbalg seem to have made a concession to the fact that this new church was growing up in India; he made use of the presence in the Christian community of a measure of literary and musical talent to introduce the singing of Tamil lyrics to Indian melodies, in addition to using in church the growing collection of hymns which had been translated from German but in which the original metres and tunes had been preserved.

The first pioneers, though loyal to Denmark, soon reached the conclusion that the mission ought to be directed from India, not from Europe. As early as 1709 we find Ziegenbalg writing that one of the missionaries ought to be appointed as head of the mission with the right to ordain.³⁰ Missionary candidates should be sent out unordained; only after having served their apprenticeship and proved their worth in the field should they be ordained. Again and again his letters revert to the idea of a missionary seminary in the East. A candidate might study Tamil for six years in Europe and yet not be intelligible to the inhabitants on his arrival in India; language study could be far better done in India. It should be possible to introduce into the seminary the study of other Indian languages – Telugu, Urdu, Sanskrit – and then to send out missionaries to areas whose language they had learnt.³¹

It has been suggested by some that the pietistic missionaries thought of the church as an assembly of saints and failed to take account of its character

as a necessarily mixed society of saints and sinners. For this supposition there are no grounds in the records of the Tranquebar mission. Ziegenbalg was well aware that there were some, perhaps many, among those who presented themselves for Christian instruction who were activated by mixed motives. He defended his policy of accepting all who came, pointing to the example of the Lord himself who did not shun the society of publicans and sinners. But, he added, 'we do not baptize them readily – we may keep them as long as four years among the catechumens'.

Preparation of candidates for baptism was among the most laborious of the tasks which the missionaries laid upon themselves. Most of the candidates were illiterate; this meant that the lessons, based on Luther's shorter catechism, had to be gone over again and again, in the hope that gradually the meaning would sink in and that out of this necessarily rather rudimentary knowledge a living faith would grow. Every year some baptisms would take place, and gradually both the Portuguese and the Tamil congregations grew into sizeable fellowships.³² But Ziegenbalg was well aware that baptism was a beginning rather than an end. The new Christians, not yet firm in their faith, would need for many years watchful supervision and ceaseless instruction. The building up of a living church in India would be the work of centuries rather than of years; all that the pioneers could hope to do was to lay a firm foundation on which others would be able to build.³³

One of the major elements in a stable situation was necessarily the presence and activity of faithful Indian helpers. From the start the missionaries set themselves to lighten their burdens by choosing and training those whom they believed to be best suited to share in the work of the church.³⁴ With the increase in the number of those so employed, the missionaries adopted the custom of holding with all of them each day a session at which reports were given of the work done and problems were discussed. After ten years of experience Ziegenbalg reports favourably on the help rendered by these workers in the institutions, but regrets that they are of little value in the primary work of the mission, the conversion of non-Christians; 'for this we have to rely on ourselves, there is still therefore a great need for good missionaries'.³⁵

Like all other missionaries, the Lutherans had to wrestle with the problems of caste, that all-pervasive element in Hindu society.³⁶

The general attitude of Ziegenbalg and his colleagues can be summed up in a single sentence. It is not to be hoped that the system of caste can be completely abolished, but rules of caste must not be allowed to prevail within the church of Christ.

The majority of the converts in the Tranquebar mission were Sūdras. Thus they stood within the Hindu caste system, though in most cases not at any very exalted level within it.³⁷ Discrimination was so far permitted that,

when the large cruciform church called the New Jerusalem was built (1718), the Sūdras occupied the central part of the church, while those of the depressed classes sat in the transepts, the men on one side and the women on the other. It is not clearly stated, but it seems probable, that at the Holy Communion the Sūdras came up first to receive the sacrament and the members of other communities after them.

In 1714 Ziegenbalg decided that he must return to Europe to sort out the endless difficulties that had arisen in the relationships between Halle, Copenhagen and Tranquebar. The mission had friends in Europe, but it also had many enemies, and these had been vocal both in spoken words and in the press.³⁸ Fuel was added to the fire by the reports of J. G. Bövingh, who had served in the mission from 1709 to 1711. From the start Bövingh had found it difficult to get on good terms with his colleagues; after his return to Europe he had no good word to say of them. Unfortunately, Bövingh's indiscreet letters were published by an anonymous friend and gained wide attention. Plütschau returned to Europe in 1711 to present in person the case for the mission; but, though a good and faithful worker, he lacked both the diplomacy and the force of character necessary to a successful ambassador. Ziegenbalg concluded that there were many matters which still needed his personal attention.³⁹

During the ten months which Ziegenbalg spent in Europe fortune seemed to smile on him at every turn. On arrival he learnt that, just at the time of his leaving India, he had been appointed provost of the mission with the right to ordain (it is to be remembered that he was still only thirty-two years of age). He was received by the king and preached before him. He made the acquaintance of other members of the royal family – notably the crown prince, who succeeded to the throne in 1730 as King Christian VI and was a more reputable character than his father.

While Ziegenbalg was on the high seas, the king had taken steps to organise the mission at the home end. The pious Dr Lütkens, who from the outset had been the chief support in Denmark of the Indian mission, had died in August 1712; some measure of re-organisation was urgently necessary. The king had therefore brought into being a mission council,⁴⁰ to consist of two laymen, two professors of theology and, as secretary, the chamberlain to the prince, Christopher Wendt.

From Denmark Ziegenbalg moved to Halle, where he was most affectionately received and preached to receptive congregations a number of times. While there he married a former pupil of his own, Mary Dorothea Sulzmann, a lady who proved to be an admirable consort, and to provide a strong argument against the view that missionaries should not be married.⁴¹

From Halle the missionaries crossed to England, where once again their

reception left nothing to be desired.⁴² They were introduced to the royal family— German George I was naturally pleased to meet fellow Germans to whom he could talk freely (he was also quite at home in French), and seems to have been genuinely interested in the mission.

But throughout Ziegenbalg was homesick for India. After an unusually rapid voyage he landed at Madras on 10 August 1716, to be warmly received by the English governor and by the chaplain William Stevenson (in India 1712–18), a stalwart friend of the mission. All the news which was awaiting him from Tranquebar was good news. It seemed that a new era of prosperity and progress was opening out before the mission.

It was not long, however, before heavy clouds began to bank up in an unexpected quarter. The trouble arose from the character and the views of Christopher Wendt, the secretary of the council in Copenhagen. Wendt had definite ideas as to what the mission should become: he wished it to return to the pattern of an apostolic mission, unencumbered by property and financial cares, the missionaries going from place to place, preferably on foot, and preaching the Gospel to the non-Christians.

Like so many of those who have presumed to direct missions from a distance of 6,000 miles, Wendt had not the smallest idea of the conditions that prevailed in India – of the demands constantly made on health by an exacting climate, of the perils of isolation, of the resistance presented to the Gospel by the non-Christian mind, of the length of time required to nurture the seedlings of conversion if ever they were to grow into stalwart plants. But his errors and exaggerations should not be allowed to obscure the fact that at certain points he had a case to make; the missionaries had made mistakes and there were lessons to be learnt.

The errors of Ziegenbalg can be summed up in a few lines. He was a little too pleased with his position as a royal missionary, and too readily inclined to call on the help of the civil power in Denmark. In his controversies with the authorities in Tranquebar he was generally in the right, but a less impetuous and more temperate approach might in the end have been more beneficial to the mission. He was too ready to open the coffers of the mission to those who claimed to be needy Christians, though he was right in recognising that those who had lost all their property through becoming Christians could not be allowed to starve. He would have done well to allow the congregation to grow before providing it with so large and solid a church, built entirely by foreign money, though he was right in thinking that in the tropics solid building in the end always justifies itself as an economy. But, when full account has been taken of all these weaknesses, history has handed in the verdict that Ziegenbalg was a prudent pioneer, and that for the most part the foundations that he laid have endured the testing of time.

Wendt was in any case quite wrong in supposing that the 'apostolic' aspect of the work of the mission had been neglected. The missionaries, burdened as they were by many other tasks, took every opportunity to make contact with the non-Christians and to present to them the Gospel.⁴³ Ziegenbalg had hit upon the novel method of addressing to Hindus of good standing, many of them outside the area of Tranquebar, courteously expressed letters, asking them to put in writing the difficulties which they felt over accepting the Christian way. Many, naturally, took no notice; but quite a number of answers were received, in most cases expressed in equally courteous terms. Some of the correspondents felt difficulty over one or other point of Christian doctrine. Some raised objections to such Christian customs as are unacceptable to Hindus. Many expressed approval of the ethical aspects of Christian teaching and were prepared to consider it as a possible way to salvation. But in various letters there came up that difficulty which then stood, and still stands, in the way of securing converts from the higher levels of Hindu society – to become a Christian would mean persecution, expulsion from the caste, the loss of property and possessions, of livelihood and of everything that makes life possible. How could such sacrifices be considered with equanimity?⁴⁴

Ziegenbalg was deeply wounded by the tone of Wendt's letter, and by the censoriousness which simply brushed on one side all that he had endured in the service of the mission. In a dignified letter of 15 August 1718 he answered many of the points that Wendt had raised, affirming that he had never for a moment swerved from that which is central to all missionary endeavour – to serve one's neighbour both in body and in soul, and to bring him to God.⁴⁵

Ziegenbalg had never been a man of robust health. The distress caused by the letter from the council was without doubt one of the principal causes of the decline which set in in December 1718.⁴⁶ By the end of that year he seems himself to have been aware that he could not recover. On 10 February 1719 he handed over all responsibility for the mission to his colleague J. E. Gründler. The end came peacefully on 23 February. Bartholomew Ziegenbalg had not completed his thirty-sixth year.

Gründler was now left to bear the whole burden alone. He had shared with Ziegenbalg the shock occasioned by the tone of Wendt's letter. He set himself to indite a lengthy missive in which he dealt point by point with all the matters raised by the council. Among other points, he makes the obvious one that an 'apostolic mission', as Wendt conceived it, was made impossible through the absolute prohibition by the local rulers of any Christian activity by foreigners in their dominions. The work beyond the limits of Danish authority could be carried out only by Indian assistants.⁴⁷

Help was at hand. Less than a month after the death of Ziegenbalg, three new missionaries – Benjamin Schultze, N. Dal (the first Dane to enter the

service of the mission) and J. H. Kistenmacher – embarked at Deal; they reached Madras on 20 March 1719. Gründler seemed to recover from the depression which had assailed him ever since the death of his colleague. He began eagerly to teach the new recruits Tamil and to acquaint them with all the affairs of the mission. But he was still afflicted by one deep anxiety. The new workers had, in accordance with Ziegenbalg's desire, been sent out unordained. Gründler was the only ordained servant of the mission; what would happen if he died? Could he proceed, on his own authority, to ordain one of the new arrivals, without waiting for authorisation in due form to arrive from Copenhagen?

Fortunately he decided to act, and in January 1720 proceeded to ordain Schultze. He was just in time. He had never really recovered from the shock of Wendt's letter, followed by the death of Ziegenbalg. In the very next month it was clear that his health was failing. On 19 March he died.

With these two deaths, one following so closely on the other, the first period of the mission ended, and a new period began. It does not appear that Wendt ever realised what he had done. But when, in the following year, he fell from favour and was dismissed by the king from all his appointments, it was hard for the friends of the mission not to feel that the righteous judgement of God had followed hard upon him.

2 THE PERIOD OF BENJAMIN SCHULTZE, 1720-40

In comparison with the first great period of the Tranquebar mission, the second cannot but show itself as rather grey in colour. The excitements of the first beginnings were no longer there. The great pioneers had disappeared. The years that followed were to be years of consolidation rather than of extension, of conservative development rather than of rapid growth. To some extent, also, the character of the period was determined by the quality of those who stepped into the vacant places. Even those who were most faithful and diligent did not match the stature either of those who came before them or of those who came after.

Yet those twenty years were memorable for two events which came to mark deeply all the subsequent history of the mission – the foundation of the 'English mission', and the ordination of the first Indian Protestant pastor in 1733.

When Gründler died, Benjamin Schultze (1689-1760)⁴⁸ was the only ordained missionary left in Tranquebar. No one has ever denied that Schultze had a measure of ability, but it was ability neither controlled by self-discipline nor directed by a spirit of wisdom. Where Schultze was, there he had to be sole master and director; no other view than his was to be heard. He could rule but he could not co-operate; he carried this principle so far that he

would not permit his unordained fellow-missionaries to address him as 'colleague'.⁴⁹

Even in the time of Ziegenbalg, the missionaries had chafed under the restriction of their work to the Danish territory of Tranquebar. Ziegenbalg himself had visited Madras in 1710, had been most kindly received by the pious governor, Edward Harrison, and had written enthusiastically of the possibilities of a mission in that city.⁵⁰ He wrote again to the same effect in the following year.

The first practical step was taken in 1717, when the governor, now Joseph Collet, wrote to tell the directors in London that by arrangement the German missionaries had brought into being a charity school at Fort St David (Cuddalore), with one master to teach Tamil and another to teach Portuguese; at the same time two schools had been created in Madras – one (Portuguese) in the White Town, and one (Tamil) in the Black Town.⁵¹

In 1726, Schultze, in search of a kingdom, took the revolutionary step of moving to Madras and asking for permission to reside there. The directors in London, being well disposed to missionary work, raised no objection:

if any of the Danish Missionaries shall visit or reside at places under the Company's jurisdiction, our Governors and officers, may give them their protection. We hereby consent thereunto, upon supposition that they behave themselves, respectfully and suitably to the Rules of the place.

On being assured by the governor and council, in a letter of 18 June 1731, that the Danish missionaries were quiet and modest, the directors noted that the behaviour of the Danish Missionaries being so agreeable to their profession is pleasing to us; and we hope all in your several stations will give due countenance to their laudable undertaking.⁵²

So Schultze was able to settle in Madras. In due course the SPCK in London took responsibility for his support, supplying him with a salary of £60 a year, but did not try to interfere in the direction of the work. Schultze thus became the first member of what came to be generally known as the English mission.⁵³

If account is taken of numbers, the work of Schultze in Madras must be regarded as successful. When he came no congregation was in existence. For the year in which he returned to Europe, 1743, the annual report records 678 Indian Christians and 13 as belonging to the Portuguese congregation. Some of these were, no doubt, former Roman Catholics, but the majority were converts from the non-Christian world.

From an early date Ziegenbalg and his colleagues had realised that, as soon as possible, the greater part of the work must be placed in the hands of Indian

colleagues: a church in India must be Indian in more than the geographical sense. In 1733 the decision to ordain an Indian pastor was reached, partly on grounds of principle and partly as a matter of necessity. Permission for foreigners to travel and preach in the dominions of the *rājā* of Thaṇjāvur had not been given; the one attempt made by Ziegenbalg to penetrate the interior had ended ignominiously on the very day on which he had set out.⁵⁴ The number of converts in the villages was growing, but they could not always come to Tranquebar for sacramental ministries. The only remedy was to provide them with an Indian minister, one of their own who could travel among them without the restrictions under which foreigners suffered.

The missionaries proceeded systematically. As early as 1728 they had written to Copenhagen for permission to ordain an Indian colleague. At Eastertide 1733, the purpose to ordain was communicated to the congregation, and the three town catechists, Savarimuttu, Aaron and Diogo, whom the missionaries had had for a considerable period under their personal observation, were put forward as candidates to be considered. The senior catechist, Savarimuttu, withdrew on the ground of age. When the vote of the heads of families was taken, it was found that exactly half had voted for Aaron and half for Diogo; the division among the six missionaries was precisely the same. After further conference with the assembled catechists, it was announced to the congregation that a unanimous decision had been reached in favour of Aaron.

Aaron had been born in or about the year 1698. He was by caste a Vellāla, this being generally reckoned as the highest caste, second only to the Brāhmans; he belonged to a well-to-do family. He had been baptised in 1718, and in the following year had become catechist in the city congregation and evangelist in the surrounding villages.

The ordination, which took place on 20 December 1733, was made an occasion of considerable solemnity. No fewer than eleven ministers took part in the ceremony—the six missionaries resident in Tranquebar, Sartorius from Madras,⁵⁵ the two Danish chaplains in Tranquebar and two ships' chaplains who happened to be in India at the time. After ordination Aaron was assigned to the district of Mayāvaram.

His ministry was not of long duration; he died on 25 June 1745. He bore throughout a high reputation, having behaved himself in such a way as to earn the respect and love of both Hindus and Christians. He was a man of courage and integrity, and wise in the handling of individuals.⁵⁶

Notable among the Indian helpers was one who was never ordained — Rājānaikan, who had formerly been a subordinate officer in the army of the *rājā* of Thaṇjāvur and who belonged to one of the lower castes (Servai). This man, born about 1700, had been brought up as a Roman Catholic; but he had

been given in early manhood the four Gospels and Acts in Tamil, had read them with avidity and was eager to be admitted into the Lutheran church. The missionaries were unwilling to admit him; but in July 1727 he arrived in Tranquebar, bringing with him three soldiers whom he had himself brought to the faith. After that there could be no doubt; in 1728 he was admitted to the Lutheran church, and before long he was recognised as catechist of Thaṇjāvur. This defection aroused the wrath of the Roman Catholics. Rājānaikan had to endure many hardships at their hands, but he stood firm throughout, and began a career of witness the effects of which were felt far and wide.⁵⁷

When Rājānaikan began his work there were fewer than 100 Protestant Christians in the Thaṇjāvur area. Ten years later there were 367,⁵⁸ and the number was quickly growing. Rājānaikan lived in Thaṇjāvur, but he moved throughout the country, co-operating with the catechists in their various stations. As he himself belonged to one of the lower castes, most of his converts were from the same social level; but there were exceptions, and in Thaṇjāvur as elsewhere there was a nucleus of Christians from the higher castes.

3 THE PERIOD OF PHILIP FABRICIUS

John Philip Fabricius arrived in India in 1740. After two years of apprenticeship in Tranquebar, he moved to Madras to take over the position left vacant by the departure of Schultze. Like his predecessor, he joined the 'English mission', and he remained many years in its employ; but to the end he was proud to regard himself as a 'royal Danish missionary'. By degrees the number of Christians began to grow, and the Madras mission took on the lineaments of permanence.⁵⁹

Fabricius had early evinced a capacity for language study, and possessed an ear for the finer shades of language and a sensitivity to the way in which Tamil people think and to the manner in which they express their thoughts. Not long after the beginning of his career in Madras Fabricius was fortunate enough to make the acquaintance of a highly educated Hindu, Muttu, who later secured employment as an interpreter in the service of the East India Company and rose to be the most highly trusted of all the Indian employees of the Company. On his first arrival Fabricius had supposed that the Tamil New Testament of Ziegenbalg was as good a translation as could be hoped for. But as he read with Muttu he found reason to change his opinion. With all respect for his venerable predecessors in the work, he had to note with regret that, amid the multiplicity of their labours, they had not had the time to learn the art of speaking and writing briefly (*kurz*) and sensitively (*nervös*) in foreign languages.⁶⁰ The four qualities which Fabricius found in the

originals were lucidity, strength, brevity and appropriateness; these were sadly lacking in the existing Tamil translation, but he hoped that by the help of God he had been able to restore them.⁶¹

By 1750 Fabricius had completed his revision, or rather his new translation, of the New Testament. He was an extraordinarily patient and diligent worker, testing his work by reading it aloud to a variety of hearers, and making sure that what he read was understood by them.

In 1753 he communicated his results to the brethren in Tranquebar, and only then learnt to his dismay that they had begun to print their own revision, made on principles which he regarded as unsatisfactory,⁶² and that they had, indeed, completed the printing as far as the first epistle to the Corinthians. He hastened to Tranquebar, and sat down with his colleagues to work through 2 Corinthians and Galatians. When this point had been reached, the colleagues were so far convinced of the superiority of the work of Fabricius that they agreed, for the rest of the New Testament, to take it as the basis for printing, reserving to themselves the right to make suggestions and corrections. In fact, in the Tamil text of the remaining books of the New Testament the work of Fabricius survived with little alteration. In 1758 the new Tamil New Testament emerged from the press, but as a strange hybrid in which the first seven books, comprising about half of the whole, showed no sign of the influence of Fabricius while the second half was based almost wholly on his work. At last, in 1766, Fabricius was able to begin the printing of his own New Testament, now again carefully revised, on a press made available to him by the British government. Immediately on its appearance it was hailed as far superior to all its predecessors.

Once finished with the translation of the New Testament, Fabricius turned to the Old. As early as 18 October 1756 he expressed his intention of getting to work on the Old Testament, beginning with the books that were most in demand but would prove to be the hardest to translate – the Psalms, the books of Solomon and the prophets. At times he must have been irked by the endless delays occasioned through lack of type or paper at Tranquebar, but he continued ceaselessly the work of revision and improvement. In 1756 a new version of the Psalms was printed, but the final printing of the complete Old Testament was delayed till 1798, several years after the death of the translator.

For 150 years the Fabricius version was the only one in use in the Lutheran churches in South India. Even today there are Lutherans who prefer it to any other, and some who are not Lutherans would agree with the tribute paid to it by the poet Vadanāyaga Sāstriār in his old age – ‘the golden translation of the immortal Fabricius’.⁶³

This was, however, far from being the only service that Fabricius rendered. Ziegenbalg had made a start on Tamil Christian hymnody, but

these earlier compositions were rough-hewn, and few of them have stood the test of time. Fabricius had the field almost to himself; no other European has attained to the same level of mastery in this art.⁶⁴ German chorales are better adapted for rendering into Tamil than the majority of English hymns, whose iambic metre makes them unsuitable for direct rendering into Tamil. In modern times the tendency has been away from translations of Western words set to Western tunes and towards the original compositions of Indian singers in their own metres and to their own melodies. But some at least of the hymns of Fabricius will be sung for as long as the Tamil language is spoken, and for as long as there are Christians in South India to sing them.

We are not yet at the end of the services rendered by Fabricius to the missionary cause. He composed a short Tamil grammar in English; this little work of only sixty-three pages was published in 1778, and in a second edition fifteen years later. For many years Fabricius was engaged in the work of lexicography. Ziegenbalg had made a beginning with the collection of Tamil words and their German equivalents; Fabricius went much further. Making use of the work of all his predecessors, he brought out in 1779 a Tamil–English lexicon, which may be regarded as the foundation stone of scientific work in this field. Less important, though not without its usefulness, was an English–Tamil dictionary of the year 1786.

The last years of Fabricius were a time of tragedy and darkness. In 1778 it came to the knowledge of the missionaries that he had involved himself inextricably in financial difficulties and was liable to imprisonment for debt. Those so imprisoned were not treated as common criminals; their friends had fairly easy access to them; and Fabricius had friends who were able to secure considerable alleviation of his sufferings. But it was a sad conclusion to a noble career. At long last the missionary Gericke, who had taken over the work from him and was less pharisaic in his judgement than most of the Tranquebar missionaries (perhaps because he had suffered less than they), was able to secure his release, and the old man was allowed to die in peace. The end came on 24 January 1791. He had served in India for more than fifty years.⁶⁵

4 THE PERIOD OF CHRISTIAN FREDERICK SCHWARTZ

Christian Frederick Schwartz⁶⁶ was born in Prussia on 8 October 1726, and arrived in Tranquebar on 30 July 1750. He had studied in Halle and had drunk deeply of the pietism which reigned there at that time.

Schwartz was without doubt the greatest of all the Tranquebar missionaries. Yet it is a little difficult to put this greatness into words. He had no

particular gifts or talents. Those of his sermons which have been preserved are not marked by any theological originality or brilliance in expression; they give evidence rather of a solid and somewhat conventional piety. His letters to his friends reveal the intense and unchanging affection in which he held them, but tell us far less than we would like to know of the life of a missionary and of the circumstances under which his work was carried on. Yet it is clear that he was endowed with good intellectual capacities. He seems to have had no difficulty in expressing himself in both Tamil and Portuguese. From his later letters it is clear that he had a perfect mastery of English without any pretensions to eloquence. In Tiruchirāpalli (Trichinopoly) he learnt Urdu in order to be able to talk to representatives of the *nawāb* of Arcot who spoke that language; to this he later added Persian, the court language of the *rājā* of Thanjāvur, who was by origin a Marāthā, and encouraged him to learn some Marāthī.⁶⁷ To have mastered so many languages when burdened with all the cares of missionary life was no small achievement.

All this does not, however, account for the extraordinary esteem in which he was held by Indians and Europeans alike. This was due to the beauty of holiness, to the superlative purity and integrity of his life. On all he left an impression of perfect and transparent sincerity; he lived out his Christian life before their eyes in such a way as to make faith attractive even to the hardened and the cynical. He carried with him an atmosphere of quiet tranquillity; but it is clear that this was no natural gift. Like others who have attained to similar inner peace, he had had to make his way to it through inner conflicts and temptations, of some of which the records have been preserved.⁶⁸ But all that we know of the last thirty of the forty-eight years which he spent in India, without once returning to Europe, gives the impression of a joyful and confident faith and of an untroubled spirit.

The time at which Schwartz and his companions⁶⁹ reached India was not one of great prosperity for the mission. Schwartz had to go through the painful experience of learning that things were not quite as they had been represented. Eager and adventurous faith had been replaced by a somewhat passive conformity. Christians had become satisfied with a low level of achievement, in this reflecting the colour of their old, rather than of their new, environment. The Indian ordained ministers were inclined to sit in their comfortable homes without engaging too often in the long and arduous journeys without which the supervision of their widely scattered flocks could not be carried out. Saddest of all, the much-heralded catechist Rājānaikan had fallen into evil ways. He had become a victim of the ever present temptation to drunkenness; reproof and admonition had failed to bring him back to better ways, though in the end this was achieved and he was received back into favour. It was reported that two of the catechists had left the service

of the mission in circumstances which did not redound to their credit.

So there was much up-hill work to be undertaken, and long patience was required before results could be seen in renewal. To all this Schwartz set himself with the necessary measure of zeal and patience. But the first twelve years of his Indian life gave little promise of the adventures that were to follow, nor of the eminence which this quiet man was to attain.

The one adventure of those early years came unsought and had about it an inescapable element of the ridiculous. Schwartz came back from one of his peregrinations to find that a bride was waiting for him in Tranquebar. He was horrified. He had no objection to the marriage of missionaries, but he swore to high heaven that he had at that time no intention of getting married and that, if he had had, this would not be the lady whom he would have chosen. The situation was serious. No funds were available to send the unwanted bride back to Europe, nor was any ship immediately sailing. It was impossible under the conditions which prevailed in India at that time for an unmarried woman without relations to live in Tranquebar. Fortunately a solution was found. An elderly lieutenant in the garrison had been left a widower; he agreed to marry the lady. The wedding was made an occasion of considerable rejoicing; honour was satisfied and Schwartz was set free to remain a bachelor till the end of his days.

The association of Schwartz with Tiruchirāpaḷḷi, which came about in 1762 and which was to lay the foundations of his fame, occurred almost by accident. After a visit to Thaṅjāvur, instead of returning directly to Tranquebar he decided to pay a visit to Tiruchirāpaḷḷi, an important fort-town and the second centre of the rule of the *nawāb* of Arcot. Here he found Christians of the Danish mission and was so warmly received by the officers of the Company's regiment there that he decided to stay and minister to the white soldiers, not all of whom were English; to those of mixed race, many of the women among whom were married to soldiers; to Indian Christians; and to the non-Christians who formed the vast majority of the population.

Such was the attractiveness of his character that before long Schwartz had a group of sixty soldiers who met every day for prayer and mutual exhortation, and pledged themselves to visit the poor and the sick. When the elder Kohlhoff came on a visit, he affirmed that there was nothing like it in the whole of India. Two explosions had resulted in the death of a considerable number of European soldiers; Schwartz in consequence found himself in charge of a school for orphan children for which special funds had been raised. His work grew in every direction. Visitors record that 'he alone does the work of several missionaries, and we have found more here than we could have imagined'.⁷⁰

When Schwartz had ministered for a considerable time in Tiruchirāpaḷḷi,

the government in Madras felt that something should be done to regularise the situation. The following communication was sent in 1767 to the commandant at Tiruchirāpalli:

There being at present at Trichinopoly a large body of Europeans for whom we have no Chaplain; it is agreed to request of Mr Schwartz, one of the Danish Missionaries, who has long resided in that part of the country, speaks English perfectly well, and bears a most unexceptionable character, to officiate at that garrison . . . and to allow him £100 per annum to be paid monthly by the Commissary General.⁷¹

Schwartz continued to receive his modest salary as a missionary; he was therefore able to pay the whole of this government honorarium into the funds of the mission for the extension of the work. Throughout his ministry in Tiruchirāpalli he felt no difficulty in conducting worship according to the Anglican Book of Common Prayer. He never pretended to be anything but a Lutheran; but, being no theologian and still less a controversialist, he was able without scruple of conscience to provide for the English soldiers Christian worship in the form to which they had been accustomed.

The situation which had by now arisen was unusually complicated. No fewer than five authorities had some say in the Christian affairs of South India. The missions council in Copenhagen still existed, and part of the income of the mission came from the royal bounty. The main direction of the work continued to be in Halle in the hands of the Younger Francke and his successors. The SPCK in London provided financial support but did not interfere in the details of administration. The government of Madras had now constituted itself paymaster for Christian work in English, though not interfering in the Indian side of the activity of the missionaries. In the background were the directors of the East India Company in London, to whom all important decisions had to be referred by their representatives in India. It might seem that the missionaries suffered from an excess of direction. In point of fact, as a result of distance and slow and imperfect communications, each enjoyed a considerable measure of independence.⁷² There were four main centres of the work – Tranquebar, Madras, Cuddalore and Tiruchirāpalli – to which Thaṅjāvur was later added. The missionaries did meet from time to time, as they were able, for fellowship and consultation; but there was no central direction, and each missionary was to a large extent a law unto himself, controlling his catechists, determining policy and ruling over his flock with almost patriarchal authority. The system had advantages, as being free from the delays inseparable from committee administration; the drawbacks were seen most clearly in the affair of Rhenius in Pālayankōṭṭai, to which we shall come at a later stage in our study.

In 1772 Schwartz completed ten years of labour in Tiruchirāpalli. Everything had progressed under his hand. Officers and men of the English regiments

delighted in his society and his ministrations. The number of Christians continued steadily to increase. There had been some notable conversions; one of the converts, Sattianāthan, was in course of time to become one of the outstanding Indian ministers of the church. The reputation of Schwartz had spread far and wide through the country, among Christians and non-Christians alike. A great part of the work was in the hands of catechists whom he himself had trained; and the convert Philip, a reliable man, was ordained in that same year 1772.⁷³ The eyes of Schwartz began to turn towards Thaṇjāvur as the ideal centre for future work.

In the period of the great expansion of the Marāthās, one of the leaders of the race, Ekosi, succeeded in 1674 in making himself *rājā* of Thaṇjāvur. With the usual ups and downs attendant on such dynasties, and with a number of changes in succession, the Marāthā rulers of Thaṇjāvur managed to maintain themselves in possession for the best part of two centuries. In 1763 Parthab Singh, who was in point of fact a usurper, died, and was succeeded by his son, Tuljajee.⁷⁴ This was the ruler with whom Schwartz had much to do.

The principality of Thaṇjāvur, though small, especially after its diminution through the depredations of the *nawāb* of Arcot, was exceedingly fertile even before the days of modern irrigation. According to Schwartz,⁷⁵ 'the Tanjore country is . . . as a well watered garden'. But he had regretfully to contrast the bitter oppression under which the people lived with their natural good fortune. A cultivator of the land was expected to give to the king seventy per cent of his crop and to live on the remainder; in case of war or other special expense, the levy might be even higher. But, he concludes, 'notwithstanding all the oppression and injustice, the inhabitants subsist tolerably well'.

Schwartz had paid his first visit to Thaṇjāvur as early as 1762. It was not until 1769 that he was introduced into the presence of the king. Tuljajee had at that time a good reputation, as being better educated than the majority of his class, disinclined to injustice and tolerant in matters of religion. He accorded a most friendly reception to Schwartz, who was ordered into his presence 'at five in the afternoon of the 30th of April'. At the invitation of the king, Schwartz gave a somewhat lengthy account, in Tamil, of the principal points of the Christian faith, leading up to the Passion, and to the reality of redemption in Christ.

There can be little doubt that the *rājā* would have liked to retain Schwartz permanently at Thaṇjāvur; he sent to him a message that 'I was to remember that the king looked on me as his *padre*'.⁷⁶ But with the responsibilities of Tiruchirāpalli still heavy upon him, Schwartz could not at that time make the change, and a number of years were to pass before he could settle in the city where he was to become widely known as 'the royal priest of Tanjore'.

During this period, three powers – the British government in Madras, the *nawāb* of Arcot (always eager for extension of his territory) and the king of Thaṇjāvur (naturally concerned for the integrity of his rights and the maintenance of his independence) were engaged in an endless series of intrigues and manoeuvres. In 1773 the *nawāb* and the English joined against the king; Thaṇjāvur was stormed and the king fell into the hands of his enemies. He was fated to endure more than two years of distressing and humiliating imprisonment, though at the insistent demand of the English his life was spared. When the English at last changed their minds and decided on the restoration of Tuljajee, it fell to Schwartz to visit him in prison and to communicate to him the news of his release.

For the remaining twelve years of the king's life Schwartz exercised immense influence over him and over the affairs of the little kingdom. He was always in hopes that the king, whom he really loved, would accept the truth of Christianity. But these hopes were not destined to be fulfilled. The king expressed to the English general Munro his view that Christianity was a thousand times better than idolatry;⁷⁷ but he could not free himself from his old vices of drunkenness and lechery. Moreover, being dependent on the support of the Brāhmans against his Muslim enemies, he could not bring himself to take a step which was certain to deprive him permanently of their help. So Schwartz had to report regretfully: 'I cannot say what is going on in his heart, but there are no external signs that his sufferings have done him any good.'

The most famous and best-recorded of all the adventures of Schwartz is his brief and amateur appearance on the stage of diplomacy. Haidar Alī of Mysore (1722–82) at that time was spreading alarm and despondency throughout South India. In 1779 the English government in Madras, threatened again with war and wishing to know more of Haidar's plans, decided to send an embassy; such was the reputation of Schwartz that he was requested to undertake this delicate task. He was unwilling to be diverted for so long from his proper task as a missionary, but, feeling that if he could make any contribution to the preservation of peace, this might be regarded as acceptable service to the Prince of Peace, he finally decided to accept.

His account of his embassy is an historical document of considerable importance. It records the impressions of a completely impartial European observer, who was able to live with Haidar for some time on terms of intimacy such as were rarely if ever accorded to Europeans. Like so many other travellers, he was entranced by the beauty of the scenery as he emerged from the plains on to the plateau of Mysore, but he was saddened by many sights of poverty and oppression. On 24 April 1779 the party reached the fort of Mysore; on the following day they arrived at Srīrangapatnam (Seringapatam), where Haidar had his camp.

Schwartz observed intently the methods by which Haider kept his motley dominion with a mixture of efficiency and improvisation. Only two penalties were known – the sword and the whip; those among Haider's servants who managed to evade the one were likely to find themselves encountering the other. 'Though Hyder sometimes rewards his servants, the mainspring of action here is terror.'⁷⁸ Yet Schwartz was fair-minded enough to note the elements of efficiency in Haider's administration. Though illiterate he was shrewd and had an excellent memory; all matters of business were despatched expeditiously, secretaries being in waiting to take down the answers to any letters which had come in, the answers carefully checked to make sure that they corresponded to the ruler's intentions.

As far as religion was concerned, Schwartz detected that 'Hyder is quite unconcerned as to religion. He has none himself, and leaves everyone else to his choice.'⁷⁹ There were many Europeans in the service of the despots of Mysore, mostly French or Germans; Schwartz also encountered a number of Indian Christians:

To find them, in that country, far from all Christian ordinances, was painful; but to renew the instruction which they had formerly received was very comfortable. Captain Buden, the commander of the German troops, lent me his tent, in which I performed divine service every Sunday, without asking permission; acting in this as one bound, in conscience, to do his duty. We sang, preached, and prayed, no one presuming to hinder us.⁸⁰

So Schwartz was allowed to depart in peace. Once again he had demonstrated his astounding gift for making himself acceptable to all kinds of people, and for leaving on them a deep impression of his simplicity, sincerity and goodness. Otherwise his diplomatic mission bore no fruit.⁸¹

As Schwartz grew older, he became more settled in his ways. It is, however, remarkable that he never lost the capacity for entertaining new ideas and launching out into new forms of service.

Education was being given in South India in a variety of languages. At Tranquebar there were Danish, Portuguese and Tamil schools. When the schools for the orphaned children of soldiers was opened at Tiruchirāpalli, the language of instruction was naturally English. But it was a quite new idea that education in English should be provided for young Indians and not limited to those who were, or who had become, Christians.⁸² This seems first to have been put forward by Schwartz' friend John Sullivan, at one time resident in Thanjāvur.⁸³ In 1784 Sullivan had asked Schwartz to accompany him on a visit to Rāmanāthapuram (commonly known as Rāmnād) the headquarters of a large and semi-independent *zamindāri*, at the heart of what had earlier been known as Marava country. Here discussion turned on the education of the young. In the first place, said Sullivan,

the children, and the parents through their means, would become better acquainted with the principles and habits of Christians, and their obstinate attachment to their own customs would be shaken. The schoolmasters, if pious men, would exhibit the doctrines and precepts of the gospel, both to children and parents; a freer intercourse will be opened between natives and Europeans; and the children being instructed in the English language, would not need to rely on deceitful interpreters.⁸⁴

It was unlikely that Hindu princes would long continue to support schools run on Christian lines and directed by Christian teachers. But the idea had within it germs of great usefulness. The first school of the new type was that set up in Rāmnād itself; in 1785 William Wheatly was sent as schoolmaster. Schwartz, at the time of his death, assigned a considerable portion of his personal fortune for the maintenance of this school. After nearly two centuries the Schwartz High School, Rāmnād, continues to supply education and a measure of Christian instruction to the young people of the neighbourhood.⁸⁵

In 1778 Schwartz' long-expressed desire for relief from the charge of Tiruchirāpalli was met by the appointment to that position of Christian Pohle, who had arrived in India in the preceding year.

Pohle's career was distinctly unusual. Born in 1744, up to the age of twenty he was engaged, like David, in shepherding his father's sheep, but all the time with an eager desire to enter the work of the ministry. The pastor of his local church detected in him unusual gifts both of mind and spirit; under his friendly guidance Pohle made such progress that he was able to enter the University of Leipzig in 1766. Later testimonies suggest that he was never able to throw off completely the traces of the harshness and narrowness of his early years.

Pohle had much to learn. Like all new missionaries, he had expected too much of the new Christians and was deeply distressed to find how much of the old ways still remained in those who had put on the new faith. Still, it is startling to read, in a letter of 27 September 1779, the following account of a fierce quarrel which had broken out in public in the congregation:

the catechist Gnānapragāsam and the schoolmaster Sānthappan fought with one another quite dreadfully like a pair of stable-boys, and have been disobedient to the Indian minister . . . I would subject Gnānapragāsam to 80 lashes and Sānthappan to 100, and 80 lashes each to all their helpers in this affair; and I would further dismiss Sānthappan from his office . . . But all this must await investigation by Mr Schwartz.⁸⁶

The Roman Catholic missionaries certainly made use of corporal punishment in the exercise of church discipline, and there is evidence of the Protestant missionaries on occasion acting in the same way. But Schwartz

seems to have been the exception; there is no evidence in the records of his making use of such methods, except once with a young apprentice who seemed to Schwartz to need this kind of fatherly correction. He believed in the power of love and gentleness to heal all ills. It seems that Pohle in time learnt from him. He served in the mission for no less than forty years and in his later years was greatly respected by all. He, like the younger Kohlhoff, served as a link between the earlier and the later phases of the mission.

Once free from the narrowness of Tranquebar and the many cares of Tiruchirāpaḷḷi, Schwartz was able to turn his eyes to yet wider fields. The Roman Catholic missions had in the past been strong in the extreme south of India. The largest number of adherents was among the Paravas on the Coast, but from the seventeenth century on there had been congregations at Kāyattār and Vadakkankulam. But the withdrawal of the Jesuits and the final dissolution of their order had had the lamentable consequences elsewhere described, and the time was ripe for a new beginning.

The first reference to Pālayankōṭṭai (Palamcottah) and to the district of Tirunelveli, is to be found in Schwartz' journal for 1771.⁸⁷ The progress of the church in India was at all times linked to the mobility of Christians, and especially of Christian soldiers in the armies of the Company and of the local rulers. A member of the Lutheran congregation named Savarimuthu was resident in Pālayankōṭṭai. An English sergeant, who had an Indian wife, was interested in the Christian cause. A young accountant had listened with pleasure to the teaching; the sergeant had instructed him in the essentials of the Christian faith and had then proceeded to baptise him. Schwartz was disturbed by this action, not so much because it had been carried out by a layman, as because it ran contrary to his concern for careful preparation before baptism.

In February 1778 Schwartz was called to Pālayankōṭṭai by a European officer who wished to be married and who informed him also that there was a number of children to be baptised. The congregation in Pālayankōṭṭai now numbered about fifty – evidence of the strength of the Christian movement in places further north, from which these soldiers and their families had migrated.

On this occasion Schwartz encountered a Brāhman widow with whom he had already had dealings in Thaṅjāvur. This lady had been living in irregular union with an English officer,⁸⁸ who had given her some instruction in the Christian faith but who for some reason was unwilling to regularise the union. Schwartz had been in a difficulty; it was against his rule to marry unbaptised persons, but equally he felt it impossible to baptise a woman who was living, by strict Christian standards, in a sinful liaison. At that time nothing could be done, but now the difficulty had been removed – the officer

had died. There seemed to be no doubt as to the reality of the lady's faith, so she was baptised, receiving in baptism the name Clorinda. For a number of years she was one of the great pillars of the Christian movement in the Tirunelveli district. With the help of English officers, a small church was built in or close to the fort, and became generally known as Clorinda's church.⁸⁹

A strange intuition seems to have led Schwartz to a conviction of the great importance that Tirunelveli might have for the whole future of the Indian church. He was in Pālayankottai again in August 1785. He found much to encourage him. The number of Christians had risen to 150, of communicants to 80. While there he persuaded the former Roman Catholic catechist Devanāyagam to commit to him his son Vedanāyagam for further instruction, and carried the fourteen-year old boy with him to Thaṅjāvur.⁹⁰ Vedanāyagam became the first great poet and hymn-writer of the Indian church. He lived on into the second half of the nineteenth century and was another of the links between the great days of the pioneers and the period of growth that was to follow it.

Devanāyagam had not shown himself to possess the tact and vigour needed in a catechist who for the greater part of his time would have to stand alone, so Schwartz withdrew him to Thaṅjāvur, and sent to replace him Sattianāthan, in whom he placed more confidence than in any other of the Indian helpers. Of him he felt able to write:

In regard to his integrity of heart, his aptitude for teaching, his willingness and inward zeal to bring souls to Christ the Lord, his unselfish behaviour, I set him above all the other country pastors and catechists; with great conviction, I have to admit that in his discussions with non-Christians he has put me to shame. He has laid before them the whole doctrine concerning Christ, and not only one part of it, and is so comprehensive and impressive that I have found myself not a little astonished and put to shame.

As lay catechist and ordained pastor Sattianāthan continued faithful in his ministry until his death in 1815, held the Christians together through the dark days when hardly any missionary supervision was possible, and left the church in such good order that when better days came it was ready for that amazing expansion through which it would come to surpass by far the churches of Tranquebar, Tiruchirāpalli and Thaṅjāvur.

On 24 October 1786 Schwartz completed his sixtieth year. The weight of thirty-six years of missionary service in India was beginning to press heavily upon him. But the six months preceding this date and the six months following it brought him three special sources of consolation.

In July 1786 the government at Fort St George resolved to take control of the affairs of Thaṅjāvur into its own hands and to this end appointed a committee to consist of the resident, the commander of the forces and the

paymaster, with Schwartz as adviser to the committee. Hardly had the committee begun its work when the resident Mr Hudleston proposed to the government that Schwartz should have not only a seat but a voice on the committee.⁹¹

It is, and will be, as long as I live, my greatest pride, and most pleasing recollection, that from the moment of my entering on this responsible station, I have consulted with Mr Swartz on every occasion, and taken no step of the least importance without his previous concurrence and approbation; nor has there been a difference of sentiment between us in any one instance.

The government entirely concurred in this proposal; and further showed their respect for Schwartz by assigning to him a salary of £100 a year as interpreter at Thaṇjāvur, and a monthly allowance of 20 pagodas for a palanquin.⁹²

The second consolation accorded to Schwartz related to the succession to the throne of Thaṇjāvur. Tuljajee was not an old man, but his continuous failure to control his desires had undermined his health, and in 1787 it was clear that the end could not long be delayed. Realising his condition and the danger to his state if the succession was not secured,⁹³ Tuljajee decided to adopt a ten-year-old boy, Serfojee, *rājā*. When this had been achieved, with all due legal ceremonial to make sure of its validity, Tuljajee called for Schwartz, and pointing to his newly adopted son, said: 'This is not my son, but yours; into your hand I deliver him.' Schwartz replied: 'May this child become a child of God.' Serfojee in later years saw little of Schwartz, but he never ceased to regard him as his true father. In 1801 he wrote to the SPCK in London, and in his letter refers to his desire

to perpetuate the memory of the late Rev Father Schwartz, and to manifest the great esteem I have for the character of that great and good man, and the gratitude I owe him, my father, my friend, the protector and guardian of my youth.

The third consolation was the ordination to the sacred ministry of John Caspar Kohlhoff, Schwartz's protégé and almost his adopted son. (An unexpected and most attractive feature in the complex character of this great man was his unfeigned and simple love for children.) When John Caspar was ten years old, Schwartz had removed him from the care of his ageing father, and had made himself entirely responsible for his upbringing. The boy had responded well to the loving care of his preceptor. He had proved himself as catechist and preacher. He was perfectly at home in German and Tamil and had a good knowledge of English and Portuguese; he had a subsidiary knowledge of Hindustani and Persian. Schwartz felt the need of a helper in Thaṇjāvur; who could better supply the need than his own son?

The ordination took place in Thaṇjāvur on 23 January 1787. In 1786 John Balthasar Kohlhoff (b. 1711) had celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of his

own ordination; but old age had pressed hard on him and, though he was present at the ordination of his son, he seems to have taken no part in the service. When the ceremony ended, the new minister ascended the pulpit and preached in Tamil, the excellence of the style commending the sermon to all who were able to follow it. John Caspar continued in the service of the mission for fifty-seven years; he lived to welcome in Thaṅjāvur Bishop Middleton and Bishop Heber and the future Bishop Caldwell. His life and that of Schwartz between them covered nearly a century of the history of the church in India.

This section may end with remarks on three subjects not without importance in any general survey of the period.

A number of attempts have been made to assess the membership of the Lutheran church and the number of baptisms during the first century of its existence, but it cannot be said that any of them has been entirely successful. The records are incomplete, and at certain points the interpretation of them is uncertain. Julius Richter, following James Hough,⁹⁴ gives a figure of 36,970,⁹⁵ but there is reason to think that the number should be considerably higher. As the churches grew, an increasing number of children of Christian parents came to be baptised; a considerable number of former Roman Catholics was admitted to the church. No account seems to have been taken of these two sources in the figures as given by Hough.

Even if the correct figure be taken as substantially larger than that suggested above, the total, as the result of the labours of a century, may seem painfully small in comparison with the number of non-Christians who remained entirely untouched by the Gospel. Yet, when the difficulty of winning even a single convert is considered, the achievement must be regarded as considerable. In the five main centres – Madras, Tranquebar, Tiruchirāpalli, Thaṅjāvur and Pālayankottai – there were substantial congregations; these have persisted and grown to the present day, later generations having built on the foundations laid by the pioneers.⁹⁶

An Indian Christian leader of the twentieth century has expressed the opinion that ‘the only mistake which was made at this time . . . was to miss the opportunity to establish an Indian Church, which could thrust firm roots into the soil of India’.⁹⁷ The missionaries of the eighteenth century were men of their own time. It is not the case that nothing had been done to promote the self-reliance and independence of the church. It had been provided with numerous books, and especially the Bible, in the Tamil language. Indian pastors had been ordained and given a considerable measure of independence each in his own sphere. It does not appear, however, that the missionaries looked forward to a time at which the Indian church would be able to dispense with the services of the foreigner and to stand entirely on its

own feet. Central direction remained in the hands of the missionaries, in a number of cases in the hands of a single missionary ruling without rival in his own field. For recruitment and financial aid the Indian church was dependent on a distant body in Europe, the decisions of which were at times made in total unawareness of Indian conditions. No comprehensive plan seems ever to have been worked out for transferring the central direction of the mission from Denmark and Germany to India.

Some excuses may be made for the missionaries of the time. They were always very few in number. It was never possible for them to engage in extensive plans for the education of their Indian helpers in a way that would have enabled some among these to become independent leaders. Theological training remained on an elementary level. And the attempt to produce leaders through the ordination of the best among the catechists had not in every case produced encouraging results. The Lutheran missionaries must be given credit for all that they achieved. At the same time it is possible to regret that their vision in certain directions was limited, and that they seem to have been unaware of some things which they might have done to the advantage of the Indian church and which consequently remained undone.

The story of the Tranquebar mission covers the period during which Britain was establishing itself as the dominant power in India. Some consideration should be given to the attitude of the missionaries towards the European powers.

First, it must be noted that the question became urgent only after the middle of the eighteenth century. Until that time, none of the European nations (except perhaps Portugal, whose power was steadily declining) was a colonial power in the ordinary sense of that term. England was in Madras, and Denmark was in Tranquebar, on the basis of perfectly legal and regular contracts with the local rulers. Rent was regularly paid, and the sovereign rights of the rulers were never questioned.

The attitude of Schwartz to these developments is particularly interesting. He was unsparing in his criticisms of every act of injustice or oppression committed by the English. The extraordinary incompetence of the military and the blindness of the government in Madras gave him ample scope for the exercise of his critical faculties. But he was fortunate in the majority of the English, both soldiers and civilians, with whom he had to do; he found in them both courage and a concern for the Indian peoples whom they governed or served. When the English took on the administration of Thanjāvur, he found that his suggestions for improvements in the administration of justice and for remedies to the oppression under which the people suffered would be carefully considered and in many cases put into effect. It seemed to him, therefore, a natural and suitable part of his Christian duty to

ally himself with those whose concerns in many areas were the same as his own, and to put himself at their service.

Schwartz, Pohle and others received large sums of money from the English authorities, military and civil. But all these were payments for services rendered to the troops and other European residents. The missionaries accepted these appointments only on the understanding that their spiritual independence would be in no way infringed by their doing so and that no limitations would be set on their freedom to engage in missionary work. It may be held, and was probably felt by some at the time, that it was imprudent on their part to identify themselves so closely with the representatives of a foreign power. But, at a time at which so many Europeans were engaged in the service of the local Indian rulers, the lines between Indian and foreigner were much less strictly drawn than in later times.

It does not appear from the records that the spiritual character of the missionaries was prejudiced in the eyes of Indians by their association with the foreigners and the services which they rendered to them. The affection and admiration in which Schwartz above all others was held by foreigners and Indians alike indicate that his independence of spirit was fully understood by all. He moved with ease within the limits of his own century. It is hard to see how he could have done otherwise.⁹⁸

3 · The Thomas Christians in Decline and Recovery

The story of the Thomas Christians in the eighteenth century is dark, obscure, distorted and for the most part highly unedifying. The difficulty arises not from the lack of authorities – there are, if anything, almost too many – but from the tendentious character of most of them; and, as Bishop Brown tartly observes, ‘the assessment of the relative reliability of contradictory statements is almost impossible because no records seem to have been kept in the Jacobite Church at the time’.¹

Account has to be taken of no fewer than six bodies or systems. Rome continued to appoint bishops of Cochin, but as the Dutch refused permission for any Portuguese bishop to reside in the territory which they controlled these appointments were little more than nominal. In the same way archbishops were appointed to Cranganore, but with limited opportunities for effective service. The Carmelites succeeded in winning the favour, or at least the tolerance, of the Dutch, and a continuous succession of vicars apostolic was maintained. The dissident Syrians were under the rule of their own bishops, all of whom took the name Mar Thomas, until in 1772 Mar Thomas VI changed his name to Dionysius. At various times Eastern prelates of differing allegiances succeeded in making their way to India and in establishing themselves for longer or shorter periods among the Thomas Christians. Finally, there was the tiny diocese of Āññūr or Tolīyūr,² which still exists, and has managed to maintain an unbroken episcopal succession for more than two centuries.

Cochin had been created a diocese in the sixteenth century, in order to care for Portuguese residents in that neighbourhood and for Indian converts who worshipped according to the Latin rite; its history, therefore, is involved only occasionally and episodically with that of the Thomas Christians. It may be noted that in 1722 the Portuguese authorities nominated to the see a Portuguese Jesuit, Francis Vasconcellos, who held the position for twenty years without ever being able to reside within the limits of his diocese.³

The determination of the Thomas Christians never again to submit to a Jesuit bishop remained unchanged. The appointment in 1701 of a Jesuit,

John Ribeiro, to the position of archbishop of Cranganore aroused no small commotion. Ribeiro wisely withdrew to Ambalakkādu in the territory of the *zamorin*, and from there seems to have exercised some measure of authority over the Thomas Christians in the northern areas. He was succeeded by another Portuguese Jesuit, Antony Pimentel, who held office for more than thirty years (1721–52), and the succession was maintained for half a century after his death, but with ever diminishing influence over the lives and destinies of the Thomas Christians.⁴

Effective authority in the Serra was in the hands of the Italian Carmelites. Angelo Francis had succeeded in obtaining consecration, at the hands of the Eastern prelate Mar Simeon, in 1701; but the papal brief which nominated him to the titular see of Metellopolis specified that he was 'to rule the Syrians till the archbishop of Cranganore could take possession of the see'. As it became clear that this date was never likely to arrive, Angelo Francis became the only effective prelate in the main area of the Thomas Christians, and he worked diligently among them till his death in 1712. But when his successor, John Baptist of St Teresa (Morteo), was appointed bishop of Limira *i.p.i.*, the shadowy rights of the *padroado* were still respected, and the appointment was 'for the churches and places of both the dioceses of Cranganore and Cochin, where the ordinaries cannot fully exercise their respective jurisdictions'.⁵

John Baptist held office until his death on 6 April 1750. Amid all the turmoils of this troubled time this long and peaceful tenure of office did much to strengthen the position of the Romo-Syrians against the claims perpetually put forward by the dissident party. Moreover, to ensure continuity in the work, John Baptist had been provided in 1745 with a coadjutor having the right of succession, the Pole Nicolas Szostak, in religion Fr Florentius of Jesus Nazareth, bishop of Areopolis *i.p.i.*

For some reason the coadjutor had not received episcopal consecration. This defect was corrected in 1751, and he continued in office until his death in 1773. Thus in a period of seventy-two years there had been only three vicars apostolic, in marked contrast to the rapid changes in the archbishopric of Goa and the long periods during which there was no effective direction of that metropolitical see.

This long period of calm was broken by the events of the following year. In 1774, a Bavarian Carmelite, Eustace Federl, in religion Fr Francis de Sales, who had served ten years in Kerala, was in Rome. It seemed good to the authorities to select him as vicar apostolic for Malabar; after a long time spent on the journey he arrived in Varāppoli (Verapoly) on 13 October 1775. No sooner had he arrived than the new prelate showed himself arrogant and authoritarian; one of his first actions was to depose the vicar provincial, an

Italian who had held the position for twenty-five years.⁶ The natural result was a rebellion of the Italian missionaries against their alien head. Agitation spread to the Thomas Christians, always restive under the protracted foreign domination, and there was a real possibility that the Romo-Syrians would drift back into fellowship with the dissidents, the strong point in whose position was the enjoyment of national leadership and freedom from foreign control. Rome acted with unusual speed; on 25 February 1777 Propaganda resolved to compel the resignation of the intemperate bishop, after less than eighteen months in office. There was in consequence no bishop of the Roman allegiance in the Serra.

At this moment it seemed that the long-frustrated dream of the Thomas Christians of having a bishop of their own race might become reality. These Christians had decided to send a delegation to Rome to report directly their grievances against the missionaries. At the head of this delegation was one Fr Joseph Kariattil, who had been educated in Rome. Rome seems to have taken little note of the delegation and its requests. But in 1782, when Joseph was in Lisbon, the queen of Portugal nominated him to the vacant see of Cranganore, a nomination which was approved by the pope. The new archbishop set forth for India, and reached Goa; but just when the expectation of the Thomas Christians was at its height he fell victim to a fever and died.⁷

The archbishop of Goa acted promptly, and appointed as administrator of the diocese of the Serra Fr Thomas Pareamakal, who had been a companion of Joseph Kariattil on his journey to Europe. But this was far from satisfying the Thomas Christians. Inevitably the rumour spread that Joseph had been done to death by the Europeans. At the beginning of 1787 a well-attended meeting was held at Ankamāli, the ancient centre of their church, and a memorial was drawn up in which it was stated that

as nothing but strife and grievance must continue to arise if we have our Metrans from a race which oppresses us, we have sent information to Rome and Portugal, to the effect that our Church should have Metrans from among its own body . . . and that our mind is made up that in future we will have no bishop but from among ourselves; and until we obtain such a one, we will receive ordination and holy oil according to the command of our honourable Governor [i.e. the administrator Thomas Pareamakal].⁸

Such independence was not at all to the mind of the Carmelites. The vicar-general, now the famous Paulinus of St Batholomew, went off post-haste to Trivandrum, and secured a judgement from the court of the *rājā* of Travancore, condemning the action of the Christians and subjecting them to a fine. A similar judgement was obtained from the *rājā* of Cochin. The agitation soon subsided, and the Romo-Syrians had to wait another century for the appointment of bishops from among themselves. Fr Thomas contin-

ued in his office of administrator till his death in 1799; but another foreign vicar apostolic of Malabar had been appointed – Fr Louis Mary of Jesus (Pianazzi),⁹ bishop of Usula, who held the office from 1784 until 1802.

We now turn to the story of the dissident Christians, who, disliking the term Jacobites, prefer to be called the Malankara church.

The story is constantly marked by the quarrels and tensions between those who had returned to the Roman allegiance and those who had maintained their independence. But in point of fact there was much more coming and going between them than might be supposed. One of our few independent observers, the highly intelligent Jacob Canters Visscher, who was Dutch chaplain at Cochin from 1717 to 1720, notes that some of the churches, such as the smaller church at Kōṭṭayam, were actually shared by the two parties. Many of the leaders were closely related to one another; the sector to which one or another belonged was determined in many cases more by locality than by conviction, and rivalries tended to be more personal than theological.¹⁰

At the beginning of the period under review the head of the dissident sector was Mar Thomas IV, who had succeeded to the title in 1688 and who died in 1728.¹¹ It is doubtful whether this Thomas had received any regular consecration as bishop.

Life was complicated for Mar Thomas by the arrival in Kerala in 1708 of one Mar Gabriel, who claimed that he had been sent by the Nestorian patriarch to win back the Thomas Christians to their allegiance to him and to the form of the Christian faith which he professed.¹² Thomas was by this time firmly rooted in the Eutychian or Monophysite form of the faith, and never regarded Gabriel as anything but a heretic.

Gabriel must have secured for himself a certain following and a measure of financial support, since he was able to maintain himself in India until his death in 1731. He seems to have made a favourable impression on the Dutch, but it is unlikely that he was ever a serious threat either to the Romo-Syrians or to the dissident party.

Visscher, in his sixteenth letter,¹³ gives an interesting account of the Thomas Christians in his day, and includes a vivid picture of the bishops, both of whom he had encountered:

Mar Gabriel, a white man, and sent hither from Bagdad, is aged and venerable in appearance, and dresses nearly in the same fashion as the Jewish priests of old, wearing a cap fashioned like a turban, and a long white beard. He is courteous and God-fearing, and not at all addicted to extravagant pomp. Round his neck he wears a golden crucifix. He lives with the utmost sobriety, abstaining from all animal food . . . He holds the Nestorian doctrine respecting the union of the two natures in our Saviour's person.

The impression made by Mar Thomas was considerably less favourable:

Mar Thomas, the other Bishop, is a native of Malabar. He is a black man, dull and slow of understanding. He lives in great state; and when he came into the city to visit the Commandant, he was attended by a number of soldiers bearing swords and shields, in imitation of the Princes of Malabar. He wears on his head a silken cowl, embroidered with crosses, in form much resembling that of the Carmelites. He is a weak-minded rhodomontader, and boasted greatly to us of being an Eutychian in his creed, accusing the rival Bishop of heresy.¹⁴

Over a period of more than two centuries the Roman Catholics had had relationships, friendly and otherwise, with the Thomas Christians. In the Anglican and Protestant world there was little awareness of their existence (though the work of Michael Geddes (1694) seems to have had a fairly wide circulation) and little desire to help them. With the presence in India of Dutch Calvinistic chaplains and German Lutheran missionaries the situation began somewhat slowly to change.

The alert Visscher considered the possibility that the independent Syrians could be brought out of their darkness and ignorance to better ways. In the letter already cited, he writes:

It would not be impracticable to bring over these people into the right way by suitable measures . . . It need not be supposed that these people would be averse to such a measure; for besides the claim that it would give them to the Company's protection, they show their favourable disposition, even now, by offering their children to be educated by us.¹⁵

Some contacts had been made between the German missionaries and the Thomas Christians. The SPCK in London, which was supporting the Lutherans in Tranquebar, and later in Madras, was much concerned about the ancient church which might one day become an instrument in the hand of God for the development of extensive evangelistic work in India. The missionaries were instructed to propose a union between the Syrians and the Protestant church, and to employ some of the Syrian priests to propagate the Gospel in India.¹⁶ In accordance with these instructions the missionaries made contact with the Reverend Valerius Nicolai, another of the distinguished Dutch chaplains who served the Reformed church in Cochin.

Nicolai had other reasons for making contact with the Malankara Syrians. In 1729 Mar Thomas V wrote to the Dutch commander at Cochin, inveighing against both the Roman Catholics and Mar Gabriel, and asking for the help of the Dutch against both. Nicolai was ordered to reply to him. Accordingly he wrote both to Mar Gabriel and to Mar Thomas, pointing out that the one no less than the other was a heretic, and offering his services to lead them back into the true way. Naturally the reply of Mar Gabriel was somewhat negative. Mar Thomas wrote that he could not deal with the doctrinal issues until he had received permission from his patriarch, but

promised that, if assistance was given against his rivals, he and his people would call upon God in their fasts and prayers to reward the Dutch governor.

In 1732 the missionaries in Madras wrote to report that they had frequently received visits from priests from Kerala, who were making the pilgrimage to St Thomas' Mount. These visitors seemed to be poor, ignorant and superstitious, understanding very little of the Syriac in which they had been taught to conduct the services.¹⁷

In the following year the Germans in Tranquebar entertained a priest who had been ordained by Mar Gabriel. This man was able to explain some of the differences between Nestorians and Jacobites, and was able to make out fairly well the Syriac New Testament which was in the possession of the missionaries. He added the interesting information that what was read in church in Syriac was explained to the people in Malayālam, and that the children learnt the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, other prayers and parts of the catechism in that language.

The considered opinion of the missionaries was that it was vain to hope for any union of these Christians with the Protestant church, the human mind being too strongly wedded to traditions inherited from forefathers. Thus it appeared that all the trouble taken by Nicolai had been in vain. Nicolai himself wrote to the Lutherans in 1735 and explained that he had made no more progress with the Eutychian followers of Mar Thomas than they had with the Nestorian followers of Mar Gabriel. For the most part the Dutch maintained their neutrality and avoided being involved in the endless strife in which the various factions of the Syrians exhausted their strength and squandered their resources.

One of the recurring motifs in the whole affair of the dissident Thomas Christians was the intense desire of each successive bishop to be recognised as the sole bishop of all the Thomas Christians. They had a stronger case than is allowed for in some Roman Catholic presentations of the history. The Jacobite bishops all belonged to the Pakalomattam family, from which traditionally the archdeacon had always been drawn and which was held in high estimation by all parties in the church. Each bishop was well aware of the dislike of the foreign bishops which was almost universal among the Romo-Syrians, and of the strength of the desire among them to have a bishop of their own race, familiar both with their language and with all the customs of their peoples. But these bishops were also well aware that the reunification of the church could not take place until the Roman authorities were willing to recognise both the orthodoxy of their faith and the validity of their episcopal consecration. Thus it came about that they were willing to go to almost all lengths in making professions of faith, while the Roman authorities maintained a considerable measure of scepticism as to its sincerity.

The records being as fragmentary as they are, it is impossible to state with confidence which, if any, of the early dissident bishops had any kind of consecration that could be recognised either by the great Eastern churches or by the Roman Catholic church. From 1685 to 1697 a Jacobite bishop named John, sent to India by the patriarch, was resident in Kerala. It is said that this bishop consecrated Mar Thomas III, who held office for only ten days in 1686, and also his successor Mar Thomas IV, who lived until 1728. But this is quite uncertain; and the anxiety which Mar Thomas IV manifested about his own status makes it appear extremely improbable.

We have two letters written by this Mar Thomas to the patriarch. In 1709 he wrote complaining of the presence of Mar Gabriel, and pleading that bishops might be sent to aid him in countering this heresy. The history of this letter is peculiar. The Dutch authorities in Cochin were asked to arrange for its transmission, but when it finally reached Amsterdam no one quite knew what to do with a letter in Syriac; it was therefore handed over to Dr Charles Schaaf, a lecturer in oriental languages in the University of Leiden. Schaaf found the letter interesting, and published it in 1714 in Latin translation in his *Relatio Historica*. This had the unfortunate effect of warning the authorities in Rome of the plan to bring Eastern bishops into the territory which they had long regarded as being under their exclusive control, and led to counter-plans to make sure that no such Eastern bishops should reach the Serra.

In 1720 Mar Thomas tried again. It is almost certain that his second letter also failed to reach its destination. The orientalist J. S. Asseman found a copy of it in the archives of the Propaganda in Rome and published it in Latin and Syriac in the fourth volume of his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*.¹⁸ A few sentences may serve as illustration of the florid style of oriental correspondence:

Lord, I am not worthy to write to thy greatness. But we write and we send letters because of the necessity of the orthodox Syrians of India, and we pray that thou mayest send to us one Patriarch and one Metropolitan and twin priests, who may be philosophers and may understand the interpretation of the holy and divine scriptures . . . If thou wilt come to us, then, as God the Father promised to the sons of Israel, so may Jesus Christ the Merciful and the Ruler, deal with you and so may the Holy Spirit the Paraclete console you. Amen.

There follow some rather fulsome remarks about 'Charles [Schaaf] . . . a learned man and a proved philosopher, our dearest and most beloved companion', and a request that the patriarch will write to the Dutch commander in Cochin. Mar Thomas signs himself 'The Gate of all India'.¹⁹

Naturally, no reply was received to this communication. Mar Thomas IV, before his death in 1728, had followed custom in arranging that the succession should fall to his nephew, Mar Thomas V; but by what form of

consecration the succession was transmitted the authorities do not reveal.

This being so, and Mar Thomas V being plagued by the same uncertainty as to his status which had troubled his predecessors, he pursued the question of bringing over an Eastern bishop to settle the question once for all by giving to the Indian bishop undoubtedly valid consecration and regularity of succession. He asked the Dutch to handle the matter and promised them a payment of Rs. 4,000 for the transportation of the required bishop. A bishop was found, but it would have been better if he had never been brought to India. This John turned out to be the most disreputable of all the *episcopi vagantes* by whom from time to time the Indian churches have been troubled.

The learned orientalist Anquetil-Duperron, who was in Cochin in 1758, exercised his somewhat impish sense of humour on the memory of this bishop:

The schismatic Christians . . . asked permission from the Dutch to get a bishop from Syria. The Council of Cochin consented and gave an order to the Dutch ships of Bessora [Basra] to catch the first bishop that they found . . . The passion which this bishop had for wine soon made him contemptible in the eyes of the Malabar Christians . . . The Commander, hearing this story, put Monseigneur under arrest in Cochin, and in 1751 sent him back to Bessora . . . Notwithstanding these grave vices, this bishop had never been willing to consecrate Mar Thomas.²⁰

Paulinus, who is not wholly reliable when writing of the dissidents, confirms the report of Duperron, when he writes that this man 'burned with fire the images of the saints and even of our Lord Christ and also Crosses. He gave wives to the priests, he stole the silver plate of several churches, he drank wine to excess and when drunk caused various disturbances.'²¹

Disappointed by the refusal of the recreant to consecrate him as bishop, Mar Thomas seems at this point to have made an approach to the pope. In a letter of the year 1748, he complains sorely that the ancient church is divided into three parties. If the pope will make the single concession of allowing the use of leavened bread in the Eucharist, all will be well. 'We supplicate to concede this use to us for all the churches of our diocese, and if Your Holiness will grant this favour we shall all be at one in obedience to your throne.' Two years later Propaganda wrote at considerable length expressing that deeply rooted suspicion as to the sincerity of Eastern bishops with which, one after the other, approaches from the side of the dissidents were rebuffed in Rome. But in this case the cardinals were probably right.

Just at this dark moment the fortunes of the Malankara Syrians began to take a turn for the better. The Dutch continued to prosecute the search for a bishop. This time they fared better. On 23 April 1751, no fewer than three bishops arrived in Kerala – Mar Basil, Mar Gregory and Mar John, accompanied by a chorepiscopus, George Nameatallah, a well-educated man who spoke Arabic and Portuguese and also had some knowledge of Latin and

Ethiopic. All seemed set fair for the regulation of the affairs of the church, when a stone was cast into the apparently peaceful water by a wretched dispute about the passage money of the bishops. Mar Thomas fell out with them. They refused to proceed to his consecration, and the resulting difficulties were not eliminated for twenty years.

The three bishops seem to have been good and quiet men, who decided to make India their home, and as far as possible to live at peace with all men. Mar Basil lived at Kandanāte, Mar Gregory at Muḷanturutti, and Mar John at Kayamkuḷam.²² Some appearance of peace was patched up in 1754 through the intervention of the Dutch authorities; it was agreed that Mar Basil, who seems to have been the senior of the three newly arrived bishops, would not carry out ordinations or appoint priests to cures without consultation with Mar Thomas,²³ and that the customs of the Syrian churches would not be changed. But neither party seems to have found it possible to keep the agreement in all its details. The Malankara Syrians had for a century lived without adequate supervision and with only the most erratic contact with the mother-church in Mesopotamia. Inevitably errors and irregularities had crept in, and, unlike the Romo-Syrians, the Malankara Syrians had no regular seminaries for the instruction of candidates for the priesthood. The Syrian bishops, accustomed to stricter standards, felt themselves bound to press for measures of reform, and this was felt by Mar Thomas to be aggression in the sphere which properly belonged to him and to him alone.

The Dutch in their perplexity turned to Martānda Varma the *rājā* of Travancore, who during the whole of the period now under review had been increasing his power and extending his territory. The Dutch governor, Moens, stated clearly that this action was in line with the former policy both of the Portuguese and of the Dutch themselves. He says that

the Company never had any authority, nor could have, over the S. Thomas Christians, who were always subject to the country princes. Not even the Portuguese exercised any jurisdiction over them, though they did their utmost, with the consent of the king of Cochin, to make these Christians accept the doctrines of Rome and acknowledge the hierarchy of the Pope.²⁴

Martānda Varma recognised the authority of the Syrian bishops, and Mar Thomas had unwillingly to accept his decision. But when this powerful ruler died (1758) Mar Thomas again raised the old controversies, and denounced the Syrians as intruders. To mark his independence, in 1757²⁵ he consecrated his nephew as coadjutor and successor. When Mar Thomas V died in 1765, this nephew succeeded him as Mar Thomas VI.

At last the long dispute was brought to an end by the successful intervention of the *rājā*. In 1772 Mar Thomas VI received episcopal consecration in the church at Niraṇam at the hands of Mar Gregory in the presence of Mar John. According to his own account, in '1772 I received anew in the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Neranam all the Holy

Orders from the tonsure to the episcopal consecration from the Jacobite Metropolitan, Mar Gregory'.²⁶ At this time he received the name Mar Dionysius, by which he was subsequently known.²⁷

One of the chief aims of Mar Dionysius had now been accomplished. He had received episcopal consecration, the validity and regularity of which no one was likely to doubt; indeed, under this head no further difficulties seem to have arisen. But the other great aim – to be recognised as the sole supreme head of all the Thomas Christians – was always present to his mind. To this end he continued to make approaches to the authorities of the Roman church, both in Kerala and in Rome.

The question seems to have been brought to the notice of the Propaganda. We find that on 22 July 1774 the case was discussed, and instructions were sent to the Carmelite vicar apostolic at Varāppōli to offer to Mar Dionysius temporal but not spiritual authority over his adherents. This meant that Mar Dionysius would be recognised as having the authority which in past times had pertained exclusively to the archdeacon. It was further indicated to the vicar apostolic that the claim of the Thomas Christians to have a bishop of their own race and their own rite was not even to be discussed. Naturally these were terms which no bishop could possibly accept.

This was not the end of the discussions. In 1779, when Fr Joseph Kariattil was about to leave for Rome, Mar Dionysius put into his hands a lengthy epistle, in which he complained that, as all his requests addressed to Archbishop Salvador de Reis of Cranganore and Bishop Florentius, vicar apostolic of Malabar, that he and his people might be absolved from the excommunication which they had incurred in the days of their forefathers, had met with no favourable response, he must now have recourse to Rome itself with the earnest plea that he and his flock might be admitted to the fellowship of the Catholic church.

It is clear that this plea was considered in Rome. A letter from Propaganda to the vicar apostolic of Malabar informs him of the visit of Fr Kariattil and Fr Pareamakal, and of the information brought by them that the 'alleged archbishop . . . named Mar Thomas or Mar Dionysius has long been desirous of entering into union with the church, and is earnestly pleading for reconciliation, it being understood that he will be sustained in his episcopal jurisdiction and dignity'.²⁸ All these protestations failed to carry conviction, however, and Rome maintained its position that without further testing and examination no confidence could be placed in the sincerity of the archbishop.

Further evidence concerning these long-drawn-out and in the end abortive negotiations appears from time to time in the documents. Special interest attaches to a vivid description given by the vicar-general, Paulinus, of a visit that he had himself paid to Mar Dionysius:

When I entered his chamber, I saw an old man seated among his Cattamar priests, with a long white beard, holding in his hand a silver crozier curved at the top in the Greek style, wearing a pontifical cope, on his head a round mitre, such as the oriental bishops wear, bearing a cross worked on it in Phrygian fashion, from which a white veil flowed from head to shoulders. I tried him in a long discourse. I found him shrewd enough, talking grandly of his house and dignity; the matter of his conversion putting by for some other occasion, and striving that his nephew may succeed him. I knew the beast by its horns, and so having left him I proceeded on my journey.

From documents belonging to a period later than that dealt with in this chapter, it is clear that Mar Dionysius remained firm throughout on one single point – that all the Thomas Christians, Romo-Syrian and Malankara alike, must be re-united under one single bishop, that that bishop must be a member of the same race as the other members of the church, and that, as he was the only bishop who fulfilled this condition, that bishop must be none other than himself. The Roman Catholic authorities, in Rome and in Kerala, seem to have been divided in their views as to the extent to which concessions should be granted to the claims of Mar Dionysius. There was therefore no real possibility of agreement's being reached. As long as there was any reasonable hope that one side or the other would give way the negotiations could continue, but long before the death of Mar Dionysius in 1808 the futility of the operation had become evident to all those concerned.

Mar Dionysius had not gained all that he desired. Nevertheless the gains had been considerable. The strong rule of Martānda Varma had eliminated many of the petty princes, and with them the rivalries which had so often perplexed the situation of the Thomas Christians. The attitude of the ruler of Travancore towards the Christians was marked by fairness and equity; though on occasion he found it necessary to interfere in their affairs, this was always with a view to peace and good order. The rule of the Dutch was tolerant towards men of all faiths. In spite of their own ardent Calvinistic faith, they took no action against Roman Catholics as such, except in their refusal to permit those of Portuguese nationality to reside in the areas that they controlled. Relations between the Romo-Syrians and the rest could not be described as good. But there was in both parties a strong sense of their common origins, and the animosities of the Romo-Syrian party were directed at least as much against their Italian ecclesiastical rulers as against their compatriots of the other party. Once Mar Dionysius was firmly established in control, those of the Thomas Christians who accepted him as their spiritual head seem to have lived peaceably under his authority. As the bishops from Mesopotamia died and were not replaced, there was no rival to Mar Dionysius in the Serra. Above all, having now an unexceptionable episcopal consecration, he could claim, as none of the foreign bishops could,

to stand in the direct succession of those bishops who had ruled before the coming of the Portuguese, with the further advantage that, whereas those earlier bishops also were foreigners from Mesopotamia, he was bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh, having been born into that family to which, as all believed, the apostle Thomas himself had given the glory of the priesthood.

This chapter must end with a note on the formation of the tiny independent diocese of Āññūr or Tolīyūr.

As usual, there were divisions even in the body of the Malankara Syrians, whom it has been convenient to treat as a single corporate body. In 1772, the very year in which Mar Thomas–Dionysius received episcopal consecration, Mar Gregory, having become dissatisfied with the way in which Mar Dionysius cared for him in his old age (he died later in that same year or in 1773), consecrated as bishop the head of the opposition party, the *rambān* (monk) Kāṭṭumangatṭ Kurien in Muḷanturutti church, giving him the name Mar Cyril. Mar Gregory appointed Mar Cyril as his heir and left to him all his property.

This consecration, having been carried out in secret, without the presence or consent of any other bishop, was highly irregular, yet on a strict interpretation of canon law it must be accepted as valid. Mar Cyril claimed jurisdiction over the churches in the Cochin area, and his right to this authority was recognised by the *rājā* of Cochin. In 1774, however, on representations from Mar Dionysius and Mar John as to the illegality of the consecration, the *rājā* withdrew his recognition and delivered Mar Cyril over to the custody of Mar Dionysius.²⁹ The prisoner succeeded in escaping from prison, and withdrew from the area controlled by the *rājā* of Cochin. He established himself at the small village of Tolīyūr, which was at that time in the dominion of the *zamorin*, later British Malabar. His following was very small, but he was supported by a number of priests and regarded himself as the head of a church which was constituted with every element of regularity and order. In 1794 he consecrated as bishop his brother, who became Mar Cyril II, succeeding Mar Cyril I in 1802. Since then the episcopal succession has been maintained without a break up to the present day.

This minute church has had an importance in the history of the Thomas Christians far greater than its numbers would suggest. On more than one occasion, when there has been danger of the episcopate dying out in other sections of the Syrian churches, the bishops of Tolīyūr have moved in to maintain what might have become a broken succession.

For the Thomas Christians of all sections, as for other churches, the end of the eighteenth century was a time of decline and distress; but there were already signs of recovery. All was in readiness for the great revivals of the nineteenth century, as the Thomas Christians emerged from their seclusion to take their part in the general life of the Christian churches.

4 · Roman Catholic Missions

I INTRODUCTION

To write the history of Roman Catholic missions in India in the eighteenth century is no easy task.

The contemporaneous decline of Portuguese power and the disintegration of the Mughul empire, together with the endless regional and minor wars to which these gave rise, were exceedingly harmful to Christian work and, while making it difficult even to maintain what had been achieved, imposed almost insuperable obstacles in the way of penetrating new regions and of extending the work to areas where no Christian church of any kind had been established.

There was, in the Roman Catholic church, no central directive power by which the various enterprises could be held together in any kind of unity. The efforts of the Propaganda to achieve this aim had been in large measure unsuccessful. Missionary work was still largely in the hands of the religious orders, which were jealous of their independence and suspicious of any attempt to control them. The picture, therefore, tends to be rather a kaleidoscope of disparate units than an orderly map of experiment and progress, each part making its contribution to the riches of the whole. To some extent this must be attributed to the difficulties of communication in a land where roads were few or non-existent and movement by water was limited to certain favoured areas. But it is also the fact that certain missions liked to have things remain just as they were. Control from Rome could not be more than sporadic, though the Roman records give evidence of almost continuous efforts to remain abreast of situations in India, and what the religious orders tended to regard as a harmful measure of control could in a great many cases be averted.

The missionary enthusiasm by which the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had been marked seemed almost to have died away. The numbers of missionaries tended to decline, in many cases sharply. Recruits sent out from Europe were too few even to fill the gaps left by those who had died or who from ill-health or from other causes had found it necessary to withdraw from the work. The Society of Jesus still had more representatives than any

other order, but the great numbers of the end of the sixteenth century were never again attained. The figures are highly significant:¹

1626	Goa – 820	Malabar – 190
1717	219	67
1749	150	47

The decline in foreign personnel was not made up for by an increase in the number of Indians in the Christian ministry. The experiment of appointing Indians as vicars apostolic had come to an end; not a single appointment of this kind was made in the eighteenth century. One Indian was chosen and consecrated for the archbishopric of Cranganore, but he died without ever reaching his diocese, and the vacant see was not filled by the appointment of an Indian. The Portuguese, in Goa and their other possessions, had ordained too many Indian priests. The presence of so many men ordained with little sense of vocation and with only slender chance of employment could not but be harmful to the life of the church. The reputation of Goanese priests, never very high, at the end of the eighteenth century was if anything lower than it had been at its beginning. During the long and distinguished history of their missions in India the Jesuits had brought forward hardly a single candidate for the priesthood, and after the end of the sixteenth century they had not admitted an Indian to their own ranks. The arguments in favour of this restrictive policy were felt by the Jesuits to be convincingly strong. But in India, as in Paraguay, the suppression of the Jesuit order in 1773 made it plain that the policy contained within itself the seeds of destruction.

When all these things are taken into consideration, the Roman Catholic missions in India in the eighteenth century cannot be depicted as engaged in a process of orderly and continuous development. Two factors, however, save the picture from being one simply of a number of disconnected episodes marked more by failure than by success, and yield an impression of continuity and of planning for the future.

The first is the increasing internationalisation of the missions. The dominance of the Portuguese had never been absolute and had never received the support of Propaganda. In the eighteenth century the number of Italians sensibly increased; among the comparatively small numbers drawn from Italy were some of the most eminent of all the members of the missionary body. France only gradually attained to the pre-eminence which was to endure through the greater part of the nineteenth century; but numbers were increasing. French Jesuits and missionaries of the Paris Society did not yield in zeal and efficiency to their brethren of other nations and orders, and by the length and excellence of the documents which they produced they have added greatly to our knowledge of the events of the eighteenth century. Among the scattered minorities, even England was not without its representatives.

The way of traffic – military, commercial, political, social, intellectual, religious – between East and West, had been opened up. It was vitally important that the West should come to understand the East, and that the East should come to understand the West. The immense contribution made to this process by missionaries has often been underestimated and almost overlooked. A number of missionaries in the eighteenth century, not having very much else to do, plunged deeply into the languages and cultures of India, believing that this too was a service to the Gospel which they had come to proclaim. One produced the best and most complete account of Tibetan lāmaism ever written. One acquired the first copy of the four *Vedas* ever to come into the hands of a European. A third learnt to write the Tamil language better than almost any Tamil of his time. A fourth put forward views as to the interconnections between languages of the Indo-European family, anticipating the observations made later by scholars of the English race. These and similar missionary contributions attracted less attention in Europe than the similar contributions made by their fellow-missionaries in China, perhaps because they were not brought to public notice by writers of the eminence of Voltaire and Montesquieu. Indeed, the value of some of these achievements hardly came to be recognised until the twentieth century. But together they constitute a golden thread of investigation and intellectual adventure, bearing witness to the truth that the commerce of the Gospel is always two-directional, making for the mutual illumination of those who give and those who receive.

2 THE WELL-ESTABLISHED CHURCHES

Throughout the eighteenth century the main centres of Roman Catholic strength in India continued to be Goa and its neighbourhood, the Serra of the Thomas Christians² and the coast of Coromandel.

The primacy of the East was still a post to which even the aristocrats of Portugal might aspire. It had come to be taken almost for granted that, if the viceroy was absent, the primate would be called to take the reins of government into his hands, thus maintaining the close connection between church and state which had existed in the Portuguese colonies from the beginning. And it was quite likely that the king would not forget those who had served him faithfully abroad. When the Augustinian Ignatius of St Teresa had held the post of archbishop of Goa for eighteen years (1721–39),³ he was recalled to Portugal to become bishop of the Algarve, and served in this post until his death in 1751. A slightly later archbishop, the aristocrat Antonio Taveira de Neiva Brum, held the archbishopric for the record period of twenty-three years (1750–73) but did not survive to enjoy promotion in Portugal; he died on the voyage to Europe and was buried at sea. He

had twice held the office of acting governor, from July 1756 until September 1758, and from October 1765 until March 1768.

Statistics of the period are in many cases unreliable. Information dating from the year 1779, but probably referring to an earlier period, seems, however, to be based on reliable sources. It is stated that in Goa and the other Portuguese possessions properly so called there were 266,770 Christians. In the two areas (both under Portuguese control) for which figures of non-Christians are also given, Christians outnumbered non-Christians by more than six to one.⁴

Figures for the diocese of Cochin, for a rather later period (perhaps 1759), have recently become available.⁵ The total number of Christians was about 98,000. Included in this figure are the considerable number of fisher-folk in Travancore and on the coast of Coromandel, and the not inconsiderable congregations in the Marava country. These areas were not in the possession of the Portuguese crown, but the influence of Portugal was strong all along the coast, and the inhabitants of these areas had been able to count on a measure of Portuguese protection until the Portuguese were ousted by the Dutch.⁶

The documents sedulously collected by C. C. de Nazareth – and by him listed, summarised or quoted, with almost tedious precision – give a clear picture of ecclesiastical life in the period, at least as seen from the administrative centre. Three features recur with almost monotonous regularity: minute regulations regarding propriety of clerical conduct, strict rules to prevent the resurgence of pagan ceremonies and ideas, and endless controversies between the prelates and members of the religious orders, especially those in charge of parishes, regarding privileges and exemptions which the regulars believed themselves to have and which the prelates were in many cases anxious to deny them. The episcopal offices must have been models of order and efficiency. But from such official documents it is hard to penetrate the hearts of ordinary people or even to conjecture the extent to which Christian truth had entered their minds and ordered their conduct.⁷

For the Fisher Coast we have no such detailed records as for the Portuguese areas.

For the first half of the eighteenth century the Coast seems to have been well staffed. For the year 1713 it is reported that there were twelve Jesuits in the mission, and that they were distinguished for their zeal and exemplary conduct. Relations with the Dutch were generally good, but there was always a haunting fear that the presence of 'the heretics' might lure some among the Paravas away from the faith of Rome.

The number of Jesuits resident on the Coast seems ordinarily to have been seven or eight. In the year 1761 it was reported that there were among the Paravas eight principal stations with thirty-five churches dependent on

them.⁸ There was at that time no Indian priest in the service of the mission.⁹ Pastoral care was mainly in the hands of catechists, and these were not always men of high character and attainments.

Fr Besse gives an amusing example from the year 1734 of the survival of pagan and magical practices among these people who had been Christians for nearly two centuries. In the Parava community there was always great rivalry for the attainment of the title 'chief of the Paravas'.¹⁰ The title was conferred by the Dutch governor of Ceylon, usually on the highest bidder. One who had held the title but had lost it, having been outbidden by a rival, was so determined to recover what he had lost that he called in the services of a Hindu magician to help him in his designs. He was told to choose a fine black donkey, to cut off its head, and to sacrifice its liver, heart and lungs to the demon. If this was done, his hated rival would share the fate of the donkey. Words of these plans leaked out and reached the ears of the rival. He, to protect himself, went to the local Jesuit and obtained from him a relic of St Ignatius whose name he bore. This relic he wore continuously round his neck. The protection of the saint proved effective, and the wearer of the relic lived on unharmed by all the malpractices of his enemy.¹¹

There are occasional records of the baptism of adults on the Coast. For instance, it is stated that in 1733 nine adults were baptised in Tuticorin. But the caste to which the converts belonged is not mentioned. For the most part the Paravas lived enclosed in their own world, and exercised little influence on the other communities around them. The Jesuits who cared for them were presumably too busy to have much time for extensive evangelisation. From the reports of the Protestant missionaries who began to penetrate the area in the period under review, it appears that there were few extensions inland of the Roman Catholic mission, though of course Paravas were found in all the main centres, the marketing of dried fish being quite a considerable source of income. Also, soldiers in the various armed forces came in from the north. But this considerable Christian community was not an expanding one; 'business as usual' seems to have been the principle on which it lived.

3 THE MALABAR RITES

The history of the Roman Catholic missions in South India during the first half of the eighteenth century was darkened by the long tale of the disputes over the 'Malabar rites'.¹²

It might have been thought, and was thought by the Jesuits in India, that the questions at issue had finally been settled by the bull of Gregory XV *Romanae Sedis Antistes* (31 January 1623), in which on almost every point judgement had been given in favour of Robert Nobili and the policy of 'accommodation'. The revival of the dispute was due to three separate and

independent causes. The policy of the Jesuits in China, and especially of the great Matthew Ricci, had been violently opposed by missionaries of other orders, as yielding far too much to Chinese tradition and compromising the varieties of the Christian faith. The growth of the spirit of the Counter-Reformation, and anxiety over the inroads of Jansenism, had produced in Rome a somewhat timid spirit of conservatism. Tensions between the various religious orders, and between the church and the civil powers, had brought about in India a hostility towards the Jesuits similar to that which they were experiencing in China.

The storm-centre was Pondichéri. First in the field had been the Capuchins. The arrival of the French Jesuits in 1688 could not but lead to situations of strain: the Capuchins eyed the Jesuits with some acerbity, and were only too ready to find fault. The situation was not eased when in 1708 a Portuguese Jesuit, the admirable Francis Laynes, became bishop of Mylapore; and when, in the following year, a former Jesuit, Claude de Visdelou, who had been secretly consecrated by Tournon in Macao as vicar apostolic of Kweichow in China, arrived in Pondichéri, separated himself from his former confrères and took up his residence with the Capuchins.¹³

The Capuchins drew up a list of no fewer than thirty-six questions arising out of Jesuit practice, and in the year 1703 one of their number, Francis Mary of Tours, made his way to Rome to lay these complaints before the Propaganda. The moment was propitious. Rome, much exercised by the question of the Chinese rites, had decided to take action, and a special legate had been chosen and was despatched to the Far East armed with exceptionally extensive powers.

Charles Thomas Maillard de Tournon (1668–1710), a Piedmontese aristocrat, was only thirty-three years of age at the time of his appointment as apostolic delegate and *legatus a latere* ‘for the East Indies, the Chinese Empire, and neighbouring Islands and kingdoms’.¹⁴ Young, eager, very conscious of the authority conferred upon him, and ceaselessly hindered by ill-health in the performance of his duties, Tournon lacked the patience and diplomatic skill necessary for the carrying out of two such delicate missions.¹⁵ The legate’s work was not made easier by the intense hostility of the Portuguese, who regarded the appointment as an infringement of their rights under the *padroado* agreement. The archbishop of Goa declared that the legate had no authority in India, and that his decisions were not to be obeyed. Similarly the sovereign council of Pondichéri affirmed in 1708 that Tournon could exercise no jurisdiction on French territory.¹⁶

The main concern of Tournon was not with India but with China. However, he remained for eight months in Pondichéri – from November 1703 until July 1704. This should have given him sufficient time for a thorough investigation of all the problems involved. He did spend a good

deal of time with the Jesuits Bouchet and Bartold, and he arranged for Indian Christians to be brought to his bedside. But his proceedings give the impression of haste and superficiality.

On 23 June 1704 the legate was ready with a decision, which fifteen days later was made public. At every point Tournon gave judgement against the Jesuits, seeming to withdraw almost all the liberties which had been granted by the bull of 1623.

In baptism no ceremony was to be omitted. The use of salt and saliva and the 'insufflations' (breathing into the nostrils of the baptised) were obligatory. All this was to be carried out in public (*omnia palam adhibeantur*). In baptism Christians should be given the names of saints inscribed in the Roman martyrology. Names of pagan deities or of Hindu devotees were strictly to be avoided. In translation of Christian terms the greatest care must be taken to make sure that the Indian term exactly represents the Latin, without any admixture of heathen superstition. Various rules were laid down with regard to marriage; among these was prohibition of the wearing of the *tāli*, the Hindu sign of marriage, which often bore a Hindu image not always of the most suitable kind. The priests were instructed that they must be willing to visit the homes of outcaste Christians in time of sickness, and especially on their death-beds.

What the Jesuits received was worse than the worst that they had feared. The mass of prohibitions and restrictions to which they were now made subject would, in their opinion, most seriously hinder the work of evangelisation and the progress of the church. The worst of all was that which required their presence in outcaste dwellings. They had been able to maintain contact with Christians of the higher castes only by scrupulously avoiding what would be regarded as defiling contact with those of the lower orders; to enter the dwellings of those on the lower social level would inescapably involve them in defilement of the kind that would separate them from all those on higher levels of society.

The Jesuits could not submit tamely to the destruction, as they understood it, of all that had been achieved in a century of labour. It happened that two Jesuits, Francis Laynes, as procurator of the Mathurai mission, and Fr Bouchet, superior of the mission of the Carnatic, had occasion to be in Rome in 1704 on the business of the Society. Laynes set himself to work, and produced a considerable treatise defending the work that had been done and the principles on which it had been based.¹⁷ For a moment hope dawned. But it soon became clear that there was no intention in Rome of departing in any important particular from the Tournon decisions. There was nothing for it but for the Jesuits to comply, to prepare the minds of the Christians for the changes, and to introduce them with as little disturbance as possible into the congregations.

The Jesuits for the most part accepted the decisions and carried them out as best they could. The decision of Tournon, supported as it was by the pope, should have been final; in actual fact forty years were to pass before Pope Benedict XIV in the bull *Omnium Sollicitudinum* of 12 September 1744 put the final nail in the coffin of Jesuit hopes for better days.¹⁸

The bull of 1744, when it came, added little to all that had gone before.¹⁹ Two points only require attention.

All the missionaries in Mathurai, Mysore and the Carnatic were placed under an obligation to take a solemn oath that they would observe all the sixteen prohibitions laid down in the *Compertum* of 1734, and now repeated in the strictest terms in the bull. This obligation was removed only on 9 April 1940.²⁰

The pope agreed to the suggestion that a number of missionaries should be set apart for the service of the Paraiyas, the others restricting themselves to the higher castes alone. Even Fr J. Bertrand, who is inclined at all points to defend the actions of the Jesuits, is moved at this point to a justifiable protest:

The result was to confirm this unhappy principle [of segregation] and to give to it a reality more true and absolute than it had ever had before . . . The result was, in effect, that the entire mission of the Paraiyas and the higher castes formed two completely distinct churches, separately administered by their pastors, and with no visible and admitted relationship between them. Now for the Indians two churches were equivalent to two distinct religions.²¹

The bull of 1744 caused widespread distress among the Christians of higher caste. Usages to which they had become accustomed over a period of more than a century had been interfered with, and the rites (such as the use of saliva in baptism) which they regarded as particularly objectionable had been insisted on without qualification. It is not to be wondered at that a number of these Christians withdrew from the faith and returned to the ancient ways of their fathers.

No reliable figures exist as to the numbers of these apostasies. Tradition has it that they were very numerous. Bertrand, writing in 1854, asserts that the number of these defections was incalculable, especially in the mission of the Carnatic, the most recently founded, and therefore the least solidly grounded in the principles of the faith . . . in this area alone the number of apostasies caused by the publication of the decree was not less than fifty thousand.²²

The first archbishop of Pondichéri, Mgr Francis Laouënan (1886–92), after careful study of all the evidence, gives a rather different picture.²³ He does not deny that there must have been deep dissatisfaction in a Christian community which had become deeply ‘Brahmanised’:

We are of the opinion that these new Brahman Christians, seeing that customs to which they attached even more importance than to Christian doctrine had been

suppressed, hastened to leave a form of religion which did not do adequate justice to their vanity, and that they drew after them a number of those who depended on their influence.

But he continues:

It does not seem that the defections caused among the Christian Brahmans [*sic*] by the condemnation of the rites produced immediately the disastrous effects which have been claimed. Nothing in the documents which have survived to us from that period indicates that considerable defections took place as long as the Jesuit missionaries continued to reside in the midst of their converts.²⁴

This judgement of Mgr Laouënan may be a little too favourable. But it remains the fact that, when Roman Catholic missions began to recover in the 1830s, the newly arrived missionaries found churches still in existence, weakened by isolation and lack of pastoral care but not beyond the possibility of recovery. The major setbacks which have to be recorded in the life of the churches in the eighteenth century were due to the withdrawal of the Jesuits in 1759 and to the final suppression of the Order in 1773. The missionary in exile found himself taking up the words of the prophet Zechariah: 'These are the wounds wherewith I was wounded in the house of my friends.'

Rome had now put the clock back by a thousand years.²⁵ Matthew Ricci and Robert Nobili had made bold, and at certain points undoubtedly imprudent, experiments in adapting the divine seed to the recalcitrant soils of non-Christian worlds. Instead of commending their zeal and gently restraining their extravagances, Rome had declared that everything must be done after the high Roman fashion, that there must be no variation and no experiment. For two centuries *Omnium Sollicitudinum* was the last word of wisdom. Only after that lapse of time did a thaw set in with the great missionary encyclicals of the mid-twentieth century.

4 THE MISSION TO TIBET

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Tibet held a strange fascination for the mind of the Roman Catholic world. But, whereas the seventeenth-century missions had penetrated only outlying regions of Tibet, those of the eighteenth were much more centrally located and nearer to the heart of Tibet and its life. Through nearly thirty years in the first half of the century Roman Catholic missionaries from India were able to maintain themselves in Lhasa, the acknowledged capital of the country. Their reports, as yet imperfectly studied, and incomplete in a number of respects, are nonetheless recognised by experts in Tibetan history to be in the main accurate, and to be important sources for the history of the times.²⁶

The Jesuit mission of Tsaparang (or Tsa-bran) had come to an end in 1641, but the Jesuits had never given up hope of being able once again to enter the forbidden land. Various abortive attempts had been initiated; at last in 1713 it was possible to make an effective new beginning, and two missionaries were launched on the arduous journey to Tibet. The Jesuits were unaware of, or disregarded, the fact that the Capuchins had been before them in the field.

The Capuchins claimed that by decisions of Propaganda they and they alone had the right to carry on missions in Tibet and that the Jesuits were unlawful intruders. Decisions of 15 January 1656 and 25 April 1698 might be thought to be rather out of date; but the Capuchins could quote more recent and undeniable authority. On 14 March 1703 a French Capuchin named Francis Mary of Tours,²⁷ who had worked for many years in Pondichéri and Surat, was introduced to a session of the cardinals of Propaganda, gathered to consider the affairs of the East Indies and of China. He set before them a proposal for a mission in the interior of Bengal, tending towards the source of the Ganges and aimed at the penetration of the Himalayan region. Having heard his allocution, the congregation on the same day decided to approach the procurator-general of the Capuchins with a view to setting up a new mission of the Italian Capuchins, situated on the banks of the Ganges and directed towards the kingdom of Tibet, or in some more convenient place.²⁸

On 25 January 1704 the first missionary party was appointed, with John Francis of Camerino as prefect and Francis Mary as director.²⁹

After many losses, frustrations and disappointments, the Italian Fr Joseph of Ascoli and the French Fr Francis Mary set out from Patna on 17 January 1707 and reached Lhasa on 12 June of the same year. Here they had the good fortune to be warmly welcomed by a wealthy Armenian merchant, of whose existence they had been informed in Patna; this good man, Khwaja Dawith, found them a lodging and enabled them to begin missionary work in a modest way. Medical work was one of the principal activities of the Capuchins. As they felt bound by the principles of their order not to accept any kind of payment for their services, they became very popular among the common people, to whom their care of the sick gave them ready access; but this activity did nothing to relieve the dire poverty from which the mission suffered throughout the whole of its existence.³⁰

One disaster followed upon another. The expected financial aid did not arrive. Missionaries were few, and isolated from one another by the immense distances. It was clear that radical reconstruction was necessary. The new prefect, Fr Joseph of Ascoli, decided to send Fr Dominic of Fano to Rome to lay the problems of the mission before the cardinals and to secure aid and reinforcements. All those who remained in the field were then gathered

together at Chandernagore; not a single missionary was left in Tibet.

Precisely at the moment of the departure of Fr Dominic the mission received unexpected and welcome aid from Francis Laynes, the Jesuit bishop of Mylapore, who at that time was making an apostolic visitation to Bengal. He warmly welcomed the missionaries on their temporary withdrawal to Patna and Chandernagore, and was deeply impressed by their courage and devotion. In a letter dated 3 December 1712 he commended their work to the cardinals, and made wise suggestions as to the steps to be taken for the reorganisation of the mission. The number of missionaries should be greatly increased and, in view of the immense distances, intermediate stations should be organised. Moreover, the missionaries on entering upon their work should be given resources to cover the first two or three years of their stay.³¹

This advice was taken. When the mission was reorganised in the following year, it was planned that two fathers should reside in Patna and two at Kathmandu, but that four should be assigned to Lhasa. The base would continue to be at Chandernagore.

It was at this moment, when the fortunes of the Capuchins were at their lowest ebb, that the Jesuits, without prior consultation, decided once again to enter the field.

Hippolytus Desideri was born in 1684 of an aristocratic family in Pistoia, and joined the Jesuit order in 1700. In circumstances that are not clear he had become fired with the desire to become a missionary in Tibet. In 1712 he received from his general the order to proceed to India with the understanding that his ultimate destination was to be Tibet.

After a terrible journey and endless hardships, Desideri, with his older companion Manoel Freyre, reached Lhasa on 18 March 1716. Freyre without delay put in hand his departure for India, and Desideri was left entirely alone.³²

Once established in Lhasa, Desideri concluded that this was the place in which he should make his permanent abode. Lhasa was a busy commercial centre, linked to both China and India. There was a not inconsiderable Christian community of Armenians and Chinese, neither of whom had taken any steps towards the evangelisation of the Tibetans. Desideri had no reason to suppose that the Capuchins intended to return – he stated emphatically that in all his journeyings he had not seen a single Capuchin, and that he found none in Lhasa on his arrival.³³ The Capuchins, on the other hand, do seem to have heard in the course of their journey of the arrival of the Jesuit missionary. The mutual discovery of each by the other caused no little perturbation.

The Capuchins who came from India to Italy had been extremely well received in Rome. Fr Dominic proved an excellent ambassador. At the command of his superiors he had prepared a statement which, though it is called a *Breve Relazione*, fills thirty-five large pages of print; it deals mainly with the city of Lhasa.³⁴ His discourse proved so persuasive that the mission was reorganised very much on the lines laid down at Chandernagore. There were to be twelve priests; hospices were to be opened at Chandernagore, Patna, Kathmandu, Lhasa, and Dvags-po-K^yer,³⁵ and large sums of money were allocated as financial support for the mission. On 13 December 1713 Fr Dominic was himself appointed prefect of Tibet.

Dominic, on his return to Chandernagore, found there a number of new missionaries,³⁶ the most distinguished among whom was Francis Horace della Penna (Pennabilli). This young aristocrat³⁷ was destined to spend the greater part of thirty years in Lhasa. He was the only one among the Capuchins who gave himself seriously to the study of the Tibetan language; he was not the equal of Desideri, but his writings were meritorious and his *Relazione* is full of interesting material.³⁸

Dominic, together with Della Penna and John Francis of Fossombrone, reached Lhasa on 1 October 1716, and the confrontation between Capuchin and Jesuit inevitably took place. The new missionaries shared the accommodation already secured by Desideri. Their relations were correct, if not always cordial, though it is recorded that they lived together as though they had been members of the same order. The Capuchins, however, made no secret of their determination to get Desideri out; he was equally resolved to stay.

Things moved slowly in Rome, but they had not been allowed to stand still. The case of the Capuchins was strengthened by a decree of 12 December 1718, in which the general of the Jesuits was explicitly instructed to recall without delay or tergiversation those members of the society who had gone to Tibet without permission from the Sacred Congregation, and indeed in direct contravention of its orders. In obedience to this decree the general wrote directly to Fr Desideri on 16 January 1719, informing him that, at the time at which he had been permitted to go to the kingdom of Tibet, the general had been unaware that these regions had been entrusted by the Sacred Congregation to the Capuchins. Things being as they are, there is nothing for the Reverend Father to do but to add to the merit acquired by undertaking such arduous service in the name of Christ the even greater merit which will accrue to him from immediate obedience to orders.³⁹

Desideri would have preferred to remain in Tibet; but, naturally, Jesuit obedience prevailed over personal inclination, and he felt himself bound to

accept the sentence of withdrawal. He reached Agra just one year after leaving Lhasa. In 1725 he was in Pondichéri, and in 1727 he was sent to Rome in connection with the process for the beatification of John de Britto. He was never able to return to Tibet, and died in the Jesuit College at Rome on 14 April 1733. 'Quod optabat maxime ut Tibetanum in Regnum rediret obtinere non potuit, morte intercedente quae illum ex Collegio Romano ad superos evocavit.'⁴⁰

Desideri had entered Tibet without difficulty, and when there enjoyed almost unrestricted freedom of movement. There was at that time none of the xenophobia which was later introduced by the Chinese. Six weeks after his arrival,⁴¹ he was granted an audience with 'the king',⁴² at which he was favoured with freedom to preach and also accorded the very unusual privilege of being allowed to buy a house.

From the first moment of settling in, Desideri devoted himself with ardour to the study of the Tibetan language, with such success that at a second audience with the king, on 6 January 1717, he was able to present to him an account of the Christian faith in that language. Following the advice of the king that he should study the religion of the *lāmas* in their own writings, he moved to the bĹi-Sde monastery, where he spent rather more than four months in mastering the intricacies of *lāmaistic* thought and religious usage. Finding that a university, to which *lāmas* came from many parts of the world, would serve his purposes better than a monastery, he moved to the Se-ra University two miles from Lhasa, where he was able to use the library and to converse freely with the teachers. His diligence was extraordinary. Without the help of grammar or dictionary, he succeeded in mastering a difficult language, and by a kind of sympathetic intuition penetrated the mystery of religious writings translated into Tibetan, in which the original Sanskrit (a language of which Desideri was wholly ignorant) constantly shows through and increases the difficulty of understanding.

From the start it had been his intention to produce a refutation of Buddhism and an exposition of the Christian faith in a form that would appeal to the Buddhist mind. The work, in three volumes, took him nearly three years to complete; it seems to have been finished just before his departure from Tibet.⁴³ The work is in three parts: first a refutation of the doctrine of the migration of souls, which Nobili in his disputations with the Brāhmans had found it so difficult to answer; on this follows a discussion of the doctrine of God as absolute being and creator of the world; the third part gives an account of Christian doctrine in dialogue form. Desideri intended his work to be comprehensive, and it is the opinion of experts that in this he fully succeeded. He entered on questions of religion at great length also in his

Relazione, and 'he has thus given to the world what is probably the most complete survey of the whole lāmaistic system composed by any European who lived on the spot'.⁴⁴

During his voyage from India to Italy in 1727 Desideri had begun to put together his scattered notes in the form of a continuous *Relazione*, a work in the definitive revision of which he was still engaged at the time of his death. Here he has poured out all the wealth of his knowledge of geography, of customs, of contemporary history, of religious thought. He himself has written of his work: 'All this I have written after traversing all three Tibets and living in these parts continuously for several years; after obtaining, moreover, a knowledge of the language fairly wide and deep, and after reading and examining with protracted study and serious application a great number of the principal and also very abstruse books of that people.' Desideri intended his book to be printed, but this hope was not fulfilled. His great work remained almost unknown, and the *Relazione* slept forgotten until in 1875 a manuscript was discovered in a library in his native Pistoia.⁴⁵

The merits of Desideri are manifold. As a geographer he stands head and shoulders above all the others of his time: 'Desideri's geography remains for ever a classic work.'⁴⁶ His clear and accurate account is a historical source of the highest value, without which the confused accounts given by the Tibetans and the dry chronicles of the Chinese could not provide a living sense of the tragic events through which Desideri had lived.⁴⁷

His greatest strength, however, lies in his deep understanding of the Tibetan hierarchy, of the religious literature of Tibetan Buddhism, and of the beliefs of its adherents. But with it all Desideri was first and foremost and all the time a missionary. His central thought and hope were the introduction of Christianity in its Roman Catholic form into Tibetan society. He believed that, after the acquisition of the language, his task must be the winning of the confidence of the ruling class. He was less in touch than the Capuchins with the common people; but perhaps in the end his method was better than theirs.

In 1724 the Capuchins were relieved of the unwelcome presence of Desideri. The mission had survived the terrible period of the Dsungar invasion of 1717, but Fr Dominic was worn out with his many labours and the sufferings of that time. His request to be permitted to withdraw from Lhasa was granted,⁴⁸ and Fr Francis Horace was appointed as prefect in his stead.

The period from 1722 onwards was full of the promise of success. In 1724 the Dalai Lāma issued an order permitting the missionaries to erect a sanctuary, and instructing all the inhabitants in detail not to cause any hindrance to these 'Gokhan lāmas', and not to do anything that could cause them trouble or annoyance.⁴⁹ In the following year permission was given for the building of a church.

The path of the missionaries, however, proved very hard. By 1732 nine out of the original team had died, and it was thought advisable that Fr Francis Horace should return to Europe in search of recruits and fresh support. The reception accorded to him left nothing to be desired. Pope Clement XII was delighted by the news from Tibet and by the prospects of success. Nine new candidates from among the Capuchins were accepted for service in Tibet, and a fount of Tibetan type was cast in Rome. The pope took the opportunity of the return of Fr Francis Horace to write on 24 September 1738, in courteous, not to say flowery, terms, both to the Dalai Lāma and to the king;⁵⁰ the letters were naturally accompanied by suitable presents. In due course the king and the Dalai Lāma wrote to the pope, and in the meantime the king, 'actuated more by gratitude than by conviction',⁵¹ issued a proclamation making generous provision for religious toleration, and even giving permission, as it seems, for those of his subjects who became convinced of the truth of the Christian way to follow it.

The mission had now been at work for sixteen years, and the results may well have seemed negligible. The fathers had about fifty hearers, among whom ten or a dozen had been baptised.⁵² To the missionaries their logical demonstration of the truth of Christianity and the falsehood of Buddhism seemed entirely convincing: they had under-estimated the hold which Buddhism has on the minds of its adherents, a hold which has kept very small the number of converts in every Buddhist country.

To these natural obstacles were added the relentless hostility of the *lāmas* and an outbreak of persecution.

On 28 April 1742 a young man who had been baptised under the name Thomas refused to receive a blessing from the Dalai Lāma, maintaining that as a Christian he could receive a blessing only from the true God. This was bitterly resented by the bystanders as an insult to the Buddhist faith. A few days later, on the eve of Whitsunday, which in that year fell on 13 May, a number of catechumens were solemnly baptised. The very same day, one of them was summoned by a magistrate, and told to repeat the mysterious Buddhist prayer *Om mani padme hum*. 'I pray for the king, but that is a prayer which I cannot use', replied the convert.

By this time the population was greatly incensed against the missionaries, and the king was inclined to share their indignation. When the fathers tried to see him, the king refused to receive them. 'The king will not receive you', they were told, 'you who affirm that the Buddha cannot become incarnate, that our legislators are not saints, and that the Dalai Lāma is no more than an ordinary mortal, whose predictions are not to be believed.' The converts were told that, if they refused to use the Buddhist prayer and continued to proclaim their religion, the king would have them beheaded. Nine days later the death sentence was revoked, but five of the Christians were sentenced to be flogged.⁵³

Friendly relations were restored. But the work of evangelisation had become almost impossible, and the missionaries, with heavy hearts, reached the conclusion that there was nothing to be done but to withdraw. Of the party of seven, three had already made their way to Nepal. On Easter Monday (20 April) 1745 the other four, accompanied by one Nepali Christian, left the capital, and, having evaded the soldiers who had been sent to prevent their departure, six weeks later safely reached Bettiah in northern India. No record seems to have survived to tell what happened to the Tibetan Christians after the departure of their Western friends.

Tibet had been evacuated. Then came the turn of Nepal. Two or three Capuchins did enter Nepal after the general exodus of 1769, but nothing like a mission could be said to exist. Until 1952 no missionary was again able to live and work in Nepal.⁵⁴

The mission of the Capuchins, carried on for sixty-five years with so much zeal and self-sacrifice, ended in failure.

The main reasons for this failure are to be found in the character of the mission itself. Rome had taken the mission to Tibet out of the hands of the Jesuits, an order which with its careful and strenuous training of its missionaries would have had greater chances of success. The Capuchins had received nothing beyond the formal training of the seminary and no special preparation for the work they were to undertake. They might have done better to choose a remote area where they could work quietly among less educated people; instead they chose to take the bull by the horns and to settle in Lhasa itself. As long as they attracted little observation and worked mainly among the foreigners resident in the capital, they were able to maintain themselves without too much difficulty. As soon as the mission was strong enough to make an impression on the Tibetan population and to win its first Tibetan converts, all the forces of lāmaism were arrayed against it. The result was disaster for the converts and destruction for the mission.

There was the further weakness that, fervent as the Capuchins were in spirit, they had too few leaders of outstanding quality to direct so difficult an enterprise. Only two among those of whom we have record showed any notable gifts of organisation and direction – Fr Dominic of Fano and Fr Francis Horace della Penna; and of those two only the latter attained to profound mastery of the Tibetan language and of Buddhist thought. As long as the mission enjoyed the support of the powerful Cardinal Louis Belluga y Moncado in Rome, there was some chance of continued existence for it; but after the death of these two stalwarts (the father and the cardinal), in 1745 and 1747 respectively, the mission existed only in name as the mission of Tibet.

5 OTHER ACTIVITIES OF THE JESUITS

For a century the work of the Mathurai mission had been rich in adventure and in notable personalities. After the withdrawal of Robert Nobili from its work, there had been a recession; but with the career and martyrdom of John de Britto the mission re-emerged into the full blaze of publicity.⁵⁵ Again a quieter period followed, illuminated by the less conspicuous but still considerable merits of Francis Laynes, bishop of Mylapore. The eighteenth century cannot compare in interest with the seventeenth; yet the Society still showed itself capable of attracting to its service men of outstanding gifts, and also of extending itself to new fields, each with its own special problems and perplexities.

In 1710 the mission of Mathurai was enriched by the services of one who, if not the greatest, was certainly among the most remarkable of all those who have served the cause of Christ in India. Joseph Constantius Beschi was an Italian, born in the neighbourhood of Mantua. At the time of his arrival in India he was just thirty years old. He served in the mission for the remaining thirty-seven years of his life, without ever returning to Europe.

Beschi's early years of service were marked by one unusual adventure. In 1714, when he was in the far south of the area of the mission at Gurukkalpatti, he was arrested and condemned to death by the Brāhman commander of the local troops; at the last moment he was reprieved by orders from higher authority.⁵⁶ For the rest, his time was spent in the tranquil work of a district missionary. From 1720 onwards his residence was ordinarily at Ellakurichi in the district of Thaṇjāvur, from which he was able to supervise the work over a considerable area. In his report for the year 1732 he notes that he has baptised 235 adults and 708 children, many of the latter no doubt *in articulo mortis*. Only at the very end of his life was he entrusted with high ecclesiastical authority, as visitor of the college of Ambalakkādu not far from Cranganore, where he died on 4 February 1747.

The fame of Beschi rests upon his extraordinary prowess in the Tamil language.⁵⁷ Dr G. U. Pope, who alone might be regarded as rivalling his eminence, refers to him as *vir praestantissimus*, most outstanding of men. No one who has studied Tamil is likely to question the appropriateness of this term. Beschi stands unique among European scholars and writers in that language.

His lengthy poem⁵⁸ on the life of St Joseph, the *Tēmbāvaṇi*, or 'unfading garland', is generally regarded as his greatest work. It is indeed a remarkable achievement, flawless alike in diction and metrical precision. But the praise bestowed on it has perhaps been somewhat uncritical. It would be unfair to expect the work to stand comparison with the great masterpieces of Tamil

literature. The nearest comparison would seem to be with such a similarly artificial composition as the *Naidatham* of the sixteenth century, equally prolix and in many passages equally tedious. Beschi's work is pure pastiche; he lacks originality and poetic fire; in the end the *Tēmbāvaṇi* is splendid as a *tour de force* and little more.

Greater credit should be given to Beschi as one of the founders of literary prose in Tamil. His *Vetha-Viḷakkam*, or 'elucidation of the faith' (1727), is a sharp and pungent tract against the Lutherans, whose progress Beschi could not but view with distaste and dismay. Of much greater value is his *Vethiar-olukkam*, or 'guide for catechists' (1725), an excellent manual in clear and flowing Tamil, based largely on the work of Gregory the Great. By far the most famous, however, of all the prose writings of Beschi is his lampoon on the pretensions of the learned Brāhmans, *Paramārtha Guruvin Kathai* – the story of Guru Noodle, written originally, as it appears, as an exercise in Tamil conversation for missionaries undergoing training. Beschi, unlike most missionaries, had an ebullient, and rather coarse, sense of humour.⁵⁹ The adventures of Beschi's pedant have been printed a number of times in Tamil, and have appeared in various translations.⁶⁰

Even more important than these prose writings was the work of Beschi as a grammarian. He was the first European to grasp the nature of Dravidian language. Before the beginning of the Christian era Pāṇini (400 BC?) had reduced Sanskrit to highly systematic grammatical form. Following this example, a series of notable grammarians had rendered the same service to Tamil.⁶¹ Beschi, basing himself on these classic works, which he had studied so thoroughly as to have mastered completely the structure of the Tamil language, produced no fewer than four grammars, two of the ordinary spoken language, and two of the higher and poetical form of Tamil.⁶² Europe in India has never produced works more distinguished by scholarship and elegance than these.

Second to Beschi in rank is John Ernest Hanxleden (1681–1732), who specialised in the study of the Malayalam language. Jesuits had been using this language, by the sixteenth century sufficiently distinct from Tamil for the two languages no longer to be mutually intelligible, and a number of them had come to speak it well; but few contributions of philological merit had been made, and hardly anything worthy the name of literature had been produced. Hanxleden, by the merit of his two poems *Mishiāda Pana* (1728), and *Nāla Parvam* (a study of the four last things), did much to remedy the defect. Of these poems it has been said by an Indian scholar that they are excelled only by the work of the famous Malayālam poet Ezhuthachan.⁶³

In addition Hanxleden was among the early students of Sanskrit. His *Grammatica Grandonica*⁶⁴ seems to have been based on the *Siddharūbam*, and to have been prepared with the help of two Brāhmans. Hanxleden is

moreover credited with a Sanskrit–Malayālam–Portuguese dictionary and a Malayālam grammar in Portuguese – all notable achievements in an era when the aids to scholarship were so few and so rarely obtainable.⁶⁵

Almost more remarkable was the achievement of Gaston Coeurdoux (1711–99), one of the French Jesuits who had settled in Pondichéri. Coeurdoux, who had acquired a knowledge of Sanskrit, was in correspondence, between the years 1765 and 1775, both with Anquetil-Duperron and with the Abbé Barthélemy (1716–95), the famous head of the Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres in Paris. He had recognised the close connection between Latin, Greek and Sanskrit, and as early as 1768 had communicated to the abbé his idea of the philological connection between the three languages, thus anticipating by nearly twenty years the famous discourse by Sir William Jones to the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1786), in which that great scholar put forward the idea that the three languages had ‘sprung from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists’.⁶⁶ The letters of Fr Coeurdoux were passed on by the abbé to Anquetil-Duperron, but for some reason they were not published in the *Mémoires* of the Académie until 1808. So the Jesuit was robbed of the acclaim which he had earned by his philological acumen, and the glory passed to the British scholar.

After the death of Aurungzīb the disorders by which the Mughul realm was afflicted struck hard at the Jesuit mission to Mogor. The mission continued to exist, but there is little to record of spiritual progress or of the development of an Indian church. The contribution of the Jesuits lay in the fields of science and learning rather than in that of direct missionary work.

Of special interest are the relations of the Jesuits with Rājā Jai Singh Sawāī, who ruled in Jaipur from 1699 to 1743. This remarkable man, unlike many potentates, had strong intellectual interests, especially in the fields of astronomy and mathematics. He was instrumental in bringing into being the notable observatories of Jaipur, Delhi, Muttra, Ujjain and Benares.⁶⁷ When he had come to the end of what his Brāhman helpers could impart to him, he decided to seek the help of wise men from the West, and turned to the superior of the Mogor mission. After various somewhat abortive beginnings, in 1737 two Bavarian fathers, Gabelsperger and Strobl, were sent to Jaipur, the *rājā* meeting all their expenses.

The troubles of the period and the invasion of Nādīr Shāh delayed the journey of the fathers, and they did not reach Jaipur until 4 March 1740. There they found the *rājā* extremely well disposed towards them; he attended mass regularly with all due reverence, and left generous alms upon the altar.

In 1741 Fr Gabelsperger died. He was followed to the grave by Jai Singh in 1743. From that time on the fortunes of the observatories declined. The

successors of Jai Singh had no interest in learning. It is recorded that one among them dissipated the careful astronomical record which had been preserved, and broke up for sale the copper instruments which had been used in the observatories.⁶⁸ Fr Stobl, finding that there was nothing further that he could usefully do in Jaipur, in 1746 withdrew to Narwar. He died in Agra in 1758; with him died the memory of this interesting Jesuit enterprise.

6 THE CARNATIC MISSION

The French Jesuits had been established in Pondichéri with the approval of the bishop of Mylapore; but it was unlikely that they would be satisfied with the limited opportunities afforded by a small French colony. The Mathurai mission had expanded to the north and to the south, but there were still vast areas in India untouched by the Gospel and unreached by any missionary. The French turned their eyes north-westwards from Pondichéri to the extensive region commonly called in those days the Carnatic, and corresponding to the area in which Telugu is spoken.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the superior of the Pondichéri mission of the Jesuits was Fr Guy Tachard (1651–1712), a man of immense energy and vision. He launched the Carnatic mission by bringing up from the south Fr John Venantius Bouchet (1655–1732), who for twelve years had resided at Āur not far from Tiruchirāpalli, and was believed to have baptised during those years no fewer than 20,000 Hindus.⁶⁹ He brought with him another experienced missionary, Fr John Baptist de la Fontaine (d. 1718). Fr Peter Mauduit (1664–1711) was already resident in the Telugu country.

The three missionaries agreed that they would work on the lines laid down by Robert Nobili for the mission of Mathurai. They would live as *sannyāsis*, renouncing everything that could give offence to high-caste Hindus, and would direct their message primarily to those of the higher castes. As the experience of the Mathurai mission showed, not all missionaries, even with the best will in the world, could adapt themselves to this extremely exacting manner of life and of ministry. During the course of the eighteenth century forty French Jesuits served in the Carnatic mission. A few of these survived into the nineteenth century and died at Pondichéri, but only a rather small minority was able to give a long period of service to the mission among the Telugus.

Wisely, Bouchet decided to move gradually across the border area – in which Tamil, with which he and de la Fontaine were fully familiar, would still be useful – before launching out on the area where Telugu alone was spoken. He made his own headquarters at Arkonam, not far to the west of Madras. But before long missionaries are found at Punganur, and a few years later they are at work in the Anandapur district, not far from the borders of the *nizām*'s dominions.

Our main authority for the work of this mission is the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*. The letters are immensely long, but they are sporadic; there are many gaps, and some of the crucial years in the history of the mission remain unrecorded.⁷⁰ On many subjects information is lacking. For instance, it is clear that the missionaries had at their disposal the services of a number of catechists, but we are told hardly anything about the origin and qualifications of these men. Were they Tamils who had been brought up from the south? If so, how did they communicate with people whose language, at least in the early days, was unfamiliar to them?

The existing letters cover the period between 1703 and 1743.⁷¹ The next thirty years are almost wholly hidden in darkness. With the dissolution of the Society of Jesus in 1773, this mission, like so many others, was almost wholly destroyed.

In the period under consideration the decline of the Mughul power was far advanced, and the Telugu area, like other territories further south, was exposed to every kind of chaos and disorder. The Muslims were a constant threat, and their raids were carried out with great brutality. The Marāthās were not far away, and they were liable to emerge from their fastness to demand tribute to which in all probability they were in no way entitled. The local rulers were oppressive and capricious in their manner of exercising justice. The worst problems, however, that the missionaries had to face arose from the relentless opposition of the Brāhmans, and of the *dāsaries* (the worshippers of Viṣṇu), to everything that departed from their traditional ways. There are many stories of hardship endured by missionaries and Indian Christians alike. This rarely reached the level of actual danger to life, though it was widely believed that Fr Mauduit and Fr Maximilian de Courtville had been poisoned by the Brāhmans in 1711.⁷² It is certain that Fr Mauduit endured a period of painful captivity. 'I and my good catechists', he wrote, 'have been beaten, scoffed at, and almost done to death; but I am still alive and able to serve God, if my sins do not make me unworthy of it. Everything has been taken from me. I pray you to help me.'⁷³

In spite of all these threats and painful experiences, in certain places the mission was attended by notable success. A typical entry is found in a letter of Fr Tachard, dated 4 February 1703:

Fr de la Fontaine has had extraordinary success from the beginning of his mission . . . Apart from nearly a hundred adults, all from the higher castes, whom he has baptized, he has among his adherents nine Brāhmans, that is to say that in eight months he has baptized more Brāhmans than almost all the missionaries of Mathurai have done in ten years.⁷⁴

What was it that led so many Hindus at least to consider the adoption of the Christian faith? As in so many other cases, we have nothing from the Indian side. From the Jesuits' own accounts, their discussions with those of

higher caste seem to have turned almost exclusively on the nature and perfections of God and on the folly of idol worship; references to Jesus Christ seem to have been reserved for those who were already interested. Following the example of the Mathurai mission, the missionaries in the Carnatic seem to have made no demands in the matter of caste, except in regard to customs which appeared to them to be directly contrary to Christian faith.

As a rule the Jesuits made no concessions in the matter of Hindu beliefs and traditions. The young Francis Caron, writing to a group of Ursuline nuns on 20 November 1720, introduces a brief account of Hindu religion with the words 'The Hindu religion is a most monstrous compound of all sorts of fables.'⁷⁵ A great many of those whom the missionaries encountered would be Lingāyats; the intense devotion of this community to the *lingam*, the phallic emblem of Śiva, would not be likely to commend its members to the puritanical Jesuits. On the other hand, the traditional rivalry between Brāhmans and Lingāyats, and the known hostility of the Brāhmans towards the Jesuits, may have been a factor in encouraging the Lingāyats to lend a favourable ear to the message of the Gospel.⁷⁶

An exception to this anti-Hindu prejudice seems to have been Fr John Calmette (1693–1740), one of the most distinguished of the younger generation of missionaries and the best scholar among them. The king of France having decided to make a collection of Indian books, Calmette was entrusted with the task of acquiring books dealing with the Hindu religion. This had proved of great value to the missionary work of the Jesuits. With the help of Brāhmans who had become Christians, Calmette was able to acquire the full text of the four *Vedas*. He may have been the first European to see them. As he correctly notes, 'It is a crime for a Brāhman to have sold the Veda, or to communicate it to anyone other than a Brāhman.' All the rest of the world is profane and cannot share these mysteries.⁷⁷

It was the experience of Calmette that, since the *Veda* was written in Sanskrit, the majority of the Brāhmans had no idea of its meaning without the help, both for words and for meanings, of the *Mahābhāshyam*, the great commentary. He himself was able to make some progress in understanding:

Since the Veda, which contains their sacred books is in our hands, we have extracted from it texts suitable to convince them of the fundamental truths, which overthrow idolatry . . . but the truths which are to be found in the Veda are scattered through them like grains of gold in heaps of sand.⁷⁸

One instance of conversion is so unusual as to deserve brief mention. A young princess named Vobalamma, not quite eight years old, accompanied her father on a visit to a missionary, during which over several days the conversation turned on religious subjects. The girl was very anxious to learn more, but, being kept in a state of seclusion, she could find no way to gratify

her desire. Then one day she hit on the bright idea of sending one of her servants to the Jesuit priest, to be thoroughly instructed by him and then to return and to impart to her all that he had learned. During the course of the instruction the young man became a believer and was baptised, receiving the name Paul. Vobalamma became ever more convinced of the truth of the Christian faith and was eager to be baptised, but there was no way which this could be brought about. A marriage was arranged for her, and to this she consented on condition of being allowed to live as a Christian. But as soon as the marriage had been solemnised this promise was forgotten. In the following year she died, never having been able, like the emperor Gratian, to receive more than the baptism of desire. Paul, in the meantime, had left the palace and entered the service of the church as a catechist to Fr Calmette, to whom we are indebted for this interesting story.⁷⁹

Others were actuated by less worthy motives to desire the acquaintance of the priests. In 1721 Fr Stephen le Gac (1661–1738) was summoned by the wife of a *nawāb* for a particularly private and important conversation. After beating about the bush for some time, she came to the point. She had allowed herself to be swindled out of a considerable number of pearls and diamonds and was in terror as to what would happen when her husband returned and she had to explain the loss. She was quite certain that the priest knew the secret of making gold, and that he would oblige her by doing so. She called to her help her son who was in charge of affairs in the absence of his father. Fortunately, the young man was less unreasonable than his mother, and the missionary was able to extricate himself from a somewhat embarrassing situation.⁸⁰

For the greater part of the time there were not more than six missionaries in the whole of the vast field. Following the usual Jesuit practice, no Indian Christian had been ordained to the priesthood. The work depended in the main on catechists, men whose devotion was not in most cases matched with knowledge or experience. When the missionaries were withdrawn, the work could not be maintained in any strength. At a later period the mission was reconstituted, but the new missionaries could find little but memories. The tombs of some of the pioneers are still shown, as memorials to a faithfulness which received no more than a somewhat exiguous reward.

7 OTHER MISSIONARY ORDERS

In the eighteenth as in the seventeenth century, the Franciscans carried on work in many parts of India;⁸¹ but their activity seems to have been concentrated rather on consolidation than on expansion, and on careful pastoral work rather than on vigorous evangelisation.

The Franciscans,⁸² with their extensive work in Bassein and its neigh-

bourhood and on the island of Salsette, were particularly exposed to the raids and the invasions of the Marāthās. The principal aim of the Marāthās was to subdue and to replace the Muslim power of the Mughuls, and hostility to Christians, who in any case in most places were few in number, formed only a secondary element in their campaigns. But the Christian powers stood in the way of their success, and could not but become involved in their operations. 'This [the Hindu character of their empire], together with a natural desire to extend their rule, led them to oppose the Portuguese both as Christians and propagators of Christianity and as a power which stood in the way of their achieving their aim, which was to establish in India as large a Hindu state as possible.'⁸³ In 1737 the Marāthās overran Salsette, destroying the fortresses, and later in the same year advanced on Bassein. The Portuguese made a characteristically courageous defence, but their enemies, no longer an irregular force of freebooters, were by then skilled in siege warfare. In the end defence acknowledged itself hopeless as Bassein was surrendered. This resulted in a fatal weakening of Portuguese power in western India and in serious threats also to Christian development.

Destruction of property was very extensive. Of the sixty areas administered by the Franciscans less than half survived the vicissitudes of war. The Franciscans were compelled to leave, not so much because they were Christians and missionaries as because no Portuguese were permitted to remain in the territory. (There seems to have been no persecution of Christians, and Indian priests were permitted to exercise their ministry.) The archbishop of Goa, Dom Francis of the Martyrs, himself a Franciscan, contrasts, probably unfairly, the timidity of the fathers in withdrawing with the constancy of the Indian priests who remained at their posts:

They were by no means entirely deserted by the secular priests sent by me, who, as far as the calamitous times and the harshness of the barbarians permits, contrive to nourish the faithful of Christ living in those regions with the food of the sacraments and the divine word, and lead them in the way of salvation.⁸⁴

The Marāthās seem not to have been diligent in watchfulness against the infiltration of Europeans, and the Franciscans made periodical attempts, some of them successful, to return to the posts which they had vacated. This is confirmed by a report of Anquetil-Duperron, who in 1760 visited Agāsī, probably the first village in the area to have been entered by the Franciscans:

I arrived in this village on the day of the festival of the church of the locality (16 December 1760) through the most beautiful orchards in the world. The roads were filled with Christians making their way to the Church, with as much liberty as they would have done in a Christian country.⁸⁵

The later years of this period saw a revolution in the situation of the Franciscans in the strongest centre of all their operations, the area of Bardez.

The crisis came in the years 1766–8.⁸⁶ The number of secular priests in Goa was very large, and it cannot have seemed unreasonable to provide employment for a number of them in parishes up to that time served by foreigners. On 23 April 1766 a decree was signed in Lisbon requiring the Franciscans to withdraw from Bardez. Goan secular priests were appointed to the parishes thus rendered vacant. Of the twenty-four parishes in the area nineteen had been filled by February 1768; to the remaining five the Franciscans entered claims of ownership, but their claims were overruled, and within a few years the parochial work of the Franciscans came to an end.⁸⁷ The change was unwelcome to many of the parishes concerned.⁸⁸ The pressure had come, not from the local people but from the authorities in Lisbon, who desired to exercise something like exclusive control over the church, and perhaps from the Goanese element, which did not wish to see its descendants excluded from profitable employment in the church.⁸⁹

The Theatines continued to serve in India with their main centre in Goa, but they were gravely hindered by lack of personnel and of financial support.⁹⁰ They appear in a somewhat curious light in relationship to the English authorities in Fort St George (Madras) and Fort St David (Cuddalore). The English authorities, in their distrust of the Portuguese, did not recognise the bishop of Mylapore as having any authority in their dominions, and were prepared to employ almost anyone other than a Portuguese for the care of Roman Catholics living under their rule. They had shewn special favour towards the Capuchins, two of whom had spent many years in their employ. From 1695 to 1699 a Theatine, Della Valle, by his name an Italian, was Roman Catholic chaplain at Cuddalore.⁹¹

The situation was complicated by the appearance in 1702 of a Theatine who was also an Englishman, Fr John Baptist Milton. This man had travelled frequently between Madras and Cuddalore, and had repeatedly made request to the governor, Thomas Pitt, for permission to build a chapel in one or other of the British centres. The governor firmly refused permission, 'considering that the worst of consequences must attend it, or that it would be to the great dislike of the Company to have an English priest here of the Popish religion'.⁹²

Undeterred by this rejection, Milton persuaded one Joseph Hiller to purchase for him a piece of land in Madras, and proceeded to erect on it a building after the fashion of a convent. This came quite by chance to the knowledge of the governor, who one day spied the unauthorised building as he was on his way to his garden. He at once sent for the offender, and 'ordered him immediately to desist from building, and by six at night to depart the place, which he accordingly did to St Thomas [Mylapore]'.⁹³

After this adventure Milton disappears from the scene until 1710, when he

petitioned the governor that he and his fellow-Theatine Dom Simon da Costa might be permitted to take up again the work at Cuddalore. This was granted; but the plan did not work out well, since Milton seems to have spent most of his time trying to lure away his fellow-Englishmen from their allegiance to the Church of England to that of Rome. He was recalled, it being noted that he was 'a man of very indifferent character', and settled again at Mylapore. In 1712 he offered to go to Bencoolen in Sumatra, and to this the authorities raised no objection, on the ground that there was 'no fear of his turning any English to Popery, being not qualified for it'. Two years later it was recorded that John Milton, being now more than fifty years of age, had died, and so 'the disputes about him are ended'.⁹⁴

The Capuchins were more successful than any other order in securing the approval and respect of the English authorities in the south of India. In a lengthy despatch of 25 January 1715/16, the directors of the Company made known their view in no uncertain terms:

nor will we suffer anyone else who is a priest of any religious order of the Church of Rome to be there unless it be one or other of your Capuchins; . . . We hear the Capuchins now with you are in your interest and will not secretly endeavour to do you mischief; wherefore let them continue with you, and suffer no other priests of their religion to disturb them, or (if you know it) to sojourn within our town or its Dependancys.⁹⁵

The excellent Fr Thomas, 'a man of the best character, wit and ability', died in 1742, and was succeeded by the Italian Fr Severini. In 1743 the local authorities were perturbed by the arrival of one Fr Renatus, a Frenchman, who had come with authorisation as apostolic missionary and guardian of the missions in the Indies and Persia. A solemn document in English, Latin and Portuguese was issued to Fr Severini by the English authorities, making him *supremum et primarium pastorem* of the church of St Andrew in Madras (10 February 1743). Fr Renatus produced his commission under the signature of the vicar-general of the order, but bowed to the inevitable and accepted the right of the board in Madras to appoint whom they would. The directors had the last word in their despatch of 7 February 1744/5: 'The Church must never be independent of the State, nor the French suffered to intermeddle in our affairs, are maxims of such true policy, that we certainly approve your proceedings as to Father Severini.'⁹⁶

Twenty years later the situation had changed. Portugal was no longer a threat to any English interest in India; the threat now came from the rising power of France, and the dangerous alliance of the French with Tipu Sultan. This brought suspicion on all French priests, and particularly on the French bishops now resident in Pondichéri. Accordingly the Company, to quote the words of Sir Archibald Campbell, governor of Madras, had decided 'about

12 months past to revive the document that long acknowledged supremacy of the Bishop of St Thoma over the Roman Catholic Churches within the dominions of the Nabob of Arcot and the centres belonging to the English East India Company'.

In accordance with this decision of 1786, in the following years the council in Madras passed a number of resolutions of which the third read as follows:

That every priest, regular or secular, arriving in any of the English settlements on this coast shall as soon as possible inform the Bishop of St Thomé or Vicar General of his arrival, and produce to them his commission or patent from the Superior in Europe or Goa; and the Bishop or Vicar General shall make a report thereof to the Governor of Madras; nor shall any priest, regular or secular, be allowed to officiate until all these forms have been duly observed.⁹⁷

The French naturally raised a protest against what they regarded as an infringement of their authority; but these protests had no effect on the mind of the British authorities, who were determined to maintain their supremacy, civil and spiritual, in all the territories which they controlled.

These affairs have little to do with the spiritual character of the church as the Body of Christ. It has been necessary to record them in some detail in order, first, to make plain the integrity of the British authorities in India, and the respect which, in those days of intolerance, they were prepared to accord to Roman Catholic priests who were worthy of their vocation; secondly, to show the unavoidable but deplorable involvement of the church in the affairs of the state, and of the state in the affairs of the church. These things were to cast a long and dark shadow over the development of Christian missions in India in the years that were yet to come.

8 AN ORDER OF WOMEN

Before we pass from south to north, note should be taken of an interesting, though transitory, addition made to the Roman Catholic forces in India, when on 8 September 1738 a party of Ursulines arrived at Pondichéri.

This order had been founded at Brescia by St Angela Merici in 1535; the declared purpose of the company was to 'combat heresy by giving instruction in Christian doctrines and to oppose the widespread immorality of the time by their example'.⁹⁸ The order is notable as having been among the first religious orders for women to engage in work outside Europe. They were established in Quebec as early as 1639. A party arrived at New Orleans in 1727 and founded there the first convent in what later became part of the United States.⁹⁹

The invitation to the Ursulines came from Fr Norbert, who had probably heard of these overseas enterprises of the order and, believing the nuns to be

well suited to work in India, wrote to the convent at Vannes asking the authorities to send to India subjects qualified to give good literary and religious education to the poor girls of the colony. The nuns arrived in Pondichéri without prior notice to the authorities, and without any regulation of their ecclesiastical relationships.

Three months after their arrival, the council granted them leave to reside and a site for the creation of a school. A contract in seventeen articles had been drawn up by Fr Norbert and was forwarded by the governor of Pondichéri to the bishop of San Thomé under whose jurisdiction the religious ladies would fall. The bishop raised a number of objections, but, after modification in the light of his comments, the contract was signed in the council chamber on 31 December 1738. However, the bishop continued to make objections, whereupon the council wrote to him on 5 January 1739:

As for us, our opinion is that it would be better not to establish a house of religious women at Pondichéri than to establish it on the conditions which your Lordship requires. This has led us to the resolution to send them back on the same ship that has brought them to Pondichéri.¹⁰⁰

The Ursulines did not actually leave on the same ship, but before an answer was received from France in February 1741 they had already quitted the colony. They were not replaced until 1827.¹⁰¹

9 BENGAL

Much light is thrown on the situation in Bengal by two letters of Fr Barbier SJ, the companion of Bishop Francis Laynes on his extended visitation of the area.¹⁰²

The pioneers in the area had been the Augustinians, as has been set out in an earlier chapter. By the beginning of the eighteenth century their situation had undergone marked changes. The British had come in in strength and were making of Calcutta a great capital (1690); the French were established in Chandernagore (1690), the Dutch in Chinsurah (1653) and the Danes in Serampore (1735). Jesuits and Capuchins had come in to take a hand in the work, with the usual result of complaints and objections from the Portuguese concerning alleged infringements of their *padroado*.

Francis Laynes SJ had been consecrated in Lisbon in 1708 as bishop of Sozopolis *i.p.i.* and coadjutor to the bishop of Mylapore. The bishop of that see having died in 1710, Laynes succeeded him in the diocesan authority. Having set affairs in South India in order, the new bishop decided to make an extensive visitation of his immense diocese, of which Bengal and Orissa formed no small part. With his companions he reached Balasore on 9 June 1712. The English governor, Sir John Russell, had sent a budgerow to meet

the vessel, and the prelate was greeted with a salvo of artillery and other marks of courtesy.

There was a small Roman Catholic church in Calcutta, built in 1700 and under the care of an Augustinian priest. But the bishop had more important business further up the river, and, after a very brief stay moved to Bandel, the Augustinian centre three or four miles from Chandernagore.

The number of Christians in the area was considerably larger than might have been expected. As elsewhere, they fell into three distinct classes. There were the Europeans resident in the various commercial settlements, the Portuguese, most numerous in the older settlements, the French outnumbering them in Chandernagore. Much more numerous were the *topasses*, who are described by Fr Barbier as the descendants of Portuguese who had entered the service of the Great Mughul.¹⁰³ Then there were the converts of pure Indian race, most of whom were drawn from the lowest castes.

The bishop started his visitation at Chittagong, one of the chief centres of Christian population, where he stayed no less than nine months. During this time more than 2,000 Christians underwent the rite of confirmation, for which in the absence of a bishop they had never previously had the opportunity. Fr Barbier notes that 'the respect in which Christians are held in this area, and perhaps the fear of the arms which they carry, for almost all of them are soldiers, are such that they can observe the Christian festivals with as much freedom as they would in Europe, and with no hindrance to carrying out any of the ceremonies'.

The work at Chittagong once finished, Laynes resumed his journey in the direction of Dacca. But on the way the travellers turned aside to visit a small group of Christians at Bhulua, north-west of Noakhali, who had lived in such isolation that in five years no missionary had appeared to help them. A number of days was spent in baptisms, marriages, confirmations and all the ceremonies which had so long been intermitted.

Christmas was spent at Dacca, where the bishop was surrounded by no fewer than six priests, a rare event in that part of the country. At Rangamati more than 1,000 Christians were confirmed.

The next stage of the bishop's journey brings us into contact with one of the strangest corners of Indian church history. The travellers had penetrated into the interior with the help of the canals which run everywhere in that area. There a number of Christians was confirmed in the principal church, which turned out to be no more than a small edifice with mud walls and thatch, built for the benefit of Christians who had migrated to that part twenty years before. In this region, we are told, there was a considerable group of 'public' (i.e. open) Christians, but a larger number of hidden or secret Christians.

For our information on this movement we are dependent on a report by Fr

Ambrose of St Augustine, written in 1750 when he was provincial of the Augustinians in Goa. He was writing of events that he had observed more than a quarter of a century earlier, but, though it is possible that memory had a little enlarged these events, there is no reason to doubt the general trustworthiness of the account. These Christians, we are told, make up the better part of the churches in this region, since they are country people, having nothing to do with the towns, and are not deeply versed in the doctrines of Islam. They are more easily converted than the Hindus, who are rebellious and much attached to their idolatries. But they do not dare to declare themselves Christians, since the Great Moghul does not allow anyone to change his religion, and the missionaries have not permission to make Christians of them. In three months 225 of these people have been baptised; the priest says mass for them very early in the morning and sends them home before break of day. They are much oppressed by the Muslim priests, especially at the time of marriage, marriages not being valid unless the Muslim ceremonies have been carried out; they are also almost compelled to allow their male children to be circumcised.

Fr Ambrose reckoned that in this area not far from Dacca there were about 1,500 open Christians and about 8,000 secret ones. There were about as many 'who dressed in European fashion', mostly people of mixed descent. Thus the total for the mission would be 18,233, more or less; an exact figure could not be given. But in the end nothing came of this promising movement. The great days of Dacca were at an end, the capital having been transferred to Murshidābād, and the star of Chandernagore was fading before the growing splendour of Calcutta.

Laynes, after his return from his travels, was living quietly in the Jesuit College of Hūglī, doing such work as lay within his power. But his strength was failing. Shortly after Easter 1715 fever began to manifest itself; the bishop had not the strength to resist, and died on 11 June of that year. His visitation seemed to have given new life to the mission, but with his death progress came to an end. The Augustinians had not the necessary manpower. They found it necessary to abandon the work in Arakan in Burma. The Jesuits, too, were unable to keep up their strength. Fr Barbier remained in Chandernagore for three years after the death of the bishop. The college at Hūglī managed to maintain a precarious existence for some years more, but after 1740 nothing more is heard of it. When Fr Tieffenthaler passed through Bengal in 1765, he reported that the church of the Jesuits was almost entirely ruined, and that of the buildings in which the Jesuits had lived nothing at all remained.

10 A SUMMARY

The preservation of a report sent in to Propaganda in Rome¹⁰⁴ in 1765 makes it possible to give a general picture of the Roman Catholic situation in India

in that year, when the first steps against the Jesuits had already been taken by Portugal but the final collapse was still some years in the future.

No report had been received from the archdiocese of Goa. The see had been vacant for a number of years, and the work had been seriously weakened by the bitter strife among members of the chapter responsible for carrying forward the life of the diocese. A revolutionary change had taken place in 1759, when, because of the unhealthiness of the old site, the seat of government had been moved to Panjim or New Goa. Old Goa continued to be a splendid city of churches and other great ecclesiastical buildings, but by 1775 the population had dropped from 20,000 to 1,600.¹⁰⁵

The vicariate apostolic of Malabar was under the direction of the Carmelites. Their numbers were small – only eight, of whom five were Italian, one Bavarian, one Austrian and one Polish. They had under their care 53 parishes of Romo-Syrians, with 82,893 Christians and 163 Indian priests by whom the work of the parishes was carried on. There were also nineteen parishes of Christians of the Latin rite. The church was growing; in the years 1763–6, 599 non-Christians were baptised after careful training in Varāppoli, as well as 110 adults less adequately prepared.

Propaganda had arranged to reserve for Indians two places in its college in Rome. One, Alexis Gonçalves (b. 1731), who had been sent to Rome in 1741, had completed his training in 1751 and had returned to Malabar, where he was later ordained. Another, Joseph Kariattil (b. 1742), had arrived in Rome in 1755, and did not return to India till 1766. It was he who was consecrated in 1782 as archbishop of Cranganore, but he died in 1786 in Goa, without ever having set foot in his diocese.¹⁰⁶

The Carmelites maintained two seminaries, in which they had six students of the Latin, and ten of the Syrian, rite. Alexis Gonçalves was tutor to the Latins in the Carmelite house in Varāppoli; Joseph, on his return to India, was to be tutor to the Romo-Syrians in the Carmelite house in Mangāte. Rome had agreed to print mass-books in Syriac – up to this time they had been available only in manuscript form.

The bishop of Cochin could not live anywhere in the Dutch possessions. For a time he had lived in Anjengo, a small British settlement, but when expelled by the English, he made his home in Quilon. He had under his care 190 churches, nine or ten of which had Indian secular priests, the rest being under the care of Jesuits.¹⁰⁷ No one so far had compelled the Jesuits to leave and they had every intention of staying. Only twelve churches in the area had remained faithful to the schismatics; all the others had returned to the allegiance of Rome.

The archbishop of Cranganore could not live in the area controlled by the Dutch. He resided in Pocotta, and from there ruled over forty-three parishes. But the situation was one of considerable confusion. Some of the parishes were divided between Romo-Syrians and Jacobites, and some, as it

appears, recognised as their metropolitan Mar Thomas VI.

The seminary at Ambalakkādu was gradually given up, the archbishop having already more priests than he needed.

In 1759 the Jesuit province of Malabar was served by 45 Jesuits. Fifteen of these were in the missions of Malabar, Mathurai and the Carnatic – six Italians, two Germans and seven Portuguese. The mission of Mathurai had fourteen residences, not all under the direct care of missionaries, with 70,000 Christians. Some of the areas which the Jesuits could no longer care for had been taken over by the Carmelites.

For the year 1758 the province reported 7,044 baptisms, of which 1,537 were of adults. Some of those baptised were Brāhmans.

Mysore, which was attached to Goa, had thirteen residences with 15,000 Christians. In 1760 this area was handed over to the province of Malabar.

In the mission of Hindustan, the Jesuits had two churches in Delhi, one in Agra, and three in smaller stations. In Raichur six Fathers had earlier been resident.

The vicar apostolic to the Great Mughul (John Dominic of St Clare, 1756–74) had nominal charge of an immense area, stretching as far as the old kingdom of Golconda, but in stark reality he had no more than six parishes under him. He resided in Karwar. On the island of Bombay five parishes were cared for by Carmelites, assisted by fourteen secular priests; but sixteen parishes on the islands of Salsette and Carenja belonged to the archdiocese of Goa.¹⁰⁸ In 1774, Charles of St Conrad, the successor of John Dominic, was able to take up residence on the island of Bombay; he received financial aid from Propaganda.

The diocese of St Thomé (Mylapore) also covered a vast area, including parts of Burma, but its existence in many districts was nominal rather than real. In 1761 Mylapore had been occupied by the English. At that time there were four parishes, served by priests of a variety of orders. In Pondichéri the Capuchins had three churches, served by seven fathers and three brothers. In Pulicat, a Dutch possession, there was one secular priest, and in Negapatam, equally under the Dutch, one Franciscan.

In Madras, the headquarters of English power in South India, the French were under deep suspicion. Their church had been taken away, and no compensation was given until 1768. The English favoured the Italians and gave them privileges both in Madras and in Cuddalore. For a considerable period they would grant no jurisdiction in their area to the bishop of Mylapore.

In Bengal the Augustinians served fourteen churches. In Chandernagore the French Jesuits had a church, and the Capuchins a hospice.

The name of Tibet continued to be used, though from 1745 onwards there were no missionaries in Tibet itself. The mission was described as serving

new Christians, that is those who had been won to the church by the mission to Tibet, and old Christians, those who had moved into the area from other parts of India or whose conversion belonged to an earlier date. Thus, it is stated that in Patna there were 276 new Christians and 65 catechumens. There were 4,000 old Christians, of whom 1,500 were in Patna, 360 in Mogera, 108 in Bettiah, and others scattered through the area. In addition there were 1,200 Europeans, Armenians, and Christians of mixed descent who had to be cared for. It is also recorded that 300 children had been baptised *in extremis*.

This record cannot be read without sadness. Over so much of it hangs the melancholy of frustration and decay. When the extent and population of India are considered, the Christian enterprise in its totality seems to amount to very little. The three main areas of Christianity in India – Goa and the other Portuguese possessions, Malabar and the Fisher Coast – remained in their integrity, and probably included eighty per cent of the Christian population. The missions of Mathurai, Mysore and the Carnatic still showed signs of vitality, and they could point to evidences of progress in numbers and in the extent of areas visited. But the great days of the mission to the Great Mughul were in the past and what survived was only a shadow of past greatness.¹⁰⁹ The hold of the faith in Bengal was weak and prejudiced by the generally inferior character of those who were there to defend it. The name of Tibet survived as a monument to days of heroic adventure and self-sacrifice, but it was literally no more than a name; if anything in Tibet itself survived, it was only a memory of good men written in the minds and thoughts of those who had known them.

But, if the news in 1765 was on the whole bad rather than good, it was immensely better than that which was to follow. The age of decline was to be followed by the age of catastrophe; the signs of the tempest were already mounting up on the horizon.

5 · Anglicans and Others

I INTRODUCTION

The Roman Catholic church is perhaps the most widely extended Christian fellowship in India. If so, it has been preceded, or closely followed, by the Church of England, or, as it is more properly called in its later developments, the Anglican Communion. This body has penetrated to every corner of the Indian sub-continent. It has undertaken to minister to Europeans, to Anglo-Indians, and to Indians of every race and community. It has won converts among adherents of every religion which exists in India, and on every social level from the exclusive Kulin Brāhman of Bengal down to the despised and rejected sweeper, and from almost all the remote peoples of the mountains and hills.

In 1707, though most of the English people in India were nominally members of the Church of England, the effective force of that church consisted of no more than a handful of chaplains intermittently appointed and casually replaced, and with few regularly consecrated buildings in which to worship. By 1858 it had become a well-organised church, with three bishops and three stately cathedrals, with a rapidly increasing staff of European chaplains and Indian priests, and with Indian Christian laymen already holding posts of considerable importance in government service, in education and in the professions. Two chapters in this volume will attempt to show how this remarkable evolution had taken place.

2 MADRAS AND THE SOUTH

Until the conquests of Clive in Bengal, Madras was by far the most prosperous of the British settlements in India, and the Presidency *par excellence*.

The East India Company was not in the habit of building churches, and was even reluctant to acquire churches built by others. By the end of the eighteenth century most of the churches built by the Dutch and the Danes, and some of those built by the Portuguese, had passed into English hands. But the transfer was accepted reluctantly; 'ownership meant expenditure on

repairs; it meant the appointment of chaplains and church keepers; and the Company was not as yet prepared to assign more money than it was already spending on its ecclesiastical affairs'.¹ Thus the large church of St Francis in Cochin was left in the hands of the Dutch community until 1801, and the station was not provided with a chaplain until 1816.

One single exception to the rule of no help from the Company may be found in co-operation in the building of two churches by Schwartz at Thaṇjāvur, but this was due rather to local initiative than to action by the central authority and depended more on the government's need for the services of Schwartz as chaplain than on any interest in religion. General Hector Munro, the commanding officer at Thaṇjāvur, had become a friend of Schwartz and was a warm supporter of his plan to build a church. Largely through his intervention, the government in Madras was persuaded to order the paymaster to 'supply the Rev Mr Schwartz, Chaplain at Tanjore, with six lacs of bricks and 3000 parahs of chunam for the purpose'.² It appears that, when in 1784 he built his second church, further help from the government was forthcoming.

Otherwise, churches were built by private subscription and by the efforts of people in various places to provide for their own needs. Christ Church, Tiruchirāpalli, was built largely from funds provided by the officers of the garrison.³ This was by no means the only church brought into being by such means.

Even where no chaplain was resident, some provision was made in military stations for Christian worship and instruction. The records for Vellore, one of the smaller stations, in the last third of the century provide interesting evidence that this was the case. When Philip Fabricius from Madras visited the station in March 1773,⁴ he found that a number of the English soldiers were meeting regularly for Bible-reading and prayer and had arranged for the local catechist to give Christian instruction to their Indian wives. In the course of a crowded programme, Fabricius preached in English at a parade service and administered Holy Communion to seventeen of the group; preached in Tamil to the Indian Christians; married five couples; baptised five children of soldiers; and held a Communion service for the German soldiers whom he found in the station.⁵

Fabricius was successful in getting a school chapel erected at Vellore. On condition that the building should be used by Europeans and Indians alike, he was able to make a grant from funds at his disposal in Madras. The rest of the cost was met from the subscriptions of the officers and men of the garrison. Missionaries could only rarely pay visits to these smaller stations, but English services were regularly kept going by officers, civil and military. A friend of Schwartz, Surgeon Duffin, wrote to him from Vellore in 1787 asking for a volume of sermons; to which Schwartz replied on 21 September

of that year: 'Your most agreeable favour I have received, and am very willing to send you two volumes of Isaac Watts's Sermons.'⁶ In 1792 the government's chief representative at Vellore, William Harcourt Torriano, another friend of Schwartz, at his own expense put up a new chapel to be used jointly by the English and the Indian congregations. This 'large new chapel' was dedicated by Gericke and Rottler in 1793.

During the period 1706–86 twenty-eight chaplains were appointed to Fort St George. A number of these died so soon after their arrival as to have had little opportunity of giving evidence of their capacity. But St Mary's Church in Madras was rarely left without a chaplain, and of those who served most left behind a good record of exemplary conduct and diligent attendance on their duties. John Thomas, a Welshman who served from 1765 to 1777, was not a man of any special distinction but may be taken as typical of the chaplains of that century. Of him the vestry wrote to 'express their satisfaction with the exemplary conduct of Mr Thomas during his residence in the settlement, and regret his state of health compels him to return to Europe'; a little later the council wrote to the Company in England: 'Mr Thomas has served you 12 years in the office of Chaplain; his true piety and exemplary conduct have gained him the esteem of every one.'⁷

Some of the chaplains were, however, men of exceptional distinction.

William Stevenson served in Madras for only five years (1713–18), but he is to be remembered as the great friend of the Tranquebar missionaries, about whose work he wrote on 27 December 1716 a remarkable letter to the SPCK.⁸

The most interesting of all the chaplains of this period was certainly Robert Palk, who arrived as a naval chaplain in 1748, and stayed on till 1758. His ability in civil and political affairs was such that he was appointed by the government as ambassador to Thanjāvur, and later as paymaster of the army, and 'as one of the Peace Commissioners to negotiate the treaty with the French'. This confusion of military and civil functions was not pleasing to the authorities in London. But when Palk was in London in 1761 they became so convinced of his abilities that they sent him back to India with reversion of the post of governor of Fort St George. Palk succeeded to the office of governor in 1763 and held the post for four years. On his return to England he entered Parliament, and sat almost continuously for twenty years. He died in 1798.⁹

Madras, like other British settlements in India, had its perturbations – occupation by the French, threats of attack by Haidar 'Alī, and so on. But for the most part the picture which history gives is of a cultured, leisured, well-ordered and hospitable community in which the chaplains played a dignified and at times influential part.

The perennial difficulty faced by the chaplains was financial – the Company, refusing to recognise the decline in the value of money, would not provide for them such pay and allowances as would make it possible for them to maintain themselves on the level required if they were to play a full part in the life of the community. Most of them were married men, and could not live with the same economy as the celibate priests of the Roman Catholic church.

Complaints on this head are constantly found in the records, and not by any means always made by the chaplains themselves. For instance, on 31 October 1777 the board noted in its consultation book:

We have upon former occasions observed to the Hon. Court of Directors how inadequate the salary of their Chaplains has ever been to the purposes of maintaining them in a manner suitable to their profession; and since the increase which has of late years arisen throughout this settlement in the price of almost every article of expense, the inconvenience of their situation must have been proportionately augmented.¹⁰

The inevitable result of this was that chaplains tended to engage in trade. This could not be said to be illegal, since the Company's monopoly extended only to the trade with Europe, the 'country trade' being exempt from this embargo. Such occupation with merchandising could not, however, be regarded as fully compatible with the chaplain's vocation; the time taken up by such affairs might well be felt to interfere with the effectiveness of his spiritual ministrations. Nevertheless, there is in the records only one really petulant outburst on the part of the directors. This relates to the Reverend Charles Long, who had arrived in India in 1713 and had given various grounds for complaint. Finally, on 26 April 1721, the directors wrote:

We understand Mr Long hath exchanged his study for a Counting House and is turned Supracargo, which in all likelihood will bring a scandal upon his character, and give the natives and Roman Catholics a handle to depreciate the reputation of a Protestant Clergyman. Therefore let him stay no longer in India, but return to England, to keep the solemn promise made at his ordination.¹¹

3 CALCUTTA

Calcutta, the rather derelict settlement created by Job Charnock in 1686 on the banks of the Hūglī, was left without a church and was only sporadically cared for by a chaplain. The latter defect was rectified when in June 1700 Benjamin Adams arrived to take up the work. A man of considerable energy and enterprise, Adams soon set to work to provide the as yet non-existent church. His plan met with the favour of the council, which laid it down that 'a sufficient piece of ground to build it on, be appointed in the Broad Street . . . , and that a broad way be left on the side next the river, full sixty foot broad

clear from the Church'.¹² The council further made a grant of Rs. 1,000 for the work of building; and this, together with the subscriptions of the English inhabitants, made possible the building of the church. In 1708 the bishop of London issued a commission for the consecration of the church in Calcutta to Adams' successor, William Owen Anderson. The consecration took place on 5 June 1709; the church was dedicated to St Anne, the reference being in reality not so much to the mother of the Virgin Mary as to the sovereign at that time reigning in England. A spire, with a bell, was added to the church in 1712. St Anne's did not have a long life, being destroyed by the mob in 1756 at the time of the capture of Fort William by the *nawāb* of Bengal.

After the recapture of Calcutta no steps were immediately taken to rebuild the church. Chaplains came and went, in most cases holding the office only for a very brief period. None of them undertook the strenuous task of raising money for church building. The erection of the second Protestant church in Calcutta was due to private enterprise and generosity, and to missionary zeal.

In September 1758 John Zachary Kiernander (1710–98) arrived in Calcutta. Kiernander, who was a Swede by birth, had been trained at Halle, and for seventeen years had been maintained by the SPCK in the mission of Fort St David (Cuddalore). While there he had made the acquaintance of Robert Clive, who had formed a high opinion of him.¹³ When Cuddalore was captured by the French and the work there came to an end, Clive invited him to come to Calcutta to start missionary work there.¹⁴ Kiernander was glad to accept the invitation, and was warmly welcomed by, among others, the Anglican chaplains. His first activity was to open schools for both Indian and European boys. By the end of the first year there were 174 boys in the school; in 1760 there were 231. During the first year he was able to baptise fifteen converts, one of them a Brāhman, the first of that group to be baptised in Bengal in any of the Protestant churches.

After eight years of work Kiernander was able to report that he had brought into the church 189 persons; but of these the great majority were Roman Catholics, only thirty being of non-Christian origin. The records show that during Kiernander's ministry no fewer than five Roman Catholic priests left the church of their origin and joined the Church of England. No details are given of the process which led to their change of allegiance; but since two at least of them gave long service in the missions maintained by the SPCK, there is no reason to doubt the genuineness of their convictions.¹⁵

Now that he had so considerable a company of adherents round him, it seemed to Kiernander only reasonable that he should have a church in which they could worship. In 1762 he had married as his second wife a wealthy widow. The money for the erection of the church, which was completed at

the end of the year 1770, was provided almost entirely from the fortune of the Kiernanders, with little help from others and none at all from the SPCK or the Company.¹⁶

The later years of Kiernander's life, like those of his contemporary Fabricius, were marked by tragedy. In 1787, not so much through his own fault as through the commercial imprudence of his son Robert, for whom he had stood surety, Kiernander found himself burdened with heavy debts which it was impossible for him to meet. The whole of his property was put up for sale. As the church belonged to him, and was in no way protected by its religious character, it would have been included in the sale at far less than its real value. At the critical moment a leading servant of the East India Company, Charles Grant, of whom there will be much to say in later stages of this history, came forward and paid the derisory price of Rs. 10,000 which had been placed upon it.¹⁷ The church was saved. It was placed in the hands of three trustees – Charles Grant himself, William Chambers the friend of Schwartz, and the newly arrived chaplain the Reverend David Brown. Though much enlarged and altered, the church still stands, and is in use as a place of worship of the Church of North India.

Kiernander's active ministry was at an end. Old and worn, once again a widower, almost blind, in deep poverty, he ministered to the Dutch congregation in Chinsurah from 1787 to 1795. Only once again was he seen in the church which he had built; on the occasion of the opening of the enlarged church on 29 December 1793 he was present, joined in the administration of the Sacrament, and expressed himself happy to see the church so much improved and the attendance so much increased.¹⁸

Chaplains came and went. Great difficulty was experienced in maintaining the succession, many of the chaplains who arrived in India holding office for a lamentably short time before they succumbed to the rigours of the climate. Thus Samuel Briercliffe of Trinity College, Cambridge, reached Calcutta in August 1713, twenty-seven years of age and filled with enthusiasm to emulate what he had read of the achievements of the SPCK in South India. He made a good beginning and seems to have won the affection of his congregation, though apparently without the full agreement of the authorities in England. But he died in August 1717, just four years after his arrival. There was an interval of two years and five months during which there was no chaplain in Calcutta. Then in January 1720 the place was filled by Joshua Thomlinson, who for twelve years had been the Company's chaplain in St Helena; but Thomlinson survived for only four months. After this there was another interval of twenty-two months, and then in March 1722 Joseph Paget stepped into the vacant place. Paget served for only a short period, dying in Dacca on the day before the second anniversary of his arrival at Fort

William. At last Gervase Bellamy came in on 22 August 1726; with his coming the whole situation changed for the better. Bellamy was already thirty-six years old when he reached Calcutta, but he was destined to resist the encroachments of the climate and to serve the church with acceptance for thirty years.

All the accounts depict Bellamy as a delightful and attractive man, greatly beloved and respected by all, who served the church throughout his long ministry with that grave and sober piety characteristic of eighteenth-century Anglicanism at its best. The achievement with which his name is most closely associated is the foundation of the charity school. Three years after his arrival it was possible to put in hand the building of the school, which was to accommodate eight foundationers and forty day scholars. The SPCK, in its Annual Report for 1733, notes the receipt of a letter from Bellamy, dated 29 February 1731/2, in which he records that the large and commodious school now houses eight boys, who are maintained and educated after the manner of the Blue-Coat boys in Christ's Hospital.¹⁹ The first master of the school appears to have been one Padre Aquiare, a Franciscan from Goa, who had expressed an earnest desire to be admitted to the Church of England, and who, after admission, was employed and given Rs. 30 a month out of church funds.²⁰

At a later date Bellamy seems to have handed over the care of the school to Robert Mapletoft of Clare College, Cambridge, who came to Calcutta in August 1750. Mapletoft proved to be an excellent manager, under whom both the finances and the discipline of the school improved; in 1754 he reports that the number of foundationers is now twelve to fourteen, and asks for a supply of 'blue Perpets²¹ or some ordinary cloth' to be used in making coats for the boys, and also for stationery for use in the school. He concludes:

we flatter ourselves that this application will not appear unreasonable to you as it must be very evident that children well educated and interested in the English language and accounts, may hereafter be of great service not only to the Gentlemen of this place, but to the honourable Company also.²²

The ministry of Bellamy ended in tragedy. He was one of the many who died in 1757 in the Black Hole of Calcutta. J. Z. Holwell tells us, in his *Genuine Narrative*, that 'I found a stupor coming on apace, and laid myself down by that gallant old man the Rev Gervase Bellamy, who lay dead with his son, the lieutenant, hand in hand near the southernmost wall of the prison.'²³

In 1754 a new factor was introduced into the Christian and Anglican situation in India by the arrival of a regiment of king's troops. Up to this point in time the Company had recruited, paid and managed its own armies.

The intensity of the struggle against the French in India led to the despatch from England of a regiment of infantry and a detachment of Royal Artillery. The 39th Foot bore the notable title *Primus in Indis*. A king's regiment would naturally be accompanied by its chaplain. Of this we find a clear note in a resolution of council, dated 4 November 1762:

The Reverend *Mr Samuel Staveley* having deceased . . . there becometh a vacancy in the Chaplaincy of this settlement. *Agreed*, we appoint the *Rev Mr Parry*, Chaplain to His Majesty's 84th Regiment to fill the same, and we recommend him in our next address to the Court to be confirmed therein.²⁴

When the 39th Foot was withdrawn to England, officers and men alike were permitted to volunteer for service in the Company's army; no fewer than five officers (who all received a step upwards in rank) and 350 men accepted the offer. This became the regular custom; as a result the number of officers and men of former European descent in the Company's regiments rapidly increased.

In South India the Company's army had used the services of missionaries, Roman Catholic and Protestant, to care for the spiritual needs of the troops. In other parts of India, where there were no missionaries and no chaplains, the fighting men had to depend on their own slender spiritual resources. But, with the example of the English regiments at hand, a change was gradually brought about. In 1770 it was decided that a chaplain should be appointed to each of the three brigades of the Company's troops. It does not appear that any chaplain was appointed in 1770, but from that time on the 'brigade chaplains' appear regularly in the records. The first to be appointed was the Reverend Thomas Yate, who took office on 1 January 1772. At the end of the period surveyed in this chapter, there were no fewer than nine Anglican priests in Bengal, all of whom were, or had been, regimental or garrison chaplains. Two of these were outstanding. David Brown, the first of the 'pious chaplains', who arrived in 1786, will occupy our attention at a later stage of this narrative. John Owen, who reached India in 1785, was the son of pious parents who had become close friends of John Wesley; the great man refers to them in his diary as 'the lovely family at Publow' (Publow, where they resided, being not far from Bristol). Owen seems to have carried into his ministry something of the character and authority of the family mentor – David Brown describes him as 'a bold friend, and able to speak with authority'. Owen returned to England in 1794, was appointed a chaplain-general to His Majesty's forces, and at the time of his death in 1824 was archdeacon of Richmond in Yorkshire.

The supply of chaplains was intermittent and irregular. But it must not be supposed that when there was no chaplain church services ceased to be held. As in earlier times, there are many notices of services being conducted by

laymen: it seems that services were regularly held, and that until the end of the period dealt with in this chapter church attendance was a regular part of European life in Calcutta.²⁵ Thus, to give one example, we are told that two merchants, Mr Lloyd and Mr John Oldmixer, had solemnised marriages between February and June 1726, and that Mr Oldmixer, having performed divine service for six months in 1725, received a gratuity of 200 silver rupees for his pains.²⁶

Church-going seems to have been quite a business. It became the custom that the governor and council, with the civil servants and such of the military officers as were off duty, should walk together in procession to the church to attend divine service on Sunday mornings.²⁷ Where people of such eminence in the community led the way, it was likely that others would follow their example, though it is clear that there were many delinquents who preferred to stay at home.

St Anne's Church had been destroyed in 1756. After the recovery of Calcutta by the English, no immediate steps were taken to replace it with another Anglican place of worship. For the time being the English-speaking congregation took over the Portuguese church of Our Lady of the Rosary, the practice of the Roman Catholic faith in Calcutta having been forbidden by the governor-in-council. This solution of the problem, however, was attended by a number of difficulties. The proscription of one form of the Christian faith was not approved by the court of directors.²⁸ The church was dark, damp and noisy. A second, temporary, solution was therefore sought. In the year 1760 a small chapel was built inside the old fort in an area almost immediately adjoining the infamous Black Hole. The new chapel was opened for worship, probably on 24 June of that year, the feast of the birth of John the Baptist, in whose honour the chapel was named St John's.

The population of Calcutta was steadily growing, and before long it became clear that the capacity of the chapel was far from meeting the needs of those who wished to worship. A vigorous chaplain, the Reverend William Johnson, took the first step towards the building of a church which would worthily represent the claims of the Church of England, in a letter addressed, on 22 March 1776, to the governor-general and council:

Whoever has seen the Room must know that it is incapable of holding a twentieth part of the Protestant inhabitants of Calcutta and whoever has been a constant attendant on religious worship there must also have frequently been a witness of the noisy interruptions to which Divine Service is liable both from people within the Fort, and from the concourse by the river side of men employed in their several mechanical trades or mercantile affairs. To erect 'a proper edifice for Christian Worship' will 'not only be of great benefit to religion, but will also reflect the truest honour on yourselves, on the Honourable Company, and on the English Nation'.

Johnson's hope that the directors in London might accept the responsibility for erecting a suitable church was not to be fulfilled; the Company, faithful to its general policy of not spending money on buildings to be used for religious purposes, would not lend a hand. The project slept for another seven years. But in 1783 Johnson made up his mind that, if a church was not to be built from government funds, the necessary money must be raised by public subscription. Towards the end of the year he was able to announce that no less than Rs. 35,900 had been promised. A public meeting was held, and a building committee was appointed; the first name on the list of members was that of the governor-general, Warren Hastings himself, who as it appeared had also subscribed generously to the building fund.

Four days later (22 December 1783) Hastings was able to announce that Mahārājā Nobkissen (Nobo-Krishna Dey, one of the wealthiest Hindus in Bengal) had given a suitable piece of ground, known as the old Powder Magazine Yard, for the building of the church. On 6 February he wrote to his wife, who had already left India for England:

I must not forget to inform you, my good Maria, that the Church Scheme which you had so much at heart goes on most prosperously, and I expect the Foundation to be laid in less than Two Months. The Body will be a square of 70 feet, and it will be decorated with a handsome Steeple.²⁹

Much money had been raised, but much more was needed if the work was to be completed. The building committee hit upon the idea of holding a lottery.³⁰ There were to be 335 prizes, the largest of which was to be a lakh (100,000) of rupees. For six months the lottery was the talk of the town. When on 6 August 1784 the tickets were drawn, it was found that the building fund had prospered by the sum of Rs. 26,088-6-8, together with Rs. 10,764-12-9 received back from the prizes. This was far less than would be needed for the completion of the building,³¹ but the members of the committee were right in thinking that the interest shown by the public in the project was enough to justify them in going ahead with the work.

In point of fact work had already begun. On 6 April 1784 the council, led by its senior member in the absence of the governor-general, went in procession to the site, and after prayers uttered by the chaplain the foundation stone was solemnly laid.

Much still remained to be done. But at last on 24 June 1787 all was ready for the solemn consecration of the completed church. The act of consecration was carried out by the Reverend William Johnson (to whom the very existence of the church was due), in the presence of a large congregation which included almost all the leading English residents of Calcutta. The chaplain then preached a sermon on the text from Psalm 93: 5, 'Holiness becometh thine house for ever', and the ceremonies concluded with a celebration of Holy Communion.

So Calcutta had at last been provided with a church which was to serve for many years as its parish church, and in which, when the time came, the first Anglican bishop of Calcutta was enthroned.

4 BOMBAY

During the eighteenth century Bombay was much overshadowed by the other great presidency cities. It was hemmed in by strong kingdoms on the mainland, and isolated from other centres of British life and influence. As late as 1779 Colonel Goddard made the first trans-continental march from Calcutta to Surat and showed possibilities of communication by land which were not fully exploited until the development of the railways in the nineteenth century. The overland post from Bombay to Madras was started only in 1788. Otherwise communication was by sea, and this depended very much on the weather and the availability of ships.

Nevertheless, during the eighteenth century Bombay gradually recovered from the poverty and depopulation which had marked the end of the seventeenth. The French wars led to a great increase in military strength; in 1741 there were twenty-six officers and 1,442 other ranks on the island. In 1775 it was reckoned that the population had increased to 140,000, though the European element was still small.

The church cannot be said to have flourished. The vigorous Richard Cobbe, who had been mainly responsible for the building of what is now the cathedral, in 1720 got into trouble with the authorities and, having refused to apologise publicly to a leading member of the community whom he had rebuked by name in church, though he did reluctantly agree to apologise in private, was suspended from his office by the council and ordered to return to England.³²

None of Cobbe's successors seems to have been equal to him in vigour and enterprise. Whereas at the end of the seventeenth century there had been three chaplains, two in Bombay and one in Surat, for the greater part of the eighteenth there was only one. This minister had to travel, as best he could, northwards to Surat and southwards as far as Anjengo, as well as caring for the welfare of Bombay. There was as yet no glass in the windows of the cathedral, and the floor was still coated with dried cowdung, cement apparently being reckoned too expensive.³³

One of the Bombay chaplains of this period, Arnold Burrowes, deserves mention, not so much because of any great personal distinction as because of the length of his service. He arrived in India in 1773 and served till 1813; during these forty years he never once visited England, and he became known to generation after generation of seamen visiting the port.³⁴

5 ANGLICANS AND LUTHERANS

During the period under review, the English church as such did not engage directly in any kind of missionary work. Not one single priest of that church offered himself for such service; the change came only at the very end of the eighteenth century. Anglicans did all their missionary work vicariously, through Lutherans and other continental ministers. These they supported in all their enterprises. Some of them they accepted as intimate friends and spiritual guides. When Kiernander came to Calcutta, he was warmly welcomed by many, and no trace of denominational jealousy seems to have marred his relationships with the Anglican chaplains. Such co-operation did not exist in Bombay, where there were no Protestant missionaries. In the south, these easy relationships between chaplains, missionaries and civilians were more fully developed and long-lasting than in Bengal. This led to one of the most peculiar features of the Anglican situation in India – the support given over a long period of time by a strictly episcopal church to a Lutheran and non-episcopal mission.

The SPCK was drawn almost by chance into support of the Tranquebar mission. We have seen earlier the enthusiasm awakened in England by early reports of the success of the mission in South India. When it was found that the SPG, by reason of its charter, could not participate in work outside the British dominions and was therefore unable to help the missionaries in Danish territory, the SPCK, being a voluntary and unchartered society, was able to step in and take up the burden. For a quarter of a century the help was provided in the form of money and gifts, including the first printing-press owned by the mission. The decisive step was taken in 1732, when it became clear that the Mission Council in Copenhagen would not support a missionary working in territory controlled by Britain and the SPCK agreed to take on Benjamin Schultze as their missionary at a salary of £60 a year.

The SPCK records make it clear that from an early date the Church of England, stirred to emulation by the Danish and German example, would have liked to send its own missionaries to India. In 1713 the remarkable American secretary of the SPCK, Henry Newman, was writing to the equally remarkable Thomas Wilson, bishop of Sodor and Man, to enlist his help.³⁵ He drew a somewhat idealistic picture of the kind of missionary the Society would like to find:

They would gladly have men of a sober and religious conversation, endowed with a meek and humble spirit, men pretty well mortified and dead to the world and worldly advantages, of some experience in the care of souls and zealous for the glory of God and the salvation of men. If with these divine qualities, they have learning and aptitude to learn languages, it will be a great advantage.³⁶

It seemed that the desire of the Society might be fulfilled without delay. Newman was informed that a very well-qualified Welsh clergyman had shown an inclination to go to Tranquebar. This was none other than the eminent educationist Griffith Jones (1683–1761). L. W. Cowie remarks that ‘if he had gone, the history of British missions might have been very different’.³⁷ But, on reflection, Jones reports that ‘he thinks himself obliged to decline it upon the prospect he has of doing more service to religion in his native country than he can purpose to do abroad’.

Again hopes were raised in 1729 when Bishop Wilson recommended Mr James Christian. Christian preached a trial sermon, apparently with acceptance, and was offered the post at Fort St George. He then, however, began to haggle about terms, expecting the salary of a chaplain, more than double what the Society felt it could offer him as a missionary, and ‘upon a presumption that they did not expect from him to spend his life in their service and that he might be allowed, not only a competent support, but wherewith to enable him to return to Europe after spending some years in their service’. This was not the idea of the Society; they wanted a man who would go out, like the Lutheran missionaries, for life ‘without any limitation other than God’s Almighty pleasure of sparing him life and health’.³⁸ So the services of Mr Christian were dispensed with.

Regretfully Newman had to report that the spirit of self-sacrifice so evident in the Germans was not to be found in the products of Oxford and Cambridge, who were ‘not inclined to go so far from their country and friends and to deny themselves of that comfortable way of living they had been used to have, to take up what the Indies affords’.

So, not having found any recruits from the Church of England, the SPCK had to set about making use of the material which was available. And this meant that an Anglican society would for an unspecified time have Lutherans in its employ. From the start this proved itself to be less than easy, but there were mitigating features.

Anglicans drew a sharp distinction between the well-organised churches of the continent and the English dissenters. Archbishop Wake had written that the case was ‘vastly different between communicating with the Protestants abroad and our Separatists here at home’.³⁹ There had been a long tradition of inter-communion between the English and continental churches. Few Anglicans hesitated to receive Lutherans to the Holy Communion in England, though some among the stricter churchmen had hesitations against themselves receiving Communion at a non-Anglican service.

It was certainly an advantage that arrangements had been made for the missionaries to be ordained in Copenhagen by the bishop of Zealand. The

purpose of this was to link them to the church in Denmark, and to place them under an obligation to maintain in India the Danish way of doing things. But, though the Church of England has never accorded the same recognition to the Danish episcopal tradition as it has to the Swedish,⁴⁰ the retention of the title 'bishop' made a favourable impression, and suggested that the missionaries were being ordained to the service of a church that really was a church.⁴¹

The ordination of the first 'country priest', Aaron, in 1733 had raised in an acute form the question of the validity and regularity of Lutheran ordinations. One of the Anglican chaplains in Madras raised the question whether it was in order, according to Lutheran principles, for the missionaries to confer orders on such persons. The question was important, this being the first Lutheran ordination of an Indian. Mr Ziegenhagen, the Lutheran pastor in London, was asked to write to Professor Francke in Halle to ascertain what the situation was. Francke was able to reply that the missionaries undoubtedly had the *potestas ordinandi*, and that what they had done was perfectly in order. When the second 'country priest', Diogo, was ordained, no question was raised from the Anglican side.

C. F. Schwartz had never been a missionary under the Danish crown, and his right to ordain was therefore rather more dubious. When in 1784 he proposed that his foster-son, the younger Kohlhoff, should be ordained, he took the precaution of asking Lector Pasche of the German court chapel in London, who was a member of the East Indian Committee of the SPCK, whether the society would approve the ordination. A favourable reply must have been received, as on 14 February 1787 Schwartz reported that the candidate had been 'publicly ordained in the presence of the Danish governor and of the English and Danish missionaries at Tranquebar'. In the following year the society made no difficulty about adding the name of Kohlhoff to the roll of its missionaries. When in 1790 Schwartz ordained the catechist Sattianāthan, the society showed its approval by printing the sermon which Sattianāthan had preached on the occasion.⁴²

Throughout the eighteenth century some Anglicans felt doubts as to the desirability, or even the permissibility, of using Lutherans in an Anglican mission. But on the whole it was tacitly agreed that it was better not to raise awkward questions, and that the less words such as 'validity', 'regularity' and so on were bandied about, the better it would be. When the irrepressible John Chamberlayne raised the question in 1713, Newman told him that members of the society

thought it their prudence and charity to avoid as much as they could putting it into the heads of the benefactors that the missionaries were Lutherans or ministers not episcopally ordained, because mankind are too apt to catch at objections to save their purses . . . They considered that, though they assuredly wished to see the Gospel in

its purity propagated without any bias to the sects or opinions that unhappily divide Christians, yet it is rather to be connived at that the heathen should be Lutheran Christians rather than no Christians.⁴³

This seems to have been the general feeling of the society throughout the century. Those who have most carefully studied the subject seem to agree with the judgement of Dr H. Cnattingius:

The SPCK is not known to have ever made any formal statement on the validity of Lutheran ordinations . . . The most natural interpretation seems to be that by using these Lutherans, the society did recognize the validity of their Lutheran orders . . . During the earlier part of the 18th century this view was apparently general in the society. From the 1770's onwards, however, an opposition element began to appear, and many members, even though they did not positively deny the validity of Lutheran ordination, felt it to be dubious.⁴⁴

It was not, however, until 1791, in connection with the ordination of Sattianāthan, that a single word was uttered on the proper constitution for a church in India:

We ought to look beyond the casualties of war, or the revolution of empires; we ought in time to give the natives a Church of their own, independent of our support; we ought to have suffragan Bishops in the country, who might ordain Deacons and Priests, and secure a regular succession of truly apostolic Pastors, even if all the communications with their parent Church should be annihilated.⁴⁵

It must seem strange that a church such as the Church of England, which has always so strongly stressed its own episcopal character, should for two and a half centuries have left its members outside the British Isles without the benefit of episcopal care. But so it was. It is true that, under the Order in Council of 1629, the bishop of London exercised a vague and shadowy supervision over Anglicans beyond the seas. Priests overseas could receive a commission from him, either for a fixed period or for special acts such as the consecration of a church; but during all that long period no Anglican could be confirmed or ordained in India. The church was episcopal in no more than name. Even in the discussions of the SPCK here recorded, suggestion was made only for an Indian church for Indians, cared for by Indian bishops. It seems that Anglicans of European or mixed origin were still to be left in the care of a truncated church.

6 CHRISTIANS OF OTHER CHURCHES

Of other groups of Christians in India not much remains to be recorded in this chapter.

The Dutch and the Danes continued to maintain chaplains, some of them men of considerable distinction, in the small territories under their control.

But these pastors seem to have occupied themselves almost exclusively with the affairs of their own compatriots. Few of them learnt any Indian language;⁴⁶ those of the eighteenth century seem to have shown less concern for missionary work than their predecessors of an earlier date.

Throughout the century the Armenians continued to form a close-knit and extremely prosperous trading community,⁴⁷ increasingly closely in touch with the British conquerors and in general friendly to them. Their main centre of activity was Bengal; leaders among them appear repeatedly in the records of the English advance towards hegemony.

One of these leading Armenians, who played a remarkably intricate part in the British proceedings in the early eighteenth century, was Khwāja Israel Sarhād. He is referred to already in the period of Job Charnock; but his most notable service was in connection with the embassy of the British to the emperor Farrukhsiyar, which resulted in the granting to them of that famous *firmān*, which was taken as the foundation of all their fortunes in Bengal. On 5 June 1714 it is noted as agreed 'that Cojah Surhaud . . . be sent to assist in suing for the king's *firmān* . . . It is absolutely necessary that some person who is perfect master of the Persian language and understands our affairs very well, and what may be useful for us, be sent, and we know no man so qualified in both these respects as Cojah Surhaud.'⁴⁸

The first Armenian church in Calcutta was built in 1724, largely through the efforts of one Agah Nazar, in commemoration of whom it is generally known as the church of Nazareth.

The original settlement of the Armenians in Bengal was not in Calcutta but at Saidābād, a suburb of Murshidābād.⁴⁹ A church was built here in 1758. With this place was associated one of the most famous of all Armenian families in India. The founder of the fortunes of the family was Agah Petros, whose father, Fr Nicholas, had come from Julfa in Iran. This virtuous man was highly esteemed for his probity, modesty and piety by 'Alī Vardī Khān, the *nawāb* of Bengal, and died full of years and honour in 1767. His successor, Khwāja Petrus Arathoon ('Armenian Petrus'),⁵⁰ was well known to Clive and Warren Hastings and is reputed to have given great help to the English refugees at Fulta after the disasters accompanying the capture of Calcutta by Sirāj-ud-daula in 1756. His name appears frequently in the records of Warren Hastings; on one occasion the kind Armenian, so much more wealthy than the later governor-general, made a loan of Rs. 12,000 to his English friend, a sum which Hastings was able to repay only after the lapse of ten years.

The Armenians, having their own church in Calcutta, were naturally interested in the achievements of their English friends when at last the church of St John the Baptist was completed in 1787. On the occasion of the consecration, one of the invited guests was the priest of the Armenians, 'a

community always treated by the English in Calcutta with marked friendship'. The Armenian community noted with pride that on that occasion their priest was placed with the English clergy near the altar.⁵¹

To the diligence of the Reverend H. B. Hyde we owe the interesting note that in the year 1781 the Greek church of 'the Transfiguration of our blessed Redeemer on Mount Tabor' was consecrated, and that in all probability the presidency chaplains were present at the ceremony. With the well-known ability of the Greeks as merchants and traders, it is not surprising that some among them had found their way to India, and added one more element to the variegated spectacle of society in Calcutta.⁵²

These trading communities of Eastern Christians seem to have been highly organised fellowships, having business relationships with all and sundry, but keeping themselves to themselves in all personal and family relationships. They made no efforts to enlarge their fellowship by the conversion of non-Christians. That they were able to live and prosper with little or no interference from the authorities is evidence of the general tolerance accorded to foreigners in Indian society. Hindu tolerance towards those of other faiths was genuine, and at times generous; animosity was aroused only by the attempts of missionaries to turn Hindus into Christians.

6 · The Suppression of the Jesuits¹

I PAPAL ACTION AGAINST THE JESUITS

The story of the suppression of the Jesuits in 1773 belongs to the history of the church, indeed to the history of the human race. A brief summary of events in Europe may serve as background to the consequences of the suppression for the churches in Asia.

The Society of Jesus has never been popular – the unpopularity is perhaps an unwilling tribute to its merits. The religious orders have in general disliked a body which has seemed to be rather less than an order and rather more than a society. Bishops have tended to look with less than favour on men who have often claimed for themselves special privileges, and who have been inclined to adopt an attitude of considerable independence in relation to the local ordinaries. The extreme centralisation of the Jesuits and the efficiency of the administration of the Society have led to suspicions of ambition to attain to power outside the Society's proper fields of competence. The intense loyalty of the members to the general, always resident in Rome, and to the pope, who from 1523 to 1978 was always an Italian, have led sovereigns to wonder whether Jesuits can be loyal citizens of any country, to whatever nationality they may happen to belong. At times Jesuits have been accused of interference in political activities and even of involvement in plots against the lives of rulers. For these accusations there is little, if any, foundation; the fact that they could be made indicates that the climate in many countries was one of mistrust, if not of open hostility.²

As early as 1739 whispers were heard of a plan to secure the complete suppression of the Society; echoes of such desires are heard over the next twenty years. But the position of the Jesuits was strong. As a result of their educational policies, many of the leaders of society in Europe, and even some among the crowned heads, had been their pupils and were attached by strong feelings of affection to their teachers. When operations were set on foot in Rome itself, it was found that many among the cardinals had similar links with the Society: one of the chief opponents of the Society was found to have retained as his confessor for many years an aged Jesuit.

The process which led up to the final suppression had gone forward

unevenly over a number of years, and had taken on different forms in the various countries of the continent of Europe.³

Portugal was not unnaturally first in the field. Action against the Jesuits is especially associated with the name of Sebastian Joseph de Carvalho e Mello, better known by the title Marquis of Pombal which was conferred upon him in 1770. This statesman had been for a time (1739–45) Portuguese minister in England. While there he had been deeply impressed by the prosperity and strength of the country, and had come to the conclusion that the stagnation of Portugal was due to clerical power and control. Among the clerics the Jesuits were the objects of his special animosity.

In January 1759 Pombal was successful in securing from the king an anti-Jesuit decree; in future no Jesuit might live in Portugal. In February of that year all the property of the Society was sequestrated. Originally the colony of Angola had been intended as the place of banishment; then this plan was changed, and it was decided to ship all Jesuits resident in Portugal to Italy. It was reckoned that in the next few years 900 Jesuits were removed from the Portuguese territories overseas, and that 1,100 were deposited in the Papal States. Here they were distributed among existing houses and on the whole treated kindly; but assimilation of so great a number with little notice cannot have been easy. Younger Jesuits, including novices who had not taken the vows, were permitted to remain in Portugal, but only on condition of dissociating themselves entirely from the Society. This the majority of them were conscientiously unable to do, and so they shared in the exile of their brethren.

France was not long behind Portugal. Here also feelings against the Jesuits were particularly strong. Gallicanism was far from being dead, and naturally a society so strongly papal, and so committed to the doctrine of the supremacy of the pope as were the Jesuits, could not be welcome in areas where the spirit of Gallicanism was strong. The writings of Blaise Pascal, especially his *Lettres à un Provincial* (1656–7), still exercised a strong influence. The Jesuits could hope for little mercy where the French language was spoken and read.

In France the fate of the Jesuits had to be decided by the *parlement* of each region. It seems that the first anti-Jesuit decision was taken by the *parlement* of Paris on 6 August 1761. On 1 December 1764, in a grand session of all the *parlements*, King Louis XV declared that from that date the Society of Jesus must cease all its activities in France; Jesuits might, if they wished, continue to live in France as private persons under the supervision of the local bishops.

Pope Clement XIII (Rezzonico, 1758–69) had followed these proceedings with increasing distress and anxiety. On 7 January 1765 he set out a constitution defending the Jesuits against the charges that had been levelled at them, and supported them also in the bull *Apostolicum Pascendi Munus* of

that same year; but he was helpless in the face of the general agreement of the Catholic powers. The rulers made it plain that they regarded themselves as supreme in their own domains, and that they were not prepared to submit to any kind of dictation from the pope.

It was at this juncture that the gentle and upright Pope Clement XIII died. The election of a successor presented great difficulties. The rulers were determined not to recognise as pontiff any cardinal who had shown himself a friend to the Jesuits; yet it was difficult to find among the possible candidates one who would make any kind of promise that, if elected, he would proceed to the dissolution of the Society. At last the best that the cardinals could do was to elect the Franciscan Cardinal John Vincent Antony Ganganelli, who had lived for a number of years in Rome, without discredit if without eminence, and who had become a cardinal without becoming a bishop. He had the reputation of wishing to please everyone, but it was said of him that no one ever knew what he really thought or intended. The representatives of the secular powers seem to have felt that he would be sufficiently pliable to carry out the known wishes of their masters.

The new pope took the name Clement XIV and was duly crowned on 4 June 1769. It was clear from the start that a new epoch had begun. Clement was careful to appoint his own men to all important offices in the Curia; but he was slow to declare his hand, for some time it was uncertain whether he would be prepared to take against the Jesuits the action which had been so long desired, and for which such careful preparations had been made. Before very long, however, it became clear that the fate of the Jesuits was sealed and that the secular powers would see their desires fulfilled.

Towards the end of the year 1772 the pope commissioned Bishop Zelada, a Spaniard resident in Rome, to prepare the draft of a declaration of suppression; by 6 January 1773 his work was completed and had reached approximately the form in which on 21 July of that year the brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* was launched upon the world.

This lengthy document⁴ falls into four parts. After a preamble in which stress is laid on the duty of the pope to care for the peace of the church, the first section sets out at length the actions taken by a number of popes to suppress orders or communities no longer able to carry out the virtuous purposes for which they were founded. Then follows a section in which the earlier history of the Jesuit order is recounted, but unfairly, and with stress on the shadows rather than on the lights of the story. There has, affirms the brief, been no lack of grave complaints and accusations against the Society and its members, and by these the peace and tranquillity of the Christian community have been in no small degree perturbed. Having taken all those things into account, and recognising that the Society can no longer bring forth those rich fruits and advantages which it was instituted to produce, after mature

deliberation and relying on certain knowledge and the plenitude of power conferred on the apostolic see, 'we extinguish and suppress the aforementioned society; we take away and abrogate all and every one of its functions, ministries, administrations, houses, schools, colleges, hospitals and all the rest'. This having been decided, the decree concludes with lengthy instructions as to the manner in which it is to be carried into effect.

The political powers were naturally jubilant, and indiscriminate in the praises they bestowed on the pope who had carried out their will.⁵ A more sober judgement may be that, when every allowance has been made for the immense pressure to which he had been subjected by forces both inside and outside the church, by his timidity and vacillation he forfeited the praise which courage might have earned him and permanently injured the reputation of the papacy as a minister of justice and truth.

Clement XIV did not long survive the most important act of his career. The sickness, apparently psychosomatic, from which he had long suffered, grew upon him, and after weeks of increasing weakness he died on 22 September 1774.

2 THE PORTUGUESE AND THE JESUITS

The majority of the Jesuits in India were Portuguese subjects, and a considerable proportion of them were resident in areas under Portuguese control. They were, therefore, exposed to the intemperate fury let loose in India; but there were also many, in the ranks of the religious orders and among the secular clergy, who were prepared to rejoice at their discomfiture.

So the Jesuits whom the Portuguese could reach were rounded up and brought to Goa. A good deal of pressure was brought to bear upon them to quit the Society. A few did so, not in every case in the most edifying circumstances, but these were only a very small minority; almost all, including the novices, stood fast, knowing well that the hand of the powers both civil and religious would lie heavy upon them. All the extensive properties of the Jesuits were taken over and given to other orders. The members of the Society, 228 in number, who had fallen into the hands of the authorities were divided up among a variety of religious houses. Almost all of these are reported to have behaved kindly and generously towards their unwilling and unwelcome guests; the exception was the Augustinians, who are accused of having enriched themselves by spending on the visitors less even than the rather niggardly provision made for them by the government authorities.

In December 1760 ships were ready to leave for Portugal. On the nineteenth of that month 127⁶ Jesuits were put on board, though the admiral averred that he had not accommodation for more than fifty. This meant that

old and young alike travelled under shameful conditions of overcrowding, with no comfort and no privacy. Food and water were in short supply; it seems probable that these Jesuits would have starved to death had not the sailors taken pity on them and shared with them the fresh fish which they caught in the course of the voyage. Such being the conditions under which they lived, it was only to be expected that scurvy should break out; it is surprising that at the end of the five months' voyage 107 of the victims were still alive.⁷

What awaited them on shore was not very much better than what they had endured on board ship. All were carried off to the dungeons, the Portuguese to the Trajavia prison on the Tagus, the foreigners to the prison of St Julian about nine miles south-west of Lisbon. Once again they were invited to leave the Society; once again the vast majority stood fast. The prisoners lived in almost perpetual darkness; sanitation was almost non-existent, and food was always inadequate. They were unable to say mass and could not attend it even on high feast days; they could receive Communion only at the hour of death, and then only on the oath of a physician that death was imminent.

In 1767 thirty-four of the foreigners were released and exiled to Rome; the others had another ten years to wait. In 1773 they were informed that the Society of Jesus had ceased to exist and that they could no longer call themselves Jesuits; this was perhaps the hardest of the blows they had to bear. Still there was no release. Conditions did in some ways improve. The parish priest of the prison did his duty. The ex-Jesuits were able to make their confession and to receive Holy Communion. As always happens when men are long interned, they devised mysterious means of communicating with one another, and even succeeded at times in purchasing some necessities which were shared among them all. In all this time no government official visited them. Thirty-seven died, and others among them were afflicted with mortal hypochondria.

At last on 24 February 1777 the king died. In the following month the prisoners were released; as they had nowhere else to go, they had to continue living in their dungeons, but no longer under conditions of close captivity. On 14 September 1777 Fr Filippi entered Rome, having endured and survived sixteen years of cruel captivity for no crime other than that of being a member of a religious order which had fallen into disfavour – astonishing evidence of the capacity of human beings and of Jesuits to survive.

The Portuguese would have liked to collect all the Jesuits in India and to ship them off to Europe, but this they were unable to do. Those who were under the protection of other European powers, or in the territories of Indian rulers, were able to defy the threats of the Portuguese and to remain at their posts, some of them for astonishingly long periods of further service. Fr Ferroli has succeeded in collecting information about fifty-two Jesuits (after

1773 ex-Jesuits) who remained in India and continued in the service of the church. Of these, fifteen were Portuguese, fourteen Italians, eight Germans and fifteen Frenchmen.⁸ All these were, of course, cut off from all financial support; but they were used to hard and simple living, and somehow managed to keep going with the support of their flocks and no doubt with help from the other missions in which they came to serve.

It happened that two of the bishops in South India were Jesuits. Clement Joseph SJ had been bishop of Cochin since 1745; Salvador dos Reis SJ became archbishop of the Serra (Cranganore) in 1756. The Portuguese were particularly anxious to get these two leaders out of the way. On 7 April 1761 they were ordered to leave their sees and to return to Lisbon. Both replied that this was impossible; the Christians, if left without shepherds, would fall into the hands of the vicar apostolic, whom Portugal did not recognise, or, worse still, would cross over to the party of the schismatics. They were warned that, if they persisted in remaining, they would lose the subsidy which had been made available to them from Portuguese funds. To this they replied that the payments had been in any case very irregular, but, accustomed as they were to hardship and to simple living, they would manage to do without. So, 'living on the special and unlooked for help sent us by the providence of God', the two prelates continued among their people until their death. The bishop of Cochin died in January 1771, the archbishop of the Serra on 7 April 1777.

The new bishop of Cochin, Emmanuel of St Catherine, had to take charge of the archdiocese of Goa as administrator. He appointed as his deputy for Cochin and Cranganore Fr Joseph de Soledade; he in his turn nominated as vicars-general for the three areas of his extensive cure Antony Duarte, John Ferreira and Mathias Scherpenseel. Each one of the three was an ex-Jesuit. Antony Duarte was Portuguese by birth, but managed to escape the Portuguese net, and continued to serve until his death, which seems to have taken place in 1788; he had spent more than fifty years in India. Naturally the presence of these old friends in positions of authority brought much consolation to the brethren, who still gloried in the name of Jesuit even when they were not allowed to use it.

The lot of all these missionaries was hard. Reduced in numbers and receiving no support from Europe, they had to carry on as best they could. A vivid picture is given in a letter from Fr Lichetta to Fr Filippi:

No one has arrived to replace us or to help us; charity has forbidden us to abandon these poor Christians . . . We were thirteen in Mysore; of these the greater part have died of exhaustion and of sorrow; as they fell out, the survivors have had to take over their inheritance, that is to say an increase of heavy burdens, to give some measure of help to those Christians left without shepherds. Now we are only three missionaries, weighed down by years and still more by infirmities.⁹

3 THE SURVIVAL OF THE JESUITS IN INDIA

The fate of the French Jesuits in South India, in Pondichéri and in the mission of the Carnatic, involved a variety of special considerations.¹⁰

All the Jesuits in these areas were French subjects. In 1764 Louis XIV of France had declared the Jesuit Order at an end in his dominions, but, on the whole he seems not to have felt it necessary to disturb those of his subjects who were resident abroad; in spite of a number of difficulties they continued to live and work much as they had previously done. But, with the dissolution of the Society of Jesus in 1773, the situation was changed and something had to be done about it. Could the Jesuits continue? And, if not, who was to take their place?

There was no lack of claimants.

The Portuguese bishop of Mylapore was not prepared to consider any diminution of his authority within the boundaries of the diocese to which he had been appointed under the *padroado* agreement.

The Capuchins, who had been in Pondichéri longer than the Jesuits, would have given their eyes to be put in possession of all the Jesuit properties and to be recognised as their successors.

The Jesuits wished to be reorganised, under a vicar apostolic who should be one of their own members, and to be allowed to continue with pastoral and evangelistic work of the kind for which they had so long been responsible.

The claim of the Missions Étrangères, a French society with its headquarters in Paris, could not be overlooked.

Among these claims, that of the Jesuits could not expect to receive favourable consideration. The authorities in Paris were shrewd enough to recognise that any reorganisation of the Jesuit forces, even without the name, would involve a secret reconstitution of the Society, and that this would go directly contrary to both the words and the intentions of the decree of 1773 by which the Society had been dissolved.

After long discussions it was decided that the Foreign Missions Society of Paris should become the heir. This society had been established in Pondichéri in a small way since 1689. In 1771 the famous seminary at Ayuthia in Thailand had been destroyed in one of the recurrent wars between the Burmese and the Siamese. The directors of the seminary decided to move it to India; a site was bought at Vīrampatnam not far from Pondichéri, and the international seminary took on a new form of existence.¹¹ The Paris Society was therefore on the spot and ready to enter into its inheritance.

But difficulties coincidentally arose. The heads of the French society affirmed that it had been a principle of their society from the beginning that each of their missions should be under the direction of a vicar apostolic in episcopal orders, who should be drawn from their own ranks. They would

not accept responsibility for the mission of the Carnatic unless this foundation rule of all their work could be observed. A bishop who fulfilled all the conditions happened to be readily available in India.¹² It was certain that the bishop of Mylapore would bitterly resent the appointment of a vicar apostolic as being an infringement of his rights. Nor was it likely that the Capuchins would welcome the presence of a bishop drawn from a society other than their own.

Rome devised a compromise which could not be regarded as a satisfactory solution: the Capuchins were provided with a prefect apostolic. Now a prefect apostolic is not ordinarily in episcopal orders. Fr Sebastian of Nevers, holding that office, would have considerable authority over all the missions of the Capuchins in India; but he would not be able to carry out any episcopal functions – for those the missions would still be dependent on the bishop of Mylapore, whom the king of France would not permit to carry out any episcopal ministrations on French territory. The Paris mission would be given a superior who would be in episcopal orders but would not have the title of vicar apostolic.

Who should be appointed to the new office of superior? Peter Brigot (1713–91) had gone to Thailand in 1741 and had been appointed vicar apostolic for the missions in that country and bishop of Tabraca *i.p.i.* in 1755. After some years of imprisonment at the hands of the Burmese and a visit to France, he had planned to return to his mission field; but, as the disturbed state of that country made his return impossible, he had landed up in Pondichéri. He was still bishop of Tabraca, and also technically vicar apostolic of the mission to Thailand. He was, however, in reality a bishop without employment. To appoint him to the post of superior seemed the obvious solution.

To this, however, there was a number of objections. Brigot, as he himself knew well, was *persona non grata* with the Jesuits, and members of his own mission were far from regarding him as an ideal bishop. He was too ardent and impatient; no sooner had he taken up some task than he was anxious to bring it to a conclusion. But gradually all the objections were worn down; at the end of the year 1776 the bishop of Tabraca became superior of the Paris mission in South India. Time was to show that the choice had been well made. The bishop had learned his lesson well. In the difficult task of integrating the old Jesuits into the new mission he manifested an extraordinary measure of patience, tact and delicacy of feeling.

It was urgently necessary that the Jesuits should agree to their incorporation in the new system. The forces of the Paris mission were extremely limited; they numbered six in all. Apart from the bishop, and two older men who had been for years occupied in administration and had had no direct responsibility for missionary work, there were only three young

priests, recently arrived from France and wholly lacking the experience which would make them qualified to direct the work of others. For the Jesuits the surrender of their old existence could not be easy; as one observer wrote, 'the new missionaries know full well how painful it must be to the old to see pass into the hands of others a work which had been founded with great labour and maintained with constancy, and to find themselves condemned to a situation in which it was impossible for them to guarantee continuance of the work in the future'.¹³ But in the end it was done. Of the Jesuits who had remained in India none wished to return to a France in which they could have felt themselves more completely exiles than in India, which had so long been their home.

The achievement was considerable. Yet the situation in the mission was far from promising. A paper prepared by Fr Vernet and dated 13 May 1777 lists thirteen priests of the Society and two brothers who were not priests; but a number of these were old and infirm and no longer capable of active work. At least ten missionaries were needed if the existing congregations were to be maintained; still more if an extension of the work was to be hoped for.¹⁴

Moreover, the triple jurisdiction established by the pope – of the bishop of Mylapore, the vicar apostolic and the prefect apostolic – with the best will in the world could hardly be accepted as tolerable. In 1786, the prefect apostolic and the other Capuchin priest having died within a few months of one another, Bishop Brigot obtained a declaration that, in such a case, all the Christians in Pondichéri would pass under his authority. In 1793, by a generous exchange of powers and authorities, the tensions were removed, and what could have been a permanently tempestuous situation sank down into ordered peace.¹⁵

Chandernagore in Bengal presented special problems. The French population would have preferred to retain the Jesuits, to whom they were much attached; but the Capuchins claimed this as part of their inheritance. Brigot might have claimed that, as the Paris mission had succeeded to the work of the Jesuits, Chandernagore should be regarded as being within his sphere. But, recognising that there were few if any Indian Christians in that vicinity, and desirous of avoiding what might have become a rancorous dispute, he decided to fall in with the wishes of the prefect apostolic, and allowed the Capuchins to enter into possession without further discussion.

The three Jesuits resident in Chandernagore decided not to accept the new situation but to join their colleagues in the south. They left on 20 December 1778. The aged Fr Possevin (he was seventy-six years old) decided to reside in San Thomé. The other two settled in Pondichéri, where Fr Garet lived to an advanced age, dying in 1817.

A small group of Jesuits had continued to serve the once famous mission to Mogor. With the suppression of the Society the work was handed over to the

discalced Carmelites of Bombay, and in 1781 two Italian Carmelites, Fr Angelino of St Joseph and Fr Gregory of the Presentation, arrived in Agra. Fr Angelino soon returned to Bombay, but Fr Gregory remained in control until his death in 1807.¹⁶

Two former Jesuits, however, long survived the suppression and kept in being some of the old traditions.

Joseph Tieffenthaler, born in Bolzano in or about the year 1715, came first to India in 1743, and spent more than forty years in the country. An eager student of astronomy and geography, it seems that he was designated for the observatory at Jaipur; but, with the death of the *rājā* Jai Singh in that same year, work at the observatory ceased and other employment had to be found for the missionary. He was an observer and a wanderer by nature; wherever he went he occupied himself in recording the phenomena of nature and of the heavens, usually with considerable accuracy. In the course of years his notes grew to immense proportions.

In 1759 Tieffenthaler had been in correspondence with Anquetil-Duperron, already familiar to us as the pioneer student of Avestan and of the religion of Zarathustra. In 1776 Duperron in Paris received from India without notice a packet of maps and loose papers. Little information accompanied these papers; but the sender, Tieffenthaler, mentioned other works he had transmitted to Copenhagen. These included three major works – a geographical account of India in Latin, a treatise on the religion of the Brāhmans and a natural history of India. The authorities in Copenhagen were not much interested, and seem not to have valued aright the treasures that had come into their hands. The second and third of the works mentioned above were allowed to disappear. But, by good luck, in 1781 the first of the three, the *Descriptio Indica*, came into the hands of a notable mathematician and astronomer, Joseph Bernoulli at Berlin. Bernoulli decided to translate the work himself and to publish it. He consulted with Duperron. Valuable notes, dissertations and appendices were added by both these writers, and in 1785 *Des Pater Joseph Tieffenthalers . . . historisch-geographische Beschreibung von Hindustan* appeared from the press in three volumes.¹⁷

In his communications to Duperron, Tieffenthaler had given a list of no fewer than forty shorter works of his composition. Nearly all of these have disappeared. It is unlikely that they would be of value comparable to that of the major works. But the three treatises included in the first volume of the *Descriptio* suggest that much material of interest may have been lost. Later students have been critical of the work of Tieffenthaler on the ground that he rarely gives reference to his sources. He was not always critical of the data which he collected, but for the most part he was accurate and reliable. Few Jesuits have made a greater contribution than he to the advancement of human knowledge.

Tieffenthaler died in Lucknow in 1785, and was buried in Agra.¹⁸ One companion of many years survived him.

Francis Xavier Wendel had come to India in 1751. From 1763 onwards he was in Lucknow. He was a much less interesting man than Tieffenthaler, but he seems to some extent at least to have shared his scientific interests. 'A Russian named Czernichef had travelled in 1780 from Bukhārā through Kashmir to Lucknow and Father Wendel interested himself in his experiences, communicating the diary of his travels to the learned Colonel Wilford at Benares.'¹⁹ Wendel was so favourable to the British that he even fell under suspicion of being a British agent.

The quiet old man died on 29 March 1803. So the mission to Mogor reached its final end after nearly two and a half centuries of existence, having long survived the days of its greatness and gradually faded away to extinction.²⁰

The very last survivor of the old line, seems to have been Fr Andreas, who died on 31 December 1818 at the age of seventy-seven. He lived to see the restoration of the Society of Jesus and to be readmitted to membership of that order which he had joined so many years earlier in the days of his youth.

There are many ironies in history. A pope decided totally to destroy and to exterminate the Society of Jesus. Yet the Society managed to maintain itself, albeit at times precariously, in Poland, Austria and Russia. Jesuits were able to open a novitiate in White Russia in 1780. In England they could not call themselves Jesuits, yet they retained their property, and in 1794 actually transferred the famous school which had long been 'St Omer's' to Stonyhurst. One pope had affirmed that what he had done was for ever, and that it would not be possible for any later pope to undo it; a later pope exercised no difficulty in undoing what his predecessor had done. On 7 August 1814, in the bull *Sollicitudo Omnium Ecclesiarum*, Pius VII reconstituted the Society which, it was supposed, had for ever disappeared. From that day to this the Society has prospered. Among its most prosperous missions are those in India; the first Indian bishop of the Latin rite, Mgr Tiburtius Roche, consecrated as bishop of Tuticorin in 1923, was a Jesuit.

Though the Paris missionaries and the Capuchins had done their best, it remains true that, insofar as the missions of the Jesuits were cared for at all, the great majority of their Christians found themselves in the hands of Goanese priests, hastily intruded without regard to the wishes or prejudices of those whom they were sent to serve. No doubt resentment has coloured most of the descriptions of these clerics which survive; there were among them devout and faithful men. But even the cautious and temperate Archbishop Laouënan draws of them an extremely unfavourable picture: It was these men who, educated in haste and ordained without due consideration, were sent out in all directions to replace the former missionaries. The total contrast

which existed between the new arrivals and the old Jesuit Fathers could not but strike and offend the easily irritated susceptibilities of the Indian Christians . . . They now found themselves face to face with proud and arrogant individuals, full of the sense of their social superiority, with no aim other than that of accumulating money with the minimum of labour, not speaking the local languages, or speaking them only after the fashion of the Pariahs, without faith and without dignity in the exercise of the sacred ministry, even at the altar; unclean, many of them given to drink, contentious, and having no knowledge in the realm of theology other than acquaintance with the extraordinary privileges accorded by the holy see to the kings of Portugal. The inevitable result followed. The respectable communities, converted by the former missionaries, could not make up their minds to accept these ill-bred intruders.²¹

This is a harsh judgement, but it could be paralleled from many other sources.

The disappearance of the Jesuits did not bring to an end the work of the church in India, but it did deal it many hard blows. The losses incurred in 1773 were hardly made up in sixty years; and the renewed blossoming of the Roman Catholic missions can hardly be dated earlier than the middle of the nineteenth century.

7 · The New Rulers and the Indian Peoples

I CORNWALLIS — A NEW BEGINNING

When, in September 1786, Charles, 2nd Earl Cornwallis arrived in Calcutta as governor-general, a new period opened in the political and imperial relationship between England and India. In a new way the people of England declared their sense of responsibility for the sixty million or so of Indians who had come under their sway. In the same year, 1786, the arrival in Calcutta of the Reverend David Brown, the first of the 'pious chaplains', marked the beginning of a new phase in the Christian invasion of India. From that date on, there was to be a great expansion of Christian missionary work. Before long the efforts of English-speaking Christians were to equal and then to surpass those of both the Roman Catholics and the Protestant churches of the continent of Europe.

Rulers and missionaries had many interests in common. Those of both wings shared in a deep sense of concern for the well-being and prosperity of the peoples of India. All were at one in the conviction that progress towards well-being would be impossible without just, rational and efficient government. To these the Christians added the conviction that no other force for improvement could equal in effectiveness the diffusion of Christian knowledge and Christian practice among the peoples of India. This was a principle which the government, whatever the personal views of its members, could not officially share.

On the whole the two groups as far as possible kept out of one another's way. They worked on parallel rather than on convergent lines. Yet the separation could never be complete; the destinies of church and state were intricately interwoven with one another. Missionaries could not exist in India without the permission or at least the connivance of government. Government was compelled, at times rather unwillingly, to take notice of the existence of Christians in India and to intervene in order to secure for Christians, on an equality with the adherents of other religions, the rights and liberties to which they were entitled. Inevitably there was a measure of overlap. This has given rise to the conviction in the minds of some writers that the British government always showed undue favour to Christians, and

that the missionaries always lent themselves as willing agents of the government in the prosecution of its imperial aims. There are some grounds in the records for these suppositions.

At times missionaries, as the champions of their flocks, did obtain for them help and protection from government sources. It is true that officers of the government found themselves much in favour of the philanthropic work of the Christian forces and showed them what at times may have been undue favour. But generalisations from such occurrences, as though there was at all times a kind of permanent conspiracy between government and missionaries, belong to the realm of mythology and not to that of history. The evidence makes it clear that government on many occasions regarded the pressure and activities of missionaries as an unwelcome intrusion on the sacred ground of governmental administration, and that the Christian forces both in England and in India were prepared to criticise the government if it was judged to have failed in its primary duty of serving the peoples of India.¹

The historian is not a myth-maker. It is his business to project himself, as far as that is possible, into the minds of men and women of a different generation, to record temperately and accurately what they did, to assess as far as that is possible the motives by which they were actuated and to note the consequences of the decisions that they made. He is primarily an interpreter and not a judge.

That sober work *The Dictionary of National Biography* so far expatiates as to remark of Cornwallis that 'if not a man of startling genius, he was a clear-sighted statesman and an able general, as well as an upright English gentleman'. Quoting two charming letters from Cornwallis to his son Lord Brome (b. 1774),² the same authority speaks of them as 'showing the simple loving nature of the man'. It may be added that he manifested in high degree the unemotional but strictly moral piety of the high-minded eighteenth-century Anglican.

The new governor-general³ could look out upon a considerable empire. The three great provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were directly under the control of the Company. The *nawāb* of Oudh (Avadh), the Marāthās, and a number of rulers in the south had felt the power of English arms. English influence was felt along considerable stretches of the coast and throughout the Gangetic plain. But still over large parts of the country the English writ did not run. A vast area running north-westwards from the Bay of Bengal between latitudes 16 and 20 to the Hindu Kush, though traversed from time to time by officials or occasionally by armies, was almost unknown to the English. Few, if any, in 1786 supposed that it was the destiny of that nation to become the sole ruling power in India and for the first time in its history to unite the sub-continent under a single government.

When Cornwallis looked out beyond the limits of British settlement in Calcutta, his eyes rested on a scene of desolation. For eighty years, since the death of Aurungzīb, India had been torn apart by almost ceaseless wars, and by raids and depredations which had been even more harmful in their consequence than regular campaigns. Misgovernment and corruption had impoverished the peoples. In their enfeebled state they had little resistance to offer to the terrible famines which periodically swept them away.⁴

War, poverty and sickness are not in general favourable to the life of culture, intellect and religion. It was impossible that in a country the size of India the life of the spirit should ever entirely die down, but in the eighteenth century little of great interest was produced; the Indian spirit appeared to have been overcome by weariness, the flames of inspiration to have died down.

For the whole period only one Tamil poet of high excellence can be cited. Thāyumānavar carried on the tradition of devout, mystical verse, and his poems have been widely admired. But something is lacking. In his carefully turned and polished verses, there breathes perhaps more of the spirit of the philosopher than of the poet; and the earnest devotion of this seeker after God lacks something of the spontaneity of the great Tamil *bhakti* saints of an earlier time.⁵

In the field of philosophy no great names emerge. In Hinduism, though there were some signs of renewal, decay and degeneration were widespread. 'Ancient polytheism kept its ground, and was further corrupted by the introduction of deified heroes who superseded the deities from whom they derived their divinity.' This dictum of Mountstuart Elphinstone⁶ is accepted by a recent writer, who comments on it:

Decay of learning was responsible for this state of affairs and led to gross superstition, a childlike faith in religious rites, idolatry, necromancy and belief in astrology from which the Indian mind is not yet wholly free.⁷

Islam perhaps fared rather better than Hinduism in this period. These were the days of the notable Islamic reformer Abd al-Wahhāb (1703–87), the founder in Arabia of the great puritanical movement known by his name. Almost exactly contemporary with him was an Indian reformer, Shāh Walī-Ullāh Dihlawi of Delhi, who made his way to Arabia and came under the same influences as Abd al-Wahhāb.⁸ The Islam which Shāh Walī-Ullāh brought back with him from Arabia to India corresponded closely to the austere doctrine and zeal for purity in religion characteristic of the Wahhābis. Yet the general level of religious life was low; great numerical increase had not been balanced by the development of inner spiritual resources.

The governor-general, like many before and many after him, was caught

in the meshes of the duality of the British presence in India. He was the representative of what was still a commercial company, and his government must at least pay its way. Revenue was therefore one of his major concerns. But equally, under the influence of liberal sentiment, he recognised his responsibility for the happiness and well-being of the Indian peoples. No later historian has doubted the effectiveness of the ceaseless war which, following the example of Warren Hastings, he waged on the corruption by which the Company's government had been defaced. Till the end of time historians will debate the value of the Permanent Settlement of the revenue of Bengal, which was approved under his rule, against the advice of his principal adviser John Shore.⁹ Some have extolled it as an act of wisdom almost divinely inspired, others have deplored it as enriching a worthless crowd of *zamindārs* at the expense of a government which was hindered by perennial poverty from doing as much as it might have wished for the well-being of the people.

One action of Cornwallis has been regretted by almost all those who have studied the history of the times – that of debarring Indians from appointment to higher posts in the Company's service. Yet Cornwallis was deeply concerned that proper respect and regard should always be paid to the rights of Indians. On two occasions on which officers in the army had been arraigned for inflicting personal violence on Indians, with the feeling of one who was himself a soldier, he inveighed with unusual acrimony against courts martial which had extenuated the offences of fellow-officers and had failed to implement the unmistakable demands of both military and British justice.¹⁰

The heaviest burden that Cornwallis had to bear was that, intending to be a man of peace, he found himself involved in war.

The main cause of his trouble was Tipu Sultan, who had succeeded to the throne of Mysore in 1782. Tipu, in addition to being a fanatical Muslim intent on the spread of his faith, had the instincts of a conqueror to whom the expansion of his powers and his dominions was a primary consideration; this, with a strong streak of vanity, led him into grave miscalculations as to his own strength and that of his adversaries, and so into troubles which he could well have avoided and which led eventually to his destruction.

The imprudence which led to war with the British was an attack on the rights of the *rājā* of Travancore. This was clearly a contravention of the treaty of peace entered into by Tipu with the British government in 1784. Satisfied that this was so, Cornwallis decided to regard it as a *casus belli*, acted with rapidity and decision, and himself arrived to take direction of the war. Tipu was taken completely by surprise by a promptness and vigour which recalled the days of Robert Clive. Surrounded in his fortress of Seringapatam and with his resources exhausted, he found no course left open

to him other than that of throwing himself on the mercy of Cornwallis (12 February 1792). The governor-general was not led astray by any illusions of grandeur or conquest. The terms imposed on Tipu were severe but not destructive. He was to lose half his territory in favour of the British and the *nizām* and to pay an indemnity.¹¹ But he was allowed to retain his territory of Mysore, in the hope that he had learnt to keep his promises and would give no further provocation.

2 THE EXTENSION OF BRITISH POWER IN INDIA

As events were to prove, the English in India were launched on what appears to be the predestined course of all colonial powers. Once colonial expansion has begun, it seems all too often easier to go forward than to go back. This was not the wish of Cornwallis, or of the majority of his successors, still less of the directors in London. Cornwallis' successor was Sir John Shore, Lord Teignmouth (1751–1834). Devout, modest, pacific, cultured, extremely able as an administrator, Shore carried out to the letter the instructions of the authorities in England – that aggressive measures were to be avoided and that there were to be no territorial acquisitions. He thus gave India six years of peace, and for this he was highly commended. But it was the considered opinion of Sir John Malcolm that the years of peace had sowed the seeds of war:

A period of six years' peace, instead of having added to the strength, or improved the security, of the British dominions in India, had placed them in a situation of comparative danger. Though the British strength was not lessened, the power and resources of the other states of India had increased . . . [Their attitude] too clearly showed that it was to a principle of weakness, or of selfish policy, and not of moderation that they ascribed the course which had been pursued by the British government.¹²

In point of fact the period of Shore was followed by almost half a century of conquest, which reached its term only when the British power had arrived at the natural limits imposed by the ocean and the mountains.

Once again, it was the irrepressible Tipu who through overconfidence brought about the first of a series of wars. More percipient than many other rulers of the time, he had understood the nature of British power in India – the dogged persistence of the British in pursuing their aims, the strength that lay in reserve behind their apparently puny resources, and the expansive nature of their rule. The expulsion of the English from India before their power became irresistible formed the central point of his policy. He rightly judged that it might be possible to play off one European power against another, and that the French might be called in to restore things to what they had been before the British came.

Accordingly, in January 1798 he despatched two ambassadors to Mauritius with the idea of forming an alliance with the French. The envoys were received with every circumstance of distinction and respect and throughout their stay in the island were entertained at the public expense. The new governor-general in India, the Earl of Mornington, later the Marquis Wellesley (1799), had grandiose ideas and an astonishing capacity for arousing ambition and devotion to himself in the minds of those who served him. But a whole year passed before he made up his mind that an amicable settlement with Tipu was impossible and that other measures had to be taken. From that time on events moved with great rapidity; on 4 May 1799 Seringapatam was stormed, and Tipu died in the assault.

Tipu's steady hostility to the British has won for him warm commendation from later Indian writers. At the time there seem to have been few to mourn his fall. In Kerala to this day people speak with horror of his depredations, of the forcible circumcision of Brāhmans and the imposition of Islam by violence – scenes of a kind not to be observed again in India until the Moplah rising of 1917. Of his cruelty there are many evidences. As early as May 1792 General Medows had written to him: 'You are a great prince, and, but for your cruelty to your prisoners, I should add, an enlightened one.' It was a cruel age, but to the accustomed cruelty Tipu added the horror of religious persecution. Indian Christians in large numbers yielded to fear and renounced their faith. A number of his younger European captives were forcibly circumcised and given Muslim names. Even at their worst the English had never attempted to turn prisoners of war into Christians; the actions of Tipu were bitterly resented by both Hindus and Christians.¹³

Mysore had been captured. Now what was to be done with it? Annexation would have been easy. But Wellesley decided that the best course would be to restore the ancient family of Hindu rulers which had been deposed by Haidar 'Alī in 1761. A three-year-old boy, Krishna Rāj Udaiyar (Wadayar) was installed as *rājā*, with a wise Brahman, Purneah, as his minister. This family ruled Mysore until the independence of India in 1947.

Mysore was the first great experiment in the direction of Indian rule under British direction. The prosperity of Mysore and other states under this system of limited independence would seem a strong argument in its favour, and Christian missionaries would have been among the first to bear witness to the freedom and protection which they enjoyed under the rule of Hindu *rājās*.¹⁴

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Marāthā chieftains still represented formidable power. If history had evolved rather differently, they might have made for ever impossible the establishment of British dominion over the whole of India. One event, and two processes, made such

an evolution impossible. The event was the death of Nānā Phadnavis in 1800. The processes were, first, the failure of the Marāthā princes to establish any kind of orderly and stable government and, secondly, their inability to work together and to present a united front.

Nānā Phadnavis was, after Śivājī and Bājī Rāo I, the ablest of the Marāthā leaders and by far the most trustworthy. For thirty-eight years he had allowed forces of moderation and prudence to play upon the tempestuous sea of Marāthā policies. When he died, the resident at the court of Poona wrote that 'with him has departed all the wisdom and moderation of the Marāthā government'.¹⁵

Laxity of Marāthā administration opened the door to the depredations of the Pindāris. Drawn from many castes and classes, many of them broken and lawless men, developing 'like masses of putrefaction in animal matter, out of the corruption of weak and expiring states',¹⁶ they carried on their raids far and wide through the sub-continent.

Never had there been such intense and general suffering in India; the native states were disorganised, and society on the verge of dissolution; the people crushed by despots and ruined by exactions; the country overrun by bandits and its resources wasted by enemies; armed forces existed only to plunder, torture and mutiny; government had ceased to exist; there remained only oppression and misery.¹⁷

The Pindāris overreached themselves when they attacked areas which were under the rule of the Company. In 1816 they extended their raids to the Northern Circars, and so almost to the Bay of Bengal. This was not to be endured, and the directors in London, for all their entrenched opposition to wars, instructed a new governor-general, Lord Hastings (1813-22), to stamp out the evil.¹⁸ The campaign was ably carried out. The largest British army yet seen in India took the field in three divisions. By January 1818 all was over; the power of the Pindāris was broken, their forces were scattered, and never again were they to be a threat to peaceful and ordered existence.

The Marāthā chieftains had been far too closely associated with the Pindāris for their good. Now they proceeded to dig their own graves. If they had stood together, they might have successfully resisted the English power; divided they were helpless. The British experienced no great difficulty in picking them off one by one. The office of *peshwā* was abolished. Separate treaties were made with each of the principal rulers, in each case the appointment of a British Resident being included in the terms. Annexations were few and limited. To a large extent Holkar and Sindhia and the rest retained their territories, but with independence which was little more than a show. To the credit of these princes it must be said that they correctly carried out their agreements, and became loyal friends and allies of the British conqueror. But independent Marāthā power was for ever at an end.

Henry Prinsep wrote too hopefully of the situation:

The struggle which has thus ended in the universal establishment of the British influence is particularly important and worthy of attention, as it promises to be the last we shall ever have to maintain with the native powers of India . . . The dark age of trouble and violence . . . has thus ceased from this time; and a new era has commenced, we trust, with brighter prospects – an era of peace, prosperity and wealth at least, if not of political liberty and high moral improvement.¹⁹

3 A NEW TYPE OF RULER

Prinsep was a little too optimistic in his prognostications for the future; but basically he was right. In 1818 there was no power in India which could hold up its head against the new rulers. The British found themselves in control of a vast area stretching from Cape Comorin to the Sutlej. Part of this territory was under direct British rule, but a large part was still independent, though with limited independence, under the traditional rulers.²⁰

These revolutionary changes in the British situation inevitably meant changes in the way in which British sovereignty was to be exercised in India.

First, a new type of representative of the ruling power was needed. To soldiers, administrators and accountants must be added diplomats. The important man in many areas was now the British Resident at an Indian court, vested with few powers but with enormous influence, and holding a position in which British prestige could be made or unmade. Fortunately the Company and the army between them were able to produce a number of outstanding men, endowed with great intellectual gifts, of superlative integrity, with an almost exaggerated sense of responsibility and with deep concern for the prosperity and well-being of the peoples of India.

During the first third of the nineteenth century the Company was served by four outstanding men of this new type – Sir Thomas Munro (1761–1827),²¹ Sir John Malcolm (1769–1853),²² the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone (1779–1859)²³ and Charles, Lord Metcalfe (1785–1846).²⁴ These men differed much in background and in the careers that they followed. Elphinstone and Metcalfe were aristocrats, Metcalfe a product of Eton; Malcolm and Munro came from good, strong, Scottish ancestry. Malcolm and Munro were soldiers; Elphinstone and Metcalfe were diplomats.

All these men owed much to tireless diligence, and to an almost unlimited capacity for self-improvement. Malcolm, having come to India at an age at which most boys are just entering upon school and with hardly any education at all, by sheer plodding concentration made himself an expert writer; his *Political History of India* (first edition 1811) is still a classic. Elphinstone used his considerable leisure at Poona to teach himself Greek, and to seek for political wisdom in Thucydides and the other historians of antiquity. His

History of India (1841) will continue to be read as long as the history of India is studied. The four men knew and appreciated one another, even when they disagreed. Above all, they believed that the secret of all good administration was a knowledge of the Indian languages and a deep understanding of the ideas and thoughts of the people.²⁵

On four points there was general agreement among the great administrators of that time:

The great secret of rule is to leave the Indians as far as possible to themselves, and to allow them to work out their own destinies. 'The natives of this country have enough of their own to answer every useful object of internal administration, and if we maintain and protect them, the country will in a very few months settle itself.'²⁶

This being so, the policy of annexation, except in extreme cases, is to be deprecated. Injustices will, no doubt, be perpetrated in states under Indian rule, but so it has been in areas under British control.²⁷

Haste is at all costs to be avoided; the desired improvements in the state of society must come about from within rather than by imposition from above; and for this time will be required. 'That time may gradually affect a change there is no doubt, but the period is as yet distant when that can be expected; and, come when it will, to be safe or beneficial, it must be . . . the work of society itself.'²⁸

If change is to be effected at all, this can only be through the co-operation of the Indians themselves, and, to make this possible, it will be necessary to give far greater responsibility to Indians in the service of the government than had so far been done, and to fit them by experience for their responsibilities. Their exclusion from offices of trust and emolument has become a part of our system of government, and has been productive of no good.²⁹

None of these great men supposed that British rule in India would be permanent. It had come about by chance rather than by policy, it would perform its necessary function and then should be liquidated, if possible by peaceful withdrawal. British rule could not be popular; it was based on force and could be maintained only by force; and the good deeds of the government were as likely to earn it the dislike of one section of the population, as justice was to cause a similar dislike in some other section.

That this view was not the exclusive opinion of a few is clear from a remarkable article published in 1820 by an unnamed writer:

The separation of India from Great Britain cannot in the nature of things be prevented. It must come sooner or later . . . the true system of governing them should aim to provide that the separation shall be safe, gradual and friendly, so as to prevent the possible evils, and secure the greatest benefits both to Great Britain and her colonies when the power of the former shall cease.³⁰

Two years earlier (17 May 1818) a similar opinion had been expressed by the governor-general Lord Hastings in his private journal; he foresaw a time not very remote 'when England will . . . wish to relinquish the domination which she has gradually and unintentionally assumed over this country, and from which she cannot at present recede'.

Hastings continued:

In that hour it would be the proudest boast and most delightful reflection that she had used her sovereignty towards enlightening her temporary subjects, so as to enable the native communities to walk alone in the paths of justice, and to maintain with probity towards their benefactors that commercial intercourse in which we should then find a solid interest.³¹

These notable men exercised in an abnormal degree the reticence in giving expression to religious feelings characteristic of their race. Yet there is clear evidence, in the case of at least two of them, that Christian feelings were there and that they were deep.

Of Sir Thomas Munro his biographer records that he was throughout his life deeply attached to the Scottish Episcopal Church in which he had been brought up and that he never permitted a day to pass without setting aside some part of it to devotional exercises, 'though, like every other custom connected with religion, it was practised with the strictest privacy'. He adds: 'his whole life, both in public and private, was modelled upon the rules laid down in the gospels'.³²

Of Malcolm, Sir John Kaye writes:

He had derived in early youth, from religious parents, lessons of Christian doctrine and principles of Christian conduct, which, although it was not his wont to make parade of these things, he held in solemn remembrance throughout the whole of his career. He had ever the highest respect for the truths of the Christian Church . . . he lived in charity with all men; and he walked humbly with his God.³³

Of Elphinstone, a man of infinite charm and almost infinite shyness, it is less possible to speak with certainty. His biographer, who had spent much time with him in his later years, refers to 'his natural piety and his leanings to Christianity' but concludes that his views were probably those of a devout Unitarian.³⁴

Of Charles Metcalfe we know that in early years he was of serious and thoughtful temperament. On 7 March 1802, being then seventeen years old, he reminded himself that it was Sunday, and read through the morning service by himself: 'It appears to me necessary to religion to bring it to one's serious attention at fixed periods. For the want of this, the English in India have less virtue in them than elsewhere, and cannot impress the natives with a good idea of our religion.'³⁵

The reticence of these men was due in part to their firm adherence to the

policy of strict neutrality in matters of religion laid down by the Company long before. All four were deeply convinced of the dangers that would arise from any manifestation of excessive zeal on the part of Christian missionaries. They were even more strongly convinced that any suspicion that the British authorities were involved in plans for the subversion of the ancient and traditional religions of India would do more than anything else to undermine the stability of British rule.

Malcolm gave evidence to this effect before the House of Lords in 1813. A number of years later he expressed his views candidly but not unsympathetically in a letter to Joshua Marshman, the Baptist missionary at Serampore:

Though most deeply impressed with the truths of the Christian religion . . . I do think, from the construction of our empire in India . . . that the English Government in this country should never, directly or indirectly, interfere in propagating the Christian religion. The pious missionary must be left unsupported by government, or any of its officers, to pursue his labors; and I will add, that I should not only deem a contrary conduct a breach of faith to those nations, whom we have conquered more by our solemn pledges, given in words and acts, to respect their prejudices and maintain their religion, than by arms, but likely to fail in the object it sought to accomplish, and to expose us eventually to more serious dangers than we have ever yet known.³⁶

Elphinstone was equally emphatic on the subject. In a report belonging to the year 1819 he writes:

I have left out of the account the dangers to which we should be exposed by any attempt to interfere with the religious prejudices of the natives. These are so obvious that we may hope they will never be braved . . . I do not point out the danger now from any apprehension that Government will ever attempt to convert the natives, but to impress upon it the consequences that would result from any suspicion that it was disposed to encourage such a project.³⁷

Declarations of such a kind brought cold comfort to the missionaries. They did, however, represent the general attitude of the authorities; they were based on conviction and principle and not merely on prudent calculations relating to the stability of an alien government. Yet, in spite of all this prudence, the government was always under suspicion as to the sincerity of its declarations. India had endured three centuries of Muslim rule, during which, though with varying degrees of intensity and severity, there had been ceaseless attempts to subvert the religion of the Hindus and to include them in the Muslim fold. It was almost impossible to disabuse the minds of Hindus and Muslims of the belief that any conqueror would follow a similar policy, and that the British reserve in the matter was due to deep duplicity rather than to a sincere regard for the well-being of the adherents of the non-Christian religions, and for the free exercise and expression of their faith.

4 CONTACTS WITH THE INDIAN PEOPLE

Fort William College

The capacious and imaginative mind of Wellesley built on the foundations laid by Warren Hastings, and carried his policy a step further by the creation of his 'Oxford of the East', the college of Fort William, the aim of which was to ensure that those who served England in India should be given opportunity to acquaint themselves with the mind and thought of India, and that this should be made possible by gathering together in Calcutta as many as possible of the most learned men in the country.³⁸

Wellesley had noted with pain that the education of the young men who came out to India, often at the age of sixteen or seventeen, was sorely defective, and that no steps had been taken to ensure that, after their arrival in India, they were given an opportunity to acquaint themselves with the languages, laws and customs of the country. The remedy would be the creation at Calcutta of a college on the model of an Oxford or Cambridge college, in which the young servants of the Company would be required to spend the first three years of their time in India. The college would not be confined to the teaching of Indian subjects but would offer a broad general curriculum of Western and Eastern studies under the direction of the best teachers available in India.

Wellesley was much concerned about the moral and religious welfare of the young men to be admitted to his college. It was laid down that the provost of the college must 'always be a clergyman of the Church of England, as established by law' (p. 359). The governor-general had been fortunate in finding in Calcutta two gentlemen eminently qualified to serve as provost and vice-provost. To the first position he had appointed Mr Brown, the Company's first chaplain, and to the latter Mr Buchanan (p. 353). It would be the duty of the provost 'to assist them with his advice and admonition; and to instruct and confirm them in the principles of the Christian religion, according to the doctrine, discipline and rites of the church of England as established by law' (p. 359).

Wellesley was not a man to wait for a favouring tide. Determined that his college was to open on 24 November 1800,³⁹ he went ahead without waiting through the long period which must elapse before sanction could reach him from the directors in London. The programme was grandiose. The college was to teach 'Arabic, Persian, Shanscrit, Hindoostanee, Bengal, Telinga, Mahratta, Tamul, Canara', as well as a number of subsidiary subjects. The first task was to assemble teachers who could cope with such a programme. For some subjects Wellesley encountered little difficulty; there were enough learned men in Calcutta to fill a number of professorships. When he came to

Bengali, he was considerably daunted at being told by those who knew that the only man capable of sustaining the role was an obscure Baptist missionary. Wellesley was not exactly an opponent of Christian missionary work, but his interest in it could not be described as other than temperate and reserved. But the college had to be staffed, and he could do no other than to give way. The administration managed to secure a morsel of mean revenge; Mr W. Carey was awarded a smaller salary than any other member of the European teaching staff.

This was not the end. When on 30 July 1806 the eminent H. T. Colebrook resigned his post as professor of Sanskrit in the college, he noted that the work of teaching Sanskrit 'and of completing the publications requisite to facilitate the study of the Sanskrit language may now devolve on Mr Carey'. The recommendation was accepted; Carey became professor of Sanskrit also, and the initial injustice was rectified by his being granted double the salary originally assigned to him. He justified the appointment by the publication in the same year of his Sanskrit grammar, an immense work of nearly 1,000 quarto pages, of which H. H. Wilson has written that it is 'a singular monument of industrious application'.⁴⁰

The college, founded with such éclat, was not destined to enjoy a long and prosperous life. In 1807 the court of directors decided that the European subjects should be taught no longer in India, but at the new college which they had brought into existence at Haileybury. Though truncated, the college of Fort William continued to serve a useful purpose and trained many highly distinguished students. But it carried on with diminished vitality, until in the end it was broken on the rocks of Lord William Bentinck's anglicising policy. On 24 January 1854 the no-longer-existent college of Fort William was finally destroyed.

Opinions will differ as to what Fort William, during its short life of fifty years, actually achieved. Many of the most eminent men who served England in India spent their formative years there in the company of men who combined learning with the highest standards of Christian devotion, and in daily contact with Indians of considerable distinction. By their teachers they were inspired to interest in Indian things; from them they learned both to like and to respect the peoples of India, not with a purblind affection but with awareness of their weaknesses and at the same time with sympathy for their efforts to achieve a cultural and moral renaissance of India.

Some of the most enthusiastic tributes to the work of Fort William College come from the pen of Sushil Kumar De, whose *Bengali Literature in the Nineteenth Century* is a classic.⁴¹ He writes:

No doubt its greatest achievement in the history of intellectual progress in this country consists in its revival of the ancient culture of the land. . . . Attention hitherto

had never been turned to vernacular learning in this country, which was in a sadly neglected state at the beginning of the century. The College of Fort William, by its encouragement of the vernacular, first brought it into public notice and fostered and nourished it.⁴²

From the start the college faced problems of discipline among the students. Some no doubt resented the emphasis on religion and the requirement of attendance at Christian services, though this was something with which they had been familiar in the earlier stages of their education. But the better among them were marked for a lifetime by what they learned in the college; and, in some, association with the immense learning and modesty of Carey, the effervescent enthusiasm of Buchanan, and the quiet, devout authority of Brown produced a regard for the Christian faith which was lacking when they arrived in India.⁴³

5 MISSIONS: FOR AND AGAINST

During this period the government of the East India Company found it necessary to take seriously the presence of Christian missions in India and to determine its attitude towards them. In the south there had been for many years an attitude of friendly co-operation. As there were no Protestant missions in the north,⁴⁴ the question had hardly arisen. But from 1786 onwards the missionaries had arrived in continually increasing numbers and had spread out in a number of directions; and the missionary interest had begun to penetrate the ranks of government itself.

Among those whom Cornwallis had admitted into his inner councils were two deeply committed Christians, John Shore and Charles Grant.

Grant (1746–1823) arrived in Bengal in 1768 and returned to England after twenty-two years' service. But for the next thirty years he exercised a powerful, indeed almost dominant, influence in all the affairs of the East India Company. His religion, with Calvinistic overtones from his Scottish childhood, was rather narrow and rigid, and it is hard to acquit him of self-righteousness, which gave him the assurance of being always in the right. One who disliked him described him as 'a most canting Presbyterian, a methodical snivelling Oliverian'.⁴⁵

From the time of his conversion in 1776, Grant maintained unremittingly two views which were not easily reconcilable. The first was that the government of the East India Company must be carried on for the benefit of Indians; the second was that India could not be governed in its own best interests without strong Christian principles in the minds of the rulers and the injection of Christian ideas into the minds of the subjects. His varying stress on these two objectives led naturally to a charge of inconsistency; and he did come gradually to see that the participation of a foreign government in

the evangelisation of India would not be for the benefit of either party.⁴⁶

Grant's first step towards government participation in the evangelisation of India was the production of a lengthy paper entitled 'A Proposal for Establishing a Protestant Mission in Bengal and Bihar', which he had written in 1787.⁴⁷ Nothing practical came of this initiative. Perhaps the most important outcome was that a copy of his 'Proposal' reached William Wilberforce (1759–1833) and was one of the factors in the growing concern of that great man for India, a concern second only to his interest in the cause of the slaves in the Western world.

Not to be daunted by one failure, Grant again put pen to paper and in 1792 wrote the most carefully thought out of all his works – *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to Morals, and on the means of Improving It; written chiefly in the Year 1792*.⁴⁸ Grant had served for six years as commercial resident in Malda, and while there had had occasion to mix with all sorts of people, from wealthy merchants and *zamindārs* down to the oppressed weavers and indigo growers from whom so much of the wealth of the Company was derived. The picture which he gives of Indian society and of the level of morality which prevailed within it is less than encouraging. He was familiar with corruption and obliquity on a large scale in public and commercial affairs, and with a general licentiousness which passed almost without comment or criticism.

The majority of Indian writers have dismissed Grant's work as yet one more expression of the foreigner's sense of superiority and of his contempt for a culture which he has not taken the trouble to understand. Without doubt there were sides of Indian life with which Grant was unfamiliar: he has passed over without mention the patient endurance of which the Bengali peasant was capable and the strength and tenacity of loyalty within the caste and the family by which Indian society is held together. But, allowing for all these defects, a work which has twice been reprinted and endlessly quoted as authoritative cannot be passed over as irrelevant. One reputable Indian historian has described it as 'a most valuable essay on the moral, intellectual conditions of India at that time', which 'abounds in philosophical suggestions, philanthropic sentiments and sound principles of administrative policy'.⁴⁹

The people of Bengal and Bihar had fallen on evil days; long years of oppression and misgovernment had led to deterioration of character and widespread disregard of principle. Religion, according to Grant, had become not a help but a hindrance to progress. Only through the dissemination of Christian truth could the people be delivered from the trammels of the past. The English government must take up its responsibility and make itself the instrument for the spread of truth and the elimination of error. Why should it not do so? For centuries the Mughuls, also foreigners, had followed with

considerable success the policy of encouraging their Hindu subjects to become Muslims. Provided that measures of coercion were sedulously avoided, there seemed to be no valid reason why a Christian government should not follow a similar policy.⁵⁰

Grant was not the man to be content with mere theorising. In 1793 the charter of the East India Company had to be renewed. It seemed to him that the moment had come at which theories could be transformed into facts. Aided by Wilberforce and other Christian friends, he attempted to secure the inclusion in the new charter of the so-called 'pious clause':

Whereas such measures ought to be adopted for the interests and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, as may gradually tend to their advancement in useful knowledge, and to their religious and moral improvement . . . the . . . Court of Directors . . . are hereby empowered and required to send out, from time to time . . . fit and proper persons . . . as schoolmasters, missionaries or otherwise . . . the said Court of Directors are hereby empowered and required to give directions to the governments . . . in India to settle the destination and to provide for the necessary and decent maintenance of the persons so to be sent out.⁵¹

The clause implied something more radical than a mere permission for the existence of missionaries. 'What Grant was asking Henry Dundas and the directors of the company to do was to take the initiative in instituting a process of social change in India which aimed at the complete alteration of the basis on which the existing social structure rested.'⁵²

All seemed to go well with the plans of Grant and his friends. But Wilberforce and the 'Clapham Group' had underestimated the strength of the opposition in the House of Commons. This opposition took two forms. There were those who feared that favour shown to the Christian faith by government might lead to violent reactions among the people. More potent was the voice of those who feared, presciently, that the introduction of Christian teaching might spread abroad among the people ideas of liberty which would be found to be incompatible with the continuance of British rule in India.⁵³ Becoming aware of the opposition, Henry Dundas (1740–1811), president of the Board of Control, who had little if any religious conviction of his own, withdrew his support, and the clause was withdrawn. Wilberforce was bitterly disappointed by what he regarded as tergiversation and noted sadly in his journal that 'our territories in Hindustan have been left in the undisturbed and peaceable possession of Brama'.⁵⁴

Not unnaturally the evangelicals were cast into gloom by the failure of a plan on which they had expended so much energy, and on the success of which they had counted for great results. Yet, though they did not realise it at the time, the defeat of their plans was of great advantage to the cause for which they stood. Nothing could have been more injurious to the progress of Christian missions, as these developed in the nineteenth century, than the

appointment of missionary workers by government and direct financial support for their work from government funds. In time the evangelicals themselves came to realise that this was so.

The attitude of the East India Company towards Christian missions was curiously inconsistent and self-contradictory. In South India the local authorities welcomed the work of the German missionaries employed there. In Bengal they manifested what looked like venomous hostility; yet steps were taken to make clear that hostility was not the beginning and the end of the official position. On 7 September 1808 the court of directors set out their views in a lengthy and dignified despatch:

We are anxious that it should be distinctly understood that we are very far from being averse to the introduction of Christianity into India, or indifferent to the benefits which would result from the general diffusion of its doctrines; but we have a fixed and settled opinion that nothing could be more unwise and impolitic, nothing even more likely to frustrate the hopes and endeavours of those who aim at the very object . . . than any imprudent or injudicious attempt to introduce it by means which should irritate and alarm their religious prejudices . . . The paramount power which we now possess in India . . . imposes upon us the necessity . . . to protect the native inhabitants in the free and undisturbed profession of their religious opinions, and to take care that they are neither harassed nor irritated by any premature or over-zealous attempts to convert them to Christianity.⁵⁵

Shortly before the publication of this generally friendly document, the prospects of a good relationship between Christian missionary activity and governmental authorities in India and in England had suffered a severe setback. For long years the Vellore mutiny of 1807 cast dark shadows over the situation.

Vellore, about 100 miles west of Madras, had long been one of the garrison centres of the Madras army, maintained by both European and Indian troops in moderate numbers. What gave it its significance at this period in history was the presence of the family of Tipu Sultan, interned though not incarcerated by the British in Vellore, under watchful though not unduly strict supervision. This community included twelve sons and twenty-four grandsons of Tipu, a brother, and an uncertain number of nephews. But with wives and concubines, officials, servants, retainers and hangers-on, the total number of residents brought in from Mysore was reckoned at about 3,000. The presence of so large a contingent of restless and discontented people may well have exercised an influence on the minds of soldiers, who also suffered under the chronic distemper of military life in peace-time, the plague of having far too little to do.

The immediate cause of the dispute could be regarded as trivial, if its consequences had not been so serious. The commander-in-chief, Sir John

Cradock, dissatisfied with the military smartness of the troops on parade, gave orders that a new type of turban was to be issued to all ranks, that caste-marks were not to be visible while the men were on parade, that soldiers were to be 'cleanshaven on the chin', and that 'uniformity shall be preserved in regard to the quantity and shape of the hair upon the upper lip, as far as may be practicable'. There is no reason to suppose that the commander-in-chief intended in any way to affront the sensibilities of the troops; but warnings as to the extent of discontent in the barracks had been disregarded. One of the objections raised by the sepoys was that the new turban somewhat resembled the caps worn by the regimental drummers; as these would belong to a despised community,⁵⁶ any such similarity would be bitterly resented by soldiers drawn from the higher castes.

On 10 July 1807 the explosion took place. In the early hours of that day thirteen European officers and eighty-two non-commissioned officers and other ranks were murdered. Everything was in confusion. Fortunately for the British authorities, a messenger had managed to make his way to Arcot nine miles away. Colonel Gillespie, on hearing the news, without a moment's delay put the cavalry and artillery in motion. By chance the mutineers had failed to close one of the gates to the fort; the relieving force was able to make rapid entry, and by midday all was over. The insurrection, badly planned and badly led, petered out, leaving a large number of prisoners in the hands of the victors.

When the extreme gravity, by military standards, of the offence is born in mind, it is clear that the authorities kept their heads better than might have been expected. Those who could be identified as ringleaders were put on trial by court martial; the death sentence was imposed in twenty-three cases. But the shock to confidence was very great. The entire Mysorean contingent was moved to Calcutta, where its members were gradually absorbed into the ordinary ranks of society.⁵⁷ The commander-in-chief was relieved of his command, and the governor of Madras, Lord William Bentinck, at that time aged thirty-two, was recalled – a decision against the injustice of which he never ceased to protest. It seems probable that Bentinck's generally compassionate view of the way in which the mutineers should be handled told against him in the eyes of some high authorities in England.

These events come into the story of Christianity in India only because of the rumour, extensively ventilated and widely believed, that one of the main causes of the mutiny was the intemperate zeal of Christian evangelists in interfering with the views and habits of the sepoys and arousing in their minds the fear that it was the intention of the authorities to turn them all into Christians.⁵⁸ It is difficult even to conjecture the source from which this suspicion emanated. There were very few missionaries in the Madras presidency, and none was resident in either Vellore or Arcot. A single

sentence in a report by the commander-in-chief may have had something to do with it: he suggests that the sepoys may have thought that the next step would be to make them all Christians, but gives no hint as to the source from which this information was derived.⁵⁹ If this was the spark, it was successful in producing a considerable conflagration both in India and in England, and more extensively in England than in India.⁶⁰

The first blast of the trumpet seems to have been blown by one Thomas Twining, a member of the East India Company, in a missive entitled 'A Letter to the Chairman of the East India Company, on the Danger of Interfering in the Religious Observances of the Natives of India' (1806). Noting that Indians were most 'jealous and tenacious of their religious opinions and ceremonies', he issued warning that the laxity prevailing in the admission of missionaries to India would lead to the expulsion of the British from that country amid scenes of bloodshed and disorder.⁶¹

Friends of the missionaries such as Edward Parry and Charles Grant, both members of the court of directors, entered into the fray. They had no difficulty in showing that there was no evidence that there was 'any suspicion among the people of a design on the part of the government to enforce upon them the profession of Christianity'.

The evangelicals mobilised their forces. Lord Teignmouth, formerly governor-general, in *Considerations on Communicating the Knowledge of Christianity to the Natives of India*,⁶² affirmed that 'the proceedings of the missionaries in Bengal, and the measures adopted there for the propagation of Christianity, have had no influence whatever on the popular feelings of the natives in the Carnatic. The latter know no more of the missionaries in Bengal, nor of their proceedings, than those of Africa.'

Gradually the agitation died down. But the anxiety so deliberately sowed by sincere but rancorous opponents of missionary work long remained in many minds, and was still an active force in 1813. When the charter of the Company came up for renewal in that year, the evangelicals knew that a great conflict was coming upon them, and that the victory of what they believed to be the just and generous policy, if won at all, would be hardly won.

6 THE CHARTER OF 1813

The process by which the new Charter Act reached the statute book was long, complicated and tedious.⁶³

On 22 March 1813 Lord Castlereagh rose in the House of Commons to outline the government's proposals for the future government of India. His references to religion were brief and restricted. Nothing more was proposed than the extension to India of the blessings of episcopacy; the proposed establishment would be exiguous, consisting of no more than one bishop and

three archdeacons, to serve the English community in India; no allusion was made to the possible existence of Indian Anglicans on whom also some episcopal manna might be allowed to descend. The Commons then formed themselves into a committee of the whole house to receive the evidence collected by the directors of the Company on the subject of religion in India. The confrontation between the missionary and the anti-missionary fronts could no longer be avoided.

The anti-missionary lobby had assembled a formidable body of witnesses in support of their case. Two former governors-general of India had been enrolled in their panel.

Warren Hastings was old and cautious, and many years had passed since he had left India (in 1786). He recalled one worthy gentleman, Mr Schwartz, and another, Mr Kiernander, and he had heard of one conversion.⁶⁴ In answer to a leading question, he went so far as to say that it was 'not consistent with the security of the Empire to treat the religions established in the country with contempt, and that if such a declaration of war was made between the professors of our religion and those of the established religions of the country, he knew not what would be the consequences'.

The examination to which Lord Teignmouth was subjected was long and tortuous; the aim was, by means of subtle rhetorical questions, to entrap him into admissions which would be damaging to the cause which he was known to support. Asked the question whether, if the Hindus came to believe that the government intended to change their religion, it would be attended by any bad consequences, he replied that, after many years' experience of the careful regard paid by government to their convictions and prejudices, and the enjoyment of the freest toleration, it was very unlikely that they would ever be brought to believe that that same government intended to impose on them the religion of England. He admitted that some missionaries might be guilty of indiscreet zeal, but he was of the opinion that missionaries might be sent to India with perfect safety to the government – missionaries had been at work in Bengal for seventeen years without exciting any alarm among the natives.⁶⁵

Mr Cowper, who had been in Bengal from 1770 to 1800, was of the opinion that a proposal to admit missionaries to India under the authority of the government ought not to be received by Parliament – even the discussion of such a motion would be alarming to the Brāhmins.

Mr Graham, who had spent thirty-nine years in Bengal (1769–1808), admitted that government had intervened to check the excesses associated with the temple of Jugganath and that no unpleasant consequences had followed; but he clung to the view that, after the enjoyment of a long period of toleration, nothing could be more dangerous than the alarm which would be occasioned by any threat of interference.

At this point it was agreed that the subject of religion should not be further considered. It was certain that it would come up again when the bill itself was before Parliament. The interval was spent by the missionary party in organising and sending in petitions; of these an endless stream poured in on exhausted ministers.⁶⁶

This startling manifestation of popular feeling did its work. When on 22 June 1813 the House finally came to debate resolution 13, it decided to give all that the missionary party desired and more than they had ever hoped to achieve:

It is the opinion of this committee that it is the duty of this country to promote the interests and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and that such measures ought to be adopted as may lead to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement. That, in the furtherance of the above objects, sufficient facilities shall be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to and remaining in India for the purpose of accomplishing these benevolent designs: Provided always, that the authority of the local governments respecting the intercourse of Europeans with the interior of the country be preserved, and that the principles of the British Government, on which the natives of India have hitherto relied for the free exercise of their religion, be inviolably maintained.⁶⁷

When, on 1 July, the bill was again brought in it was hoped that the 'missionary clause' would be allowed to pass without further debate. But the ablest member of the anti-missionary group was determined to be heard. Charles Marsh, a barrister by profession and for a number of years active in Madras, was a man of superb intellectual capacity and great gifts as an orator, and was not too proud to descend at times to levels of scurrility that others would have disdained. A few quotations will reveal the level in which he thought it suitable that parliamentary debate should be conducted:

The noble earl's⁶⁸ successor might be of the new evangelical school. He might be of the number of those who thought that the fulness of time was arrived for Hindoo conversion, and that every inspired cobbler, or fanatical tailor, who felt an inward call, had a kind of apostolic right to assist in the spiritual siege already begun against the idolatries and superstitions of that degraded and barbarous country . . .

Will these people, crawling from the holes and caverns of their original destinations, apostles from the loom and the anvil . . . and renegades from the lowest handicraft employments, be a match for the cool and sedate controversies they will have to encounter should the brahmins condescend to enter the arena against the maimed and crippled gladiators that presume to grapple with their faith?

It might be felt that guttersnipe politicking of this kind required no rejoinder, but there were points that Wilberforce felt must be made, and one of these was of the greatest importance:

Shall we now, in defence of the common principles of toleration, lay the religion we profess under such a restraint in any part of our dominions? No, Sir, it is impossible; you will not, you cannot act thus. If Christianity should be the only untolerated religion in the British dominions in India, the evil would not stop there. The want of toleration would not be a mere negative mischief; the severest persecution must infallibly ensue. For assuredly there are, and by God's help, I trust there ever will be, both European and native teachers, prepared even in the face of death itself to diffuse the blessed truths of Christianity.

Feeble opposition continued for some time, but public opinion had spoken and the result was assured. The bill, which had had a much easier passage in the House of Lords,⁶⁹ passed its third reading on 13 July 1813. The long conflict was over; the Christian missionary in India was assured of a certain status and of liberty, albeit restricted, to carry out his aims.

At the very last moment a clause was inserted to the effect that a sum of not less than one lakh of rupees (£10,000) should be expended annually for 'the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India'. The mention of the sciences did indicate the possibility of new horizons for education; but the primary aim of the clause was to strengthen the hands of the orientalists, of whose views and policies some account will be given in the next chapter.

The supporters of the missionary cause were naturally jubilant at the success which had come to them in the face of what had seemed certain defeat. But at this distance of time it may be possible to question whether the arguments they used and the methods they adopted were those best suited to the furtherance of the cause in which they strove.

They stressed the responsibility of a government to work for the uplift and well-being of the peoples under its care. They assumed, perhaps too readily, that the infiltration of Christian principles was the only way by which that well-being could be secured – a view which they were fully entitled to hold but which was not shared either by the children of the Enlightenment in England or by the majority of the enlightened in India.

They stressed the ignorance and superstition, the moral degradation, in which the peoples of India lived. To Indians of all subsequent generations this has seemed offensively patronising, especially in view of the evils which all India knows to have existed in the England of those days.⁷⁰

In spite of the anti-Christian bias evident in many of their actions, the English in India had accepted in principle the doctrine of equality of all before the law. There was no attempt to subject Hindus to Muslim law or Muslims to Hindu law in civil and religious matters. The evangelicals could justly have claimed equality of status and equality of opportunity for all

religions alike; and this includes the right of a believer to change his religion if he has become convinced that this is what he ought to do, and to attempt to persuade others to follow him in making a similar decision, provided that no coercion of any kind is exercised and that the spiritual freedom of every individual is safeguarded. The evangelicals would have been wise not to press their claims beyond these general points.

Since 1813 Christian missions have never been wholly free from the stigma of undue dependence on government, and even acts of justice on the part of government have been interpreted as signs of a partiality for Christianity incompatible with the true principles of neutrality or toleration. There is little ground for either of these suspicions, but that they have existed and do still exist cannot be doubted. This is a factor that has continuously played its part in the history of Christianity in India.

8 · Government, Indians and Missions

I THE EPOCH OF REFORM

The British authorities in India had guaranteed to the inhabitants of India full toleration of their established customs and practice in matters of religion as in other areas of life. But how far is the policy of toleration and non-interference to be carried? Should it include acceptance, and even protection, of customs and practices which are condemned as inhuman and intolerable by the general conscience of mankind, even though these should have obtained a religious or quasi-religious sanction? And where is this general conscience of mankind to be found?

The Western world, largely under the influence of Christianity, has accepted monogamy as the basis of society. Christian rulers over Muslim subjects have generally found it better not to attempt to alter the Muslim law of marriage, which in accordance with the precepts of the Quṛān permits to faithful Muslims four regular marriages. Hindu groups have various and complicated rules regarding endogamous and exogamous marriage. There seemed to be no reason why these should not be allowed to continue in force. Child marriage was regarded by many as objectionable, but the objections had not been felt by the Christian ancestors of the British in India. It was clear, however, that Hinduism, at least in its later forms, had cast the mantle of sanctity over some customs which by wide sections of opinion in the West were regarded as inhuman. Conflicts of opinion as to the obligations resting on government could not but arise, and the authorities could not remain for ever deaf to the demand for reform.

First and foremost among the reforming governors-general was Lord William Bentinck (1828–35). Many readers in the West know the name of Bentinck as that of the ruler who had the intrepidity to abolish the ancient custom of *satī*, the burning of a Hindu widow on her husband's funeral pyre. But, apart from this action, the man himself has been little known and understood. That this is no longer the case is due to two remarkable studies which in recent years have recalled Bentinck from the shadows, and made him accessible to all who will take the trouble to read.¹

Insofar as Bentinck had been judged by historians, he has generally been

associated with the Utilitarians, whose influence on Indian affairs was growing in the first third of the nineteenth century.² But it is now clear that his connection with this school of thought was of the slightest. He had never met Bentham and, though he had a high regard for James Mill and his capacious knowledge of Indian affairs, he does not seem to have allowed to Mill's ideas extensive influence on his own way of thinking. Lord William had come to adopt deeply and sincerely the views of the evangelical wing of the Church of England, perhaps under the influence of his wife and his wife's relations. Opinion regarding the lady varied. The somewhat cynical Victor Jacquemont found her 'kind and clever', and talked to her for long hours in French.³ Not all were agreed. In her, religion was intense and perhaps at times verging on the fanatical.⁴ Bentinck, no less sincere, never allowed his religious convictions to interfere with the temperate equilibrium of his judgements and never denied the operation of principles which he had imbibed before the Christian faith came to play so large a part in his thinking. He never swerved from the conviction and the hope that 'India should be united, great, imperial, rich, enlightened, perhaps one day self-determining'.⁵ In a day of improvers, he was the improver *par excellence*.

a. The abolition of 'sati'

Bentinck had never fully recovered from the shock to his self-confidence administered by his abrupt dismissal from Madras in 1807. Later experience in the tortuous field of Sicilian and Italian politics, and as an 'improver' in the fenlands of East Anglia, had tempered his will and modified his enthusiasms. The idea of returning to India to reconstruct his damaged reputation was never far from his mind. As early as 1822 he had let it be known that he was interested in the governor-generalship; in 1827, when his relative George Canning was Prime Minister and he was offered the post, he accepted without hesitation.⁶ He had still much to learn about India, but of one thing he was convinced – that one of the tasks that faced him and that could not be evaded was the abolition of *sati*.

[None] could feel more deeply than I do the dreadful responsibility hanging over my happiness in this world and the next, if as the governor-general of India I was to consent to the continuance of this practice for one moment longer, not than our security, but than the real happiness and permanent welfare of the Indian population rendered indispensable. I determined therefore, before I came to India, that I would instantly take up the question . . . and having made my decision, 'yea or no', to stand by it and set my conscience at rest.⁷

The first question that Bentinck had to settle was whether *sati* could be regarded as a custom required by the teachings of the Hindu faith. Investigation showed that the custom was of comparatively recent origin. The most

learned pundits could quote only one line of the *Rg Veda* which seemed to inculcate it, 'let the mothers go into the womb of the fire'; but careful scholarship has shewn that the line was deliberately changed, and that in the original text there was no reference to fire at all.⁸ The view that there was no classical authority for *satī* was shared by the great Bengali reformer Rammohun Roy.⁹

The missionaries, naturally, had been loud in their demands for abolition, supplying detailed figures of the numbers of *satīs* in Bengal, and showing that *satī*, so far from diminishing or dying out, was tending to increase.¹⁰

By 8 November 1829 Bentinck's mind was made up. On that day he posted to his council a lengthy and carefully argued minute.¹¹ The conclusion is memorable:

The first and primary object of my heart is the benefit of the Hindus . . . The first step to this better understanding will be dissociation of religious belief and practice from blood and murder . . . may it not be hoped . . . that they may assume their just places among the great families of mankind. I disavow in these remarks or in this measure any view whatever to conversion to our own faith. I write and feel as a legislator for the Hindus, and as I believe many enlightened Hindus think and feel.¹²

'Regulation XVII AD1829 of the Bengal Code' was promulgated on 4 December 1829.¹³ Once again the governor-general disclaims any intention of unnecessary interference with the customs of the people, but

II. The practice of suttee, or of burning or burying alive the widows of Hindus, is hereby illegal, and punishable by the criminal courts . . .

The proclamation had to be made available in Bengali as well as in English. The task of translation inevitably fell to the professor of Bengali in Fort William College. Early on Sunday morning, 6 December 1829, the English text arrived at Serampore. Carey was in a dilemma. He was a strict sabbatarian, but this was a task which seemed not to admit of a single day's delay. So, strengthening himself in the Saviour's teaching that to save life on the sabbath day is no breach of the law, he fell to, and before the day was ended the task was done. 'The translation demanded meticulous care, every sentence and phrase needed to be weighed with the most circumspect deliberation. But by the evening it was done, and this age-long horror was doomed.'¹⁴

b. Sleeman and the 'thags'

Satī had been abolished. Not long after this great achievement the government found itself engaged in a task no less complex and on a far wider scale, a task which might be expected to bring down obloquy on a government on the ground that it involved interference with the sacred rites of a section of the

community – the elimination of that strange involvement of religion with murder found in the organisation commonly known as *thagī*.¹⁵ Those who stumbled upon the organisation were astonished at the strength of it, stretching as it did almost from one end of the country to the other. They were still more surprised to learn that the work of calculated ritual murder was going on almost under their very noses without anyone being any the wiser.

The explanation of this secrecy is simple. The *thags* were criminals; but in private life many of them were men of impeccable respectability, of good caste and high intelligence, whom it was almost impossible for the observer to associate with the crimes that they had undoubtedly committed. In their own eyes they were a religious brotherhood. It was the goddess Kālī, otherwise Durgā, who had laid on them the duty to strangle and to rob, and had formulated the ritual method of carrying out the crimes. The group would insinuate itself into the confidence of a body of travellers, especially traders or those who were known to be carrying money or treasures. Confidence once established, when a suitable lonely place had been reached and the ritual signal given, the *thags* would set upon their victims, strangle them with the scarf in the use of which they were incredibly skilful, rip up and bury the bodies, and go quietly on their way, to all appearances a harmless body of travellers.

Four factors helped them to remain so long unidentified: first, the fact that in those days of long journeys and uncertain return many days might pass before relations and friends would realise that the traveller had disappeared, and, even when they did, the disappearance would readily be attributed to natural causes – wild beasts or other perils of the way; secondly, the perfect self-identification of the *thag* with the more respectable elements in society and the ease with which he could manifest himself in his second *persona*; thirdly, the iron discipline and mutual loyalty maintained among the *thags*; fourthly, the deadly fear of vengeance which kept silent those who had discovered secrets and might have talked.

No *thag* ever showed the slightest compunction of conscience for his crimes. Sleeman writes, 'A *thag* considers the persons murdered precisely in the light of victims offered up to the Goddess . . . He meditates his murders without any misgivings, he perpetrates them without any emotions of pity, and he remembers them without any feelings of remorse. They trouble not his dreams, nor does their recollection ever cause him inquietude in darkness, in solitude, or in the hour of death.'¹⁶

A number of government officials was engaged in the attempt to identify the *thags* and to destroy the evil, but one name stands out as pre-eminent among them – that of W. H. Sleeman (1788–1856).¹⁷ Very few foreigners

have ever understood Indians as well as he; upright, observant, sympathetic, and with a strong sense of humour,¹⁸ he did superbly well whatever was given him to do. But the suppression of *thagī* was the greatest of his achievements. During the operation, which was regarded as successfully completed by 1846, more than 1,000 *thags* had been hanged, one of whom confessed to more than 700 murders in a career of forty years in the brotherhood.

Justice had to be done; but Sleeman was anything but vindictive. Approvers could not be set free, partly from fear that they would return to their old life, the drawing power of *thagī* on those who had once entered upon it being extraordinary, partly because there was no means of ensuring protection for them against the vengeance of surviving members of the brotherhood. A settlement, of the kind that today would be called a concentration camp, was set up for them at Jabalpur. Sleeman saw to it that they were taught arts and crafts and enabled to lead a life of modest diligence and comfort. Few operations reflect more credit and less blame on the British in India; and many of those who now walked safely on the highways were prepared to bless their name.

c. Campbell and the 'meriahs'

At the time at which the campaign against *thagī* was in full swing, the attention of the government was drawn to another area in which religious conviction had led to practices incompatible with the value set by modern governments on human life. The Khonds, or Kandhs, a mountain people living in the hilly country between the Madras presidency and Orissa, regularly practised human sacrifice for ritual reasons.

The *meriah* (intended victim) had to be a member of some other community, acquired by purchase and not captured in war. Until the day appointed for the sacrifice the *meriah* was treated kindly, adopted into a family of the tribe and not subjected to any restrictions until near the time appointed for the sacrifice. Then the victim was, if possible, reduced to a state of intoxication, and led out to die. The assembled people would sing to Tārī Pennu the earth goddess. 'Oh goddess, we offer the sacrifice to you. Give us good crops, season, and health', and to the *meriah* 'We bought you with a price and did not seize you.' Differing accounts are given of the way in which the sacrifice was carried out; the essentials are the same in all – the flesh is cut from the body of the victim and portions are carried to all the villages, where one portion is buried near to the village shrine and fragments at points on the village boundaries.¹⁹

Earlier writers thought that the *meriah* was offered up as a propitiatory sacrifice to the earth goddess. But J. G. Frazer is certainly correct when he

writes that the flesh and ashes of the victim were believed to be endowed with a magical or physical power of fertilising the land.²⁰

Clearly no government professing humanitarian principles could allow such a custom to be continued. Skilled and sympathetic officers were sent in to work for the abolition of human sacrifice, using as far as possible methods of persuasion and not of coercion.²¹ It was by no means easy to obtain consent; the people were convinced that their prosperity and the fertility of their fields depended on the due offering of the sacrifice in the manner handed down from their ancestors. Gradually they yielded to the weight of government insistence and agreed rather unwillingly to sacrifice a buffalo instead of a human being. At John Campbell's very first meeting with the chiefs he was able to obtain the surrender of 105 *meriahs*, evidence of the size of the problem with which he was dealing. It is believed that the last *meriah* sacrifice took place in 1852, but the practice may have persisted longer in secret.

The kindly British officers had rescued a number of *meriahs* and were then faced with the unexpected problem of what to do with them. They had been delivered from death, but in view of their sacred character it was not easy for them to return to ordinary life. In addition, many who had been bought as children had no idea where they came from and had lost all contact with their relations. These were handed over to the missionaries in Orissa to be educated and fitted for life in society. Others were reabsorbed into the life of the tribes, many of the women among them who had lived in concubinage being encouraged to marry their owners, who undertook to renounce any claim to have them sacrificed; as late as 1901, twenty-five of their descendants entered themselves as *meriahs* in the records of the census held in that year.

d. Slavery

Many Indians believe, and are prepared to assert, that slavery has never existed in India. But the evidence is against them; it is clear that slavery has existed from very early times, and has been tolerated by both Hindus and Muslims.²² In many cases slavery was of the predial character and was not marked by the indefensible cruelties of the slave trade from Africa to the Caribbean. That the number of slaves was considerable appears from the calculation that in five districts alone more than 200,000 slaves were to be found.²³

Slavery was for the most part hereditary; but the numbers were increased by the habit of purchasing children from their parents in times of great economic distress. This was adverted to by Sir William Jones in a famous charge to the grand jury in Calcutta in June 1785:

Hardly a man or woman exists in a corner of this populous town who hath not at least one slave child . . . Many of you, I presume, have seen large boats filled with such children, coming down the river for open sale at Calcutta; nor can you be ignorant that most of them were stolen from their parents, or bought, perhaps for a measure of rice in a time of scarcity.²⁴

Officials of the government were aware of the evil; but even those who disapproved of it held the view that any hasty action to abolish it would be followed by grave economic disruption. The conscience of Europeans, however, was stimulated by the abolition, in 1807, of the slave trade in all the British dominions; and pressure from the missionaries, who probably knew more of the system than anyone else, was vocal and continuous. The process of suppression was cautious, and fifty years were to pass before slavery was finally eradicated. In 1811 the importation of slaves from other countries into India was forbidden. The Charter Act of 1833 gave instructions that the governor-general in council should proceed to the abolition of slavery as soon as emancipation should be safe and practical. An act of 1843 withdrew legal recognition of the status of slavery; but it was not until 1860, when the Indian penal code finally came into force, that possession of slaves, and trafficking in them, were finally made illegal.²⁵

*e. Infanticide*²⁶

About the end of the eighteenth century the existence of the practice of female infanticide became known to Jonathan Duncan, at that time resident at Varanesi (Benares) (1788–95). Later, when he had become governor of Bombay (1795–1811), he ascertained that the same held good for extensive areas of Cutch and Kattiāwad. In the vast majority of cases the cause was the same – the enormous expense of marriages, doubt in the mind of the father as to whether he would be able to find a suitable bridegroom for a grown-up daughter, and the shame involved in having an unmarried daughter at home.

Infanticide was an ancient and well-established custom in a number of communities; little if any reprobation was visited on those who conformed and disposed of their infant daughters. If regulations were passed prohibiting infanticide, how were they to be put into effect? The killings were carried out in private in the home, with the consent and approval of the head of the house. How could information be obtained without violation of the sanctity of the home, which to the Hindu even more than to the Englishman is his castle?²⁷ The government did attempt to deal with the matter by legislation, but with little success; in 1816 a leading police official reported that Rajkumārs (Rajputs) were still killing their daughters ‘to nearly the same degree as formerly, though a greater degree of caution was preserved to prevent detection’.²⁸

The observations of the admirable James Tod (1782–1835) on the problem are worthy of attention. He notes that ‘the same motive which studded Europe with convents, in which youth and beauty were immured until liberated by death, first prompted the Rajpoot to infanticide’. The problem was compounded by the marriage regulations which condemned as incestuous marriages which would be permitted elsewhere. Tod goes on to say that

many virtuous and humane princes have endeavoured to check or mitigate an evil, in the eradication of which every parental feeling would co-operate. Sumptuary edicts alone can control it; and the Rajpoots were never sufficiently enamoured of despotism to permit it to rule within their private dwellings.²⁹

By ‘sumptuary measures’ Tod meant limitations of the expenses incurred on the occasion of the marriage of a daughter. A generation later this view was cordially supported by Charles Raikes, the collector of Mainpuri, backed up by W. H. Tyler, the commissioner of Agra, who we are told ‘was disposed to look more favourably on the sumptuary measures which resulted from “self-legislation”, than on those originating in, and deriving their authority from, Government enactments’.³⁰ On 12 November 1851 he gathered together many of the leading people of the area to discuss the intolerable burden of marriage expenses and to propose remedies. He was able to secure their agreement to four principles, the first of which was that marriage expenses were to be regulated by a rate then agreed on according to the grade of the parties. In August 1852, at the earnest request of James Thomason, the lieutenant-governor, Raikes sent out a letter in Hindi to all ‘the *mahārājās*, *rājās*, and other leading men of the Rajpoot race’.³¹ Three years later his successor was able to report: ‘I never go into a Chohar village, but the fathers bring me their girls to look at, and seem proud of having them.’

Progress was slow and there were many set-backs; but gradually opinions changed, partly at least under Christian auspices. Though it is possible that in out-of-the-way places the old custom still survives, it would be almost universally condemned, and infanticide is now a memory rather than a menace.

Five examples have been taken of the way in which British administration in India was activated by the reforming spirit in the period which followed on the appointment of Lord William Bentinck as governor-general. A considerable number of other decisions and actions could be added to the list.³²

It may seem surprising that the government was able to carry through so many reforms without arousing violent hostility on the part of those most affected. Certainly it showed great courage in not interpreting too narrowly the principle of non-interference, and in not allowing itself to be deflected by prudential considerations from taking action that it believed to be right. But

the period was propitious for reform. In a number of cases the religious authorisation for the practices which it was intended to suppress was tenuous. There was opposition, especially to the abolition of *satī*, but the opposition was not as yet well organised and found it prudent to appeal to argument or to authority. The reforming mood was far from unknown even in the world of Hinduism; in circles in which that spirit was operative the government could count on a considerable measure of support. Many of these reforms were such as could have been carried out by Hindu or Muslim governments if they had had at their command officials endowed with the promptitude and efficiency which in many cases were characteristic of the servants of the British crown.

The government could, of course, count on the enthusiastic approval of the progressive forces in England and of the missionaries, who were coming to be an influential body in Bengal. Many of those affected by the changes soon came to be aware of the benefits that they had brought. In almost every case the government attempted to work through persuasion rather than through legislation; only in the suppression of *thagī* did it have recourse to the use of force.

Few writers of a later date have refused to recognise that the period of reform was a time of real progress in the life of India, as far as British power could penetrate at that time.

2 EDUCATION

Of all the decisions taken by the British during the period of reform, perhaps the most important was that relating to education. The question at issue was whether India should remain an Asian country, sunk in its own great traditions of the past, or should be introduced into the international life of the peoples of the world. The decision that English should be taught with the aid of government led to the development of a new elite, alert, progressive, in contact with the trends of thought in the Western world, increasingly vocal in its demands for independence. English was to become, and remains, the most widely spoken of the languages of India.

The decision was of great significance to Christians and particularly to missionaries. They had already been concerned for more than a century with the education of the people. They were now to be launched on a new career, in which they came to take rank among the most effective educators in India, with the result that Christians came to be, after Brāhmans and Parsis, the best-educated community in India and that Christian influences were extended far beyond the limits of the membership of the Christian churches.

It may seem surprising that the government in India was persuaded to take up the question. There was no national system of education in Britain,

the promotion of learning having been left to the beneficence of individuals and almost exclusively to the efforts of the churches. The first effective steps were taken in the Education Act of 1870, followed up by the acts of 1902 and 1944. India was ahead of Britain. But in India as in Britain opinion was sharply divided as to whether education was a proper field for government interference, many fearing that any measure of government control could only do harm to the cause of knowledge.

Education – the time of decision

In the 1830s the government of India had to reach a decision on the vexed question of whether education for the peoples of India should be forwarded by financial aid from government sources. If so, what should be the object aimed at, and what steps should be taken towards its realisation?

Since 1793 the evangelical interest had been pressing on the government its responsibility for the spread of enlightenment among its subjects and stressing education as the means of this enlightenment.³³ In the Charter Act of 1813 rather grudging recognition was given to this principle, and a small sum of money was set apart for the purpose. But as to the purpose itself there was a great deal of disagreement.

Much has been written on the controversies arising on the subject of education during this period of Indian history; but many who have expressed their views in writing have oversimplified the issue and made of it a straight conflict between 'orientalists' and 'anglicists', between those who believed that the duty of government should be limited to the maintenance and extension of Indian classical learning, and those who held that the basis of higher education should be the English language, and that its aim should be the inculcation of Western science and Western ways of thinking. In point of fact the situation was far more complicated than this.³⁴

There were the true orientalists, who believed that the all-important thing was the revival of the knowledge of the ancient classical languages, Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic. Great sums were being spent on the printing of classical works. The opponents of this view had little difficulty in showing that few copies of those weighty works had been sold, and that the number of students in the colleges supported by the government was not sufficient to justify the great expense involved.

All were agreed that, at the elementary level, the medium of instruction must be the local language. The governor-general, Lord William Bentinck (1774–1839) was of the opinion that this should in the main be left to local authorities, with as little disruption as possible of the traditional system. 'The great curse of our rule has been a constant interference with the long-established native systems of Indian society and of the introduction of our own fancies and schemes, which, coupled with *our own* ignorance, have

devastated, more than any Maratha invasion, some of the finest provinces of our empire.³⁵ It was in accordance with this view that he agreed to the proposal of an investigation into what was actually being done in the way of village education in the three provinces directly under his rule. The carrying out of the survey was entrusted to the gifted William Adam, who had at one time been a missionary of the Baptist Missionary Society.³⁶ It was, however, agreed that the Indian languages, as they were at that time, were not well fitted to be the medium of higher education.

This being so, one view was that these languages should be enriched by the infusion of Sanskrit terms in order to fit them to the expression of all necessary ideas. One of the leading supporters of this position was the celebrated Indologist Horace Hayman Wilson (1786–1860), who on 20 August 1834 wrote to an Indian friend:

It is a visionary absurdity to think of making English the language of India. It should be extensively studied, no doubt, but the improvement of the native dialects enriching them with Sanskrit terms for English ideas must be continued and to effect this, Sanskrit must be cultivated as well as English.³⁷

With this position the missionaries were to a large extent in agreement; they had shown that these languages were far richer than was often supposed³⁸ and that they did in most cases already contain a considerable Sanskritic element.

Finally, there were the convinced ‘anglicists’, who believed that for India the way to knowledge and improvement was the English language. English must thus be the medium of instruction for all higher education in India. Many supporters of this view believed that, given the presence of an elite educated in English, useful knowledge would be distributed far and wide, and in the end would filter down in Indian languages to the less-educated elements in the population.

Decision had to await the authority of the governor-general. But long before his decision had been made public an independent decision had been arrived at by the educated elite in Bengal. It has often been maintained that the government introduced English only for pragmatic reasons – the need to have a staff of clerks and minor officials who could handle the English language.³⁹ There is some truth in this, and an equal amount of truth in the affirmation that many among the educated saw in a knowledge of English the path to a career and to valuable emoluments.⁴⁰ But this is only a small part of the actualities of the situation. Many of the ‘anglicists’ saw in the English language the tool readiest at hand for the cultural and moral improvement which they were particularly concerned to promote and, if such ‘anglicists’ were missionaries, also for the dissemination of Christian truth. Among the Indians, many saw in English the means for the liberation of their country

from superstition and from the ignorance which made progress almost impossible. So they made it plain that, if the government would not provide them with education in English, they would provide it for themselves.⁴¹

The pioneer of the Indian renaissance was not an Indian but a Scotsman, David Hare (1775–1841), a watchmaker who had settled in Calcutta in 1800, and who retired from business in 1816. On his tombstone can still be read the enthusiastic inscription which tells that ‘he adopted for his own the country of his sojourn and cheerfully devoted the remainder of his life with unwearying zeal and benevolence to one pervading and darling object, on which he spared no personal trouble, money or influence, viz, the education and moral improvement of the Natives of Bengal’.⁴²

David Hare’s great achievement was the foundation of the Hindu college. With the help of Rāmmohun Roy and wealthy citizens of Calcutta, in 1817 he brought into being this institute for ‘the tuition of the sons of respectable Hindoos in the English and Indian languages, and in the literature and science of Europe and Asia’. It was not long before Calcutta society became aware of this new phenomenon, and agape at the aptitude shown by the pupils in every form of Western knowledge.

The Hindu college came into stormy water through the teaching and influence of a young Eurasian of Portuguese descent, Henry Louis Vivian Derozio. Brilliant, unconventional, a poet, a freethinker and a sceptic, one of the first to give expression to the idea of Indian nationalism, Derozio drew the students to him like a magnet. ‘Neither before nor since his day has any teacher, within the walls of any native educational establishment in India, ever exercised such an influence over his pupils.’⁴³ Radical himself, and hostile to every form of authority, Derozio encouraged his pupils to think, to question and to doubt. Some of these pupils went beyond their teacher, if not in thought at least in conduct. Hindu society was incensed, and a number of pupils was withdrawn from the school. The cry of ‘Hinduism in danger’ was raised. The inevitable happened. When ‘the Directors of the Hindoo college’ met on 23 April 1831, only one out of the seven Hindu gentlemen voted against the dismissal of Derozio.⁴⁴ The sequel was tragic. Eight months later Derozio died of cholera, at the early age of twenty-two.

Macaulay’s famous minute of 2 February 1835 was the final drop which caused the super-saturated fluid of controversy to crystallise into decision. But the weight and effect of the minute have been much exaggerated.⁴⁵ Many factors had been at work to make inevitable the policy which Macaulay recommended. C. H. Philips rightly affirms that

by the spring and summer of 1834 . . . the evidence was increasing daily that English education was the Bengali’s own preference. The timely arrival in India of Macaulay . . . had the effect of consolidating a position already substantially achieved. Thus

Macaulay's well-known minute on education, promulgated on 2 February 1835, marked not so much the crisis of the battle for English education as a victory celebration towards the close of a long-fought campaign.⁴⁶

When the fireworks of rhetoric have been stripped away, the essence of the minute is to be found in a single paragraph:

We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern – a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population.⁴⁷

It was a foregone conclusion that Bentinck would accept the views of Charles Trevelyan⁴⁸ and Macaulay. The 'draft on educational policy', probably drawn up by Macaulay himself, ends with the words:

His Lordship in council directs that all the funds which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the committee be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language. And his Lordship in Council directs the committee to submit to government, with all expedition, a plan for the accomplishment of this purpose.⁴⁹

Controversy did not cease with the promulgation of the governor-general's decision. Indeed it has continued to the present day. On 1 March 1908, Charles Freer Andrews, the friend of Gāndhi, wrote in a letter to Sir James Dunlop Smith:

English as the language of education has justified itself, in spite of great drawbacks. It has had a supreme political justification. It has made India no longer only a geographical expression but a political unity. It has created the hope and the possibility of an Indian Nation. English history and literature have fashioned the political thought of modern India and fashioned it inevitably on national lines.⁵⁰

The government, in making its decision, had no intention of bestowing a special benefit on missions and missionaries; but, in historical fact, the Christian missions were the principal beneficiaries of the new policy. Eager as the demand for English education was in Bengal, it was by no means universal. Ten years later, in 1845, the total number of pupils in government schools was no more than 17,360, mostly Hindus.⁵¹ Even before 1835 there were more children in mission schools than in those of the government; but the decision of 1835 drew the attention of the missions to as yet undreamed of possibilities in higher education. They could draw on an almost inexhaustible supply of highly competent Western teachers, both men and women. Helped by the policies of Sir Charles Wood, from 1853 onwards they were

able to expand their programmes, and, when a generation had passed, were among the most powerful educational influences in India.

3 GOVERNMENT AND IDOLS

Missionaries and the evangelical wing in England were naturally delighted by Bentinck's prompt and decisive action over *satī*; they were disappointed in equal measure by what they regarded as his temporisation in another matter of great concern to them – the involvement of government in the affairs of Hindu temples, and what appeared to them its patronage of non-Christian forms of worship.

This was a situation that had grown up of itself and without planning or foresight. Non-Christian rulers had been regarded as the protectors and patrons of places of worship. It seemed natural that, when the English took over the functions of earlier rulers, they should take over also the duties which they fulfilled in relation to the temples. It became part of the business of British officers to see to it that sums due to the temple were paid to it and that the money was used for the purposes for which it had been given. The Company thus found itself, as was contemptuously said, in the position of 'churchwarden to Juggernaut' and 'dry-nurse to Vishnu'.⁵²

The debates, which extended over twenty years and were often attended by acrimony rather than by reason, were constantly vitiated by attempts to treat as simple what was in reality a collection of highly complex and delicate issues.

Did any obligation rest on the British government in India to take over from non-Christian rulers the administration of temples, mosques and other religious properties? The realists replied that someone had to accept the responsibility; when no other suitable authority could be found, the government had no alternative but to step in. No issue relating to religion was involved; it was simply a question of property which had to be protected, and of the maintenance of peace and order when crowds were assembled for what in themselves were perfectly legitimate purposes. As Lord Auckland rather coarsely expressed it: 'The public protection of native religious trusts is often grossly misrepresented. They are protected as you would protect a prostitute from robbery or a brothel from burglary and the courts as in all other cases provide that dishonesty shall not fatten on them.'⁵³ A government, which in England was engaged in setting up the Ecclesiastical Commission (1835–6) to manage the affairs of the Church of England, could hardly be blamed if it took similar action in India.

Had the government, by undertaking these responsibilities, departed from its oft-declared attitude of neutrality in matters of religion? Whatever

the intentions of the government, the result of its actions could not be in doubt. *The Friend of India* affirmed that, just at the time at which Hinduism was 'languishing, its temples falling into decay, and its absurdities sinking into contempt as light pours in upon the Native mind', its credit was being restored by the actions of the government.⁵⁴ Some doubts might be entertained as to the impartiality of the writer of the article, who was in all probability John Clark Marshman. But one writer who has no axe to grind in the matter has written that 'the net result was that a Christian government, by restoring public confidence in the administration of temples and mosques, had greatly promoted the standing and prestige of Hinduism and Islam'.⁵⁵

This being so, would it not be wiser for the government to dissociate itself entirely from the business, and to hand over the management of temples and mosques to the local people? The inevitable answer was that, in a great many cases, no authority existed to which responsibility could be handed over; even if such an authority did exist, the process of handing over was not something that could be dealt with in days or weeks, and guarantees of just and upright administration would not be easy to find. It was better in the meantime to let things remain as they were.

The government was making enormous profits from the pilgrims. Was not the imposition of this tax an indefensible invasion of the liberty of religion to which the government was committed? Was the retention of revenues from such a source in any circumstances justifiable? The tax had, apparently, been imposed by Muslim rulers; but it had become so much a part of the established state of affairs that there was no sign of any objection on the part of Hindus to the payment of it. It was true that the peace and quiet resulting from government control at festival times had led to a great increase in the number of pilgrims and, in consequence, in the revenues derived from the tax. In sixteen years Gaya had produced £445,941 and Allahabad £159,429. Much had been spent on charitable purposes, such as the provision of hospitals at pilgrim sites. The government could not see any reason against retaining the balance as payment for services rendered.

Were some of the rites carried out at festival times, such as hook-swinging, so repugnant to conscience and to humanitarian ideas as to demand intervention by government to prohibit them? Here utilitarians and evangelicals were in agreement that government could not refuse to intervene.⁵⁶

Did attendance at festivals and Hindu ceremonies involve Christians in actions which their conscience forbade? Here again there could be no doubt as to the answer. The presence of British troops, the provision of music and the firing of volleys as a salute to the gods, were without doubt regarded by many of the worshippers as an honour paid by the British government to Hindu deities. Among both officers and other ranks the number of com-

mitted Christians was steadily on the increase; these could not but regard participation in idolatrous ceremonies as inconsistent with their Christian profession.⁵⁷

From 1830 to 1835 the president of the Board of Control in London was Charles Grant the younger (from 1831 Lord Glenelg), who shared in the evangelical predilections of his father. In 1833 Glenelg radically altered a draft on the subject of religious observance which had been prepared in the previous year by the court of proprietors of the Company; he laid it down that government officials must wholly dissociate themselves from the temples and all their affairs; that the pilgrim tax must be abolished, and no revenue be derived from the temples; that the management of the temples must be left entirely to the Hindus, but that the preservation of peace and order at festivals must still be the responsibility of the government. The court protested vigorously at the changes made in its draft, but was overruled by the board of control. Very unwillingly, on 21 February 1833 they had to send the despatch to India in the form in which it had been left by Glenelg.⁵⁸

It is one thing to send out a despatch; it is another to ensure, at a distance of 10,000 miles, that it is actually carried into effect. Bentinck was cautious. Glenelg's successor as president took an almost directly contradictory line. The various governments in India followed suit, and within a short time the despatch of 1833 became almost a dead letter. Disturbed by this too of the prominent residents of Madras in 1836 sent to the governor-general a memorial in protest at the disregard of the provisions of the despatch which they had observed; the only result was to bring down upon Bishop Corrie of Madras a reprimand of unexampled severity.⁵⁹ It seemed that for the moment the evangelicals had suffered defeat. Matters were, from their point of view, made even worse by a despatch of 18 October 1837 which seemed to neutralise all that had been decided in 1833.

Matters might have gone on in this way for a long time but for an explosion which took place in an entirely unexpected quarter. In 1835 Sir Peregrine Maitland became commander-in-chief of the Madras army. Maitland was an officer of the highest distinction. He had served as lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada from 1815 to 1825, and of Nova Scotia from 1828 to 1834. Like many senior officers of that time he was a devout Christian of strong evangelical convictions. He found himself profoundly dissatisfied with the way in which the provisions of the despatch of 1833 were being observed, and issued a general order saying that these orders were to be strictly obeyed. This action brought upon him the disapproval of Lord Auckland, who was opposed to precipitate action of any kind. When the despatch of October 1837 arrived, Maitland asked the governor of Madras, Lord Elphinstone, whether this meant that the new despatch in effect annulled the regulations

laid down by that of 1833; being assured that this was so, he resigned from his command.⁶⁰

Maitland was a well-known man who stood high in the esteem of the Duke of Wellington himself. His resignation on a point of conscience, though it probably came as a relief to Auckland and other high authorities in India, could not but create a sensation in England; it was referred to a number of times in Parliament and in sessions of the court of proprietors of the East India Company.⁶¹ These events led the evangelical wing to redouble their efforts to bring to an end the connection between the government in India and the worship and festivals of the non-Christian religions. Their agitation could have been more graciously carried on; they might have answered that, in the face of so much tergiversation, without a vigorous campaign success could not have been attained.

In 1838 it was decided to send positive orders to the government in India to dissociate itself completely from all connection with Indian religions. The draft despatch as prepared by the court was as conciliatory as possible. The hope was expressed that 'under proper explanations our withdrawal from all interference with the religious observances of the natives of India will be regarded as an additional proof of our respect for their feelings'. The board was in no mood for such milk-and-water language; it overruled all the objections raised by the court, and peremptorily instructed it to send to India clear orders for the severance of all connections with Indian religious affairs as soon as possible. Once again the court sent the revised and accepted despatch to India only grudgingly, disclaiming all responsibility for the consequences that might follow on its promulgation.⁶² Needless to say there were no undesirable consequences, either of the promulgation of the orders or of their implementation. There were no demonstrations of disapproval or hostility. Hindus seemed on the whole very well pleased with the abolition of the pilgrim tax. It seemed to them natural that the control of temples should revert to those who counted themselves eligible to worship there rather than remain in the hands of those who, if they had any religion at all, revered an alien God and observed alien customs and ceremonies.

The battle had been won, and that ought to have been the end of the matter. But considerable latitude had been left to the various governments in India as to the manner in which the orders were to be implemented and the pace at which changes were to be made. The transfer of control over the temples and their revenues to responsible Hindus was a tortuous business; it was not always easy to find the right kind of people to undertake the responsibilities, or to make sure that they were exercising them in a manner that would be satisfactory to government. Many more petitions and memorials from Christians were needed to make sure that the matter did not sleep and that obsolescence did not affect the orders more than the practices which

the orders had been intended to annul. But by 1856 it was possible to affirm that all outstanding disputes had been amicably settled. Non-Christians seemed to be satisfied with the new attitudes of the Indian governments. At last in 1863 an act was passed under which public servants were fully excluded from any share in the administration of lands assigned for pious uses or in the management of Hindu or Muslim religious establishments. The long connection between British government in India and Jagannāth had been finally dissolved.

4 THE GOVERNMENT AND CHRISTIANS IN INDIA

In 1813 the British government had given grudging consent to the admission of Christian missionaries to India, but it had few and confused ideas as to what was to be done if some Indians listened to the eloquence of missionaries and accepted the Christian faith. Professions of toleration were continually made. It remained the fact that the Indian who became a Christian had fewer rights than anyone else in British India, and was treated by a nominally Christian government in such stepmotherly fashion as to cause thoughtful Hindus to doubt whether the government had any concern for religion at all. In no part of British India was there in existence any code in which the civil rights of Christians were defined and defended.

Sir Alfred Lyall (1835–1911), who held high office both in India and in England, and whose authority is unimpeachable, summarised the situation as follows:

Up to the year 1831 native Christians had been placed under stringent civil disabilities by our own regulations, which formally adopted and regularly enforced the loose and intermittent usages of intolerance which they found in vogue; native Christians were excluded from practising as pleaders, and from the subordinate official departments, though no such absolute rule of exclusion had ever been set up against them by Hindus or Mohammedans; while converts to Christianity were liable to be deprived, by reason of their conversion, not only of property, but of their wives and children; and they seem to have been generally treated as unlucky outcasts with whom no one need be at the trouble of using any sort of consideration.⁶³

Indian Christians were not exempted from the duty of dragging the car of a famous idol. Public opinion in England was stirred when it became known that those who refused to obey might be punished in public by caning, and that they were liable to pay taxes for the support of the idols whose worship they had repudiated.

The Bengal government had been sedulous in protecting its native soldiery from any possibility of contamination by the presence of so much as a single Christian sepoy.⁶⁴ Not unnaturally great alarm and despondency

were caused when in 1819 the tidings spread that a sepoy had actually been converted and baptised. Prabhu din Pande, a Brāhman *naik* (corporal) of the 23rd Regiment of Native Infantry, had been on service in Mauritius. While there, he had seen something of Christian worship and had become doubtful of the tenets and practices of Hinduism. After his return to India he had been stationed in Meerut, where he had sought out a small group of Indian Christians ministered to by an Indian convert who like himself was a Brāhman by origin. In this circle he became a convinced believer and asked for baptism. The chaplain of the place, Henry Fisher, seeing no reason why his priestly authority should not be exercised, baptised the *naik* under the name Matthew Prabhudin. The commanding officer, fearing grave perturbation among the troops, reported the matter to the government; the governor-general appointed a special commission to go into the case. The commission reported that tales of grave consternation among the troops were not borne out by any evidence, and that the *naik* was still respected by his fellow-soldiers.

Government remained unconvinced, and ordered that the convert should be removed from the regiment; but he was assured that his pension rights would be unaffected and was offered appointment in another regiment. He very properly refused the appointment, on the ground that he had committed no offence cognisable by military law and that his removal from his regiment was unjustified.⁶⁵

Even more disturbing to official equanimity was a report which came in from Allahabad in 1830. The chaplain there was George Crawford, one of the evangelical stalwarts, and a friend of Henry Lawrence in his early days in India.⁶⁶ Crawford became aware of a considerable interest in Christianity among the sepoys; some of them went so far as to invite him to come to their lines and instruct them. When this became known, the tumult that it caused was considerable. Crawford was told by a senior officer, 'You'll cause a mutiny, Sir, and we shall be murdered at midnight.'

As in the former case the matter was referred to Calcutta, and further action by the chaplain in the manner that he had adopted was strictly forbidden. One concession, however, was made – sepoys might come to visit the chaplain in his own home, if they desired to do so. The instruction continued, and before long a member of sepoys asked to be baptised. Once again a missive travelled to Calcutta. The answer received was uncompromising: under no circumstances could a sepoy be baptised.

Such was the manner in which the Company's government in India understood the word 'toleration'. It was not likely that this understanding would go for ever unchallenged.

Lord William Bentinck was at all times deeply concerned over what appeared to him failures in justice. He could not be unmoved by that denial

of elementary civil rights to Christians which was the practice, if not the official policy, of the government of which he was the head. He secured, in 1831, the adoption of a regulation in which discrimination against any individual on the grounds of race, caste or religion was prohibited.

In the following year (on 16 October) regulation III of 1832 was adopted, to clear up doubts as to the interpretation of regulation V of 1831. This went much further than previous decisions towards the recognition of Christian rights and was politically much less palatable to the Hindu mind.

The object of the enactment was, in fact, to ban the operation of the Hindu law, by which a convert to Mohammedanism or Christianity, becoming an outcast, forfeited his claim to the share of any heritable property, to which as a Hindu he would have been entitled; a forfeiture contributing powerfully to deprive the Hindus of the free exercise of their judgement in the adoption of a different creed.⁶⁷

At the time this regulation caused little disturbance; only after a considerable lapse of years did its effects dawn on the minds of those principally affected by it.⁶⁸

5 THE CHARTER OF 1833

1833 was the year in which the charter of the East India Company came up for renewal. When, on 13 June, Robert Grant, the president of the board of control, rose to introduce the subject in a committee of the whole house, he felt it necessary to ask the indulgence of the house 'as the subject was one which could not be expected to excite that strong interest which belonged to some subjects recently discussed'.⁶⁹ The contrast with the debate of 1813 could not but be noted by those who had been present on both occasions.

A number of the issues before Parliament were, however, of the deepest interest to the evangelical and missionary party.

In the first place the act made possible a complete separation between Esau and Jacob, the trading and the governing aspects of the East India Company, so that what Macaulay in picturesque phrase called 'this political monster of two natures, — subject in one hemisphere, sovereign in another',⁷⁰ was brought to an end. This created 'the opportunity which the cessation of the trade afforded for the concentration of the attention of the Company on the great duty of well-governing India, undisturbed by the incompatible, and sometimes conflicting, objects of commercial speculation'.⁷¹

The proposal to increase the Anglican establishment in India was objected to on a variety of grounds, notably that put forward by Daniel O'Connell (1775–1847), Member of Parliament for Clare, that the introduction of a dominant church into India was likely to introduce all the rancour and hatred of religious animosity. But, the anxieties of the Scots having been

mollified by the provision of Presbyterian chaplains in each of the three presidencies, the opposition died down and it was agreed to expand the episcopate in India from one to three bishops.

At the express desire of Lord William Bentinck, the act included the clause which provided for the equal admission of Indians to every office in India, irrespective of religion, birth, descent or colour. This was intended in part as a charter of emancipation for Christians; it was not expected that there would be a landslide of Indians into office. But, as was explained in a despatch of the directors,⁷² the intention was that there should 'be no governing caste in British India; that whatever other tests of qualifications may be adopted, distinction of race or religion shall not be of the number'. Moreover, 'in every view it is important that the indigenous people of India, or those of them who by their habits, character or position may be inclined to aspire to office, should as far as possible be qualified to meet their European competitors'.

In 1833 the Company still had the power both to issue licences to Europeans to reside in its possessions in India and to deport them if they were found undesirable; but in this matter opinion was changing both in England and in India. The principles of free trade were taking hold, and the idea of free residence could not be far behind.

Rather surprisingly, the idea that an increase in the number of European residents would be beneficial to India was strongly supported by two leading champions of Indian rights – Rāmmohun Roy (1772–1833) and Dwarkanath Tagore (1794–1856). The latter, in a speech delivered on 15 December 1829, affirmed that 'colonization would promote agriculture, improve the conditions of Ryots and make the Zamindars wealthy and prosperous . . . I have found the cultivation of indigo and residence of Europeans have considerably benefited the community at large.'⁷³ These Indians did not, of course, desire the invasion of India by the English labouring class; what they hoped for was the improvement of Indian life by the introduction on a large scale of European technical skills and capital resources.

Among the new provisions under the act of 1833 was that for which Bentinck had argued – almost unrestricted permission for citizens of all nations to take up residence in those parts of India under British control, subject only to the usual provisions safeguarding public order and tranquillity.

The Christian missions were among the chief beneficiaries of the new regulations. Representatives of the Christian cause had long desired unrestricted access to India, and repeated complaints had been made of the high-handedness with which intending missionaries had been refused permission to reside, or even been deported from the Company's territories. Even before 1833 the number of missionaries had been increasing, with more rapid progress on the Protestant than on the Roman Catholic side. After

1833 missionary effort sprouted with great rapidity. Where the country was opened up to European penetration, the missionaries entered in with very little delay. And to the British contingent were now added recruits from America and from the continent of Europe, especially from Germany.

These accessions could not but cause a measure of anxiety to the authorities, and words of warning emerged from time to time from those who regarded themselves as qualified to issue them. On 21 April 1847 a despatch was set forth by the court of directors:

You are aware that we have uniformly maintained the principle of abstaining from all interference with the religion of the natives of India. It is obviously essential to the due observance of the principle that it should be acted upon by our servants, civil and military. The Government is known throughout India by its officers, with whom it is identified in the eyes of the native inhabitants, and our servants should, therefore, be aware that, while invested with public authority, their acts cannot be regarded as those of private individuals. We are, however, led by circumstances of recent occurrence to conclude that a different view of this subject is taken in India, and we, therefore, deem it necessary to call your immediate and particular attention to the absolute necessity of maintaining this most important principle in its fullest extent.⁷⁴

The directors couched their warning in general terms. They did not adduce one single case in which missionaries had been indiscreet, or in which servants of the Company had departed from that caution in relation to matters of religion which the authorities were anxious to maintain. But many officials were moving from an earlier attitude of mild disapproval of missionary work to one of enthusiastic personal support. Strict as they might be in the observance of official neutrality, it was not possible that their personal religious convictions should remain unknown to the Indians by whom they were surrounded.

On the whole the evangelicals had little to complain of in the settlement arrived at in 1833. The government had given as much recognition to the Christian faith as it was right for it to do. The existence of Indian Christians was clearly recognised, and some of the illegal obstacles to which they were subject had been removed. There would now be no hindrance to the settlement of persons of good conduct as missionaries in any part of India subject to British control. To have been content with less would have been wrong; to have asked for more would have compromised the government and would have imperilled the spiritual independence of the work of the missionaries.

6 EXPANDING FRONTIERS

By 1840 England was beyond all question the paramount power in India; but it was not self-evident that this power should be extended to the furthest limits of the sub-continent. Yet conquest does beget the desire for conquest,

and without doubt there were some who at that time saw the extension of British power as an inescapable consequence of what had already been done.

In 1843 Sind was occupied. Little could be said on behalf of the Amirs, 'these tyrannical, drunken, debauched, cheating, intriguing, contemptible Ameers';⁷⁵ but the charge of aggression can hardly be refuted. The great defender of the Amirs was the evangelical general Sir James Outram (1803–63), at that time a major, as to whose integrity no one ever entertained the smallest doubt. It was noted at the time that he refused his share of the prize money, £3,000, to which he was entitled.⁷⁶

The tumults arising from aggression against the Amirs of Sind, and from the foolish and disastrous invasion of Afghanistan in 1842, had hardly died away when the British in India found themselves arrayed in war against the one remaining power in India which could seriously be regarded as their rival. The first Sikh war broke out on 11 December 1845.

The last Gurū of the Sikhs (Govind Singh, d. 1708), had transformed them into a military fraternity; but at the end of the eighteenth century their numbers were not large and their powers were not great; moreover, they were weakened by division into no fewer than twelve *misls* or confederacies, a division which made concerted action almost impossible. The power which they attained in the first third of the nineteenth century they owed entirely to the resolute determination of one single leader of genius.

Ranjit Singh (1780–1839) was not attractive either in appearance or in character. But, like the great Akbar, he had a shrewd and penetrating intelligence and was both able and willing to learn from all those with whom he was brought in touch. 'Judged from a commonplace, ethical standpoint, and measured by a conventional rule, he had no moral character at all.'⁷⁷ Yet, with it all, no one has ever denied his greatness. He was endowed with an imperious will, accustomed to set himself at great objects and not to rest until they had been achieved, and possessing a power to subject others, willingly or abjectly, to that will. No other Indian leader of the time can be compared with him.

Wiser than many other Indian rulers, Ranjit Singh early realised the strength of the British and made up his mind to remain on good terms with them. In 1809 he entered on a treaty of friendship with them, the Sutlej river being recognised as the boundary between the two dominions. To this agreement Ranjit Singh remained continuously faithful until his death in 1839; the British responded by treating him with frankness and friendship. There was no reason why this alliance should not have continued long beyond his death.

Ranjit Singh left no strong successor to carry on the work that he had begun. His death was followed by years of intrigue and violence. Then, in 1845, the Sikh leaders made the fatal mistake of abolishing the great

mahārājā's policy of friendship with the British and defied them by crossing the Sutlej.

The war which followed was very different from the earlier conflicts of the British with the large but disorderly hosts of princes in other parts of India. The Sikhs had a large army, much increased in number since the death of Ranjit Singh, well armed, well disciplined and ably led. Fortunately for the British, a prudent governor-general, Sir Henry Hardinge, had foreseen what was likely to happen and had made arrangements in advance; the hard-fought battle of Sobraon brought victory to the British and the end of the war in sixty days. Between two and three years of uneasy partnership in rule ended in 1848 with the outbreak of the second Sikh war. The battles of Chilianwala (13 January 1849) and Gujarat (21 February 1849) were even more costly in loss of life on both sides. But British pertinacity in the end won the day, and the Sikh kingdom came to an end.⁷⁸ The Punjab was annexed to the British dominions, and the work of unification which had been going on for close on a century had reached its term. The sub-continent of India had for the first time in history been brought under a single rule: a man could walk from Cape Comorin to the Khaibar Pass without crossing a frontier. The land was one.

In view of the high courage of the Sikhs, it must seem strange that the Punjab settled down so easily under the new regime. For this a number of reasons may be given; but one stands out above all others. The regime of Ranjit Singh, for all its distinction, had been one of oppression and extortion. The misery under which men had lived led many among the peasants to prefer the new rulers to the old. Accustomed as they were to losing anything up to half the produce of their lands, and finding that now they had to pay no more than one-sixth, or even one-eighth, they naturally contrasted the present favourably with the past. The British officers who took charge got on more easily with the vigorous and martial races of the Punjab than they had with some of the other inhabitants of the sub-continent. And the complaint was often made that the Punjab drew away the best and ablest of the British administrators, and in particular the men who imposed a new and nobler character on the Indian civil service.

7 RULERS AND RULED: THE EVANGELICAL INFLUENCE

A new type of ruler was emerging. The evangelical influence had been growing: the new men made no secret of their sincere, and in some cases ardent, profession of the Christian faith.

Anglican evangelicalism had come to India as early as 1786, in the person of the Reverend David Brown. Those who came to be known as the 'pious chaplains'⁷⁹ were all of this school, as was the formidable Bishop Daniel

Wilson, who ruled Calcutta from 1834 to 1858. Far beyond the church, the Christian influences spread out in all directions: it is possible to compile a long list of men both in the army and the civil service who wrought righteousness and commended the Christian faith by the manner in which they exercised their authority. Three among them stood out above their fellows, showing in their careers the variety of temperament and habit which could exist within the evangelical fellowship.⁸⁰

Henry Lawrence (1806–57) grew up in the atmosphere of Ulster Protestantism, sober, devout and rather undemonstrative. In his early days in India he was drawn into close association with a group of ardent young officers, who had gathered around the Reverend George Crawford, assistant minister of the old church in Calcutta, and who were living together in bachelor bliss in a large house to which they had given the pleasing name of Fairy Hall. Lawrence found it hard to feel at home with the manner of expressing their religious emotions which was habitual with these friends. His reticence at times caused them some anxiety;⁸¹ but he shared what was at the heart of their experience – awareness of Jesus Christ as master and friend. One of his biographers writes of his living out his life ‘speaking and acting simply in religion as though Jesus meant the words He Spoke’.⁸²

Henry Lawrence did not find it easy to be a Christian. He was well aware of faults in himself which he found it difficult to overcome – irascibility, moodiness, excessive reserve, introversion. Helped by the companionship of a wife whose Christian expression was more open than his own, and his marriage to whom gave him unlimited happiness during the sixteen years that they lived together (1837–53), he set himself patiently to grow in grace and serviceableness to others. By patient self-discipline he passed before the end into a realm of deep inner assurance where even his best friends knew that they could not follow him. This is touchingly described by Herbert Edwardes in a letter of 20 August 1857:

Grief had made him grey and worn [he was only 51], but it became him like the scars of a battle . . . He had done with the world, except working for it while his strength lasted, and he had come to that calm peaceful estimate of time and eternity, of himself and the judgment, which could only come of wanting and finding Christ.⁸³

Lawrence’s greatest work was done in the Punjab, in the interval between the first and second Sikh wars and in the four years after the annexation of that country (1849–53). His courtesy towards all, his concern for justice, his compassion towards a defeated people and his desire that they should not lose their self-respect more than was unavoidable in the circumstances of conquest did much to conciliate the minds of Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims alike. Throughout his life Lawrence was the centre of a band of friends and disciples who regarded him with awe and affection that might almost be

called worship. He is principally remembered, however, for the last months of his life, in which, during the early days of the great uprising, he inspired and directed the defence of the residency at Lucknow. When he died, on 4 July 1857, according to the instructions that he had issued when he knew that he was dying, the only words inscribed on his grave were 'Here lies Henry Lawrence who tried to do his duty. May God have mercy upon him.'

At one significant point Lawrence's work lived after him. His compassion had been aroused by the cantonment children – the offspring of the often irregular unions of soldiers with Indian women or, in some cases, with European women resident in India. These urchins wandered about, often with no regular home-life or discipline, without education and without hope in the world.⁸⁴ Lawrence planned a school for them, which should provide for them

an asylum from the debilitating effects of a tropical climate, and the demoralising influence of barrack life, wherein they may obtain the benefits of a bracing climate, a healthy moral atmosphere, and a plain, useful, and above all religious education, adapted to fit them for employment suited to their position in life, and, with the divine blessing, to make them consistent Christians, and intelligent and useful members of society.

The first school, at Sanāwar, was largely financed by Lawrence himself – his contribution amounted to Rs. 86,400. By 1856 the school had 199 pupils. During the life of the founder other schools were brought into being at Mount Abu and at Ootacamund in the Nilgiri hills; a fourth was established as a memorial to him after his death, at Murree. For nearly a century these schools continued to serve the purpose which had been in the mind of their founder.⁸⁵

James Thomason (1804–53) was an administrator of such superlative excellence that, in the opinion of many well qualified to judge, no other could be placed in the same class as he, with the single exception of Sir Thomas Munro. Thomason was the son of Thomas Thomason, noted elsewhere as one of the pious chaplains and as a friend of Charles Simeon of Cambridge. The son had been placed for a number of years during his boyhood under the care of Simeon, and while there had absorbed many of the principles of the evangelical school without the narrowness and harshness of outlook observable in some of the strong supporters of that wing of the church.

On his return to India in 1822 Thomason entered the service of the Company, and held in succession a number of important posts, in each of which he acquitted himself with unusual distinction. He acquired an unusually thorough knowledge of Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit. In 1843 he became lieutenant-governor of what were then known as the North-Western Provinces, with his residence at Agra. Here he was left undisturbed

for ten years, spending his time in the exercise of his immense administrative gifts and in the training of a succession of devoted disciples, many of whom were to carry out, in the settlement and organisation of the Punjab, the principles learnt from him.

In three directions Thomason left an abiding influence on the administrative process in India.

He had early realised that the very heart of the life of India is the cultivating class, and that good and equitable government is impossible unless the rights of that class in relation to the land are clearly defined, known and upheld. What was needed was a Record of Rights, a combined Domesday Book and Magna Carta, as it has been picturesquely described.⁸⁶ Thomason was able to build on the great work of Robert Merttins Bird, another stalwart described as 'an agreeable companion, a zealous and most able public officer, a warm friend, and a sincere and liberal Christian',⁸⁷ who carried forward the work of settlement with such unrelenting energy that in 1841, after eight years of work, he was able to report to the government that, with some small exceptions, the work of the settlement had been completed.

On education Thomason's views were unusual at that time. He recognised that government would have to take a hand in stimulating the demand for education, which was still sadly lacking in the villages and in the rural community as a whole. But it was his desire that the community itself should take the main responsibility and that there should be as little interference as possible with the traditional ways of India.

The object [he wrote] is to stimulate the people to exertions on their own part to remove ignorance . . . this scheme contemplates drawing forth the energies of the people for their own improvement, rather than actually supplying to them the means of instruction at the cost of Government . . . I want to do something consonant with Native institutions and ideas and also to induce the people to work with me, and exert themselves in the cause.⁸⁸

The main activity of government in this field should be the provision of a limited number of central schools which should serve as a model for those under the direct management of the village communities.⁸⁹

Earlier than almost anyone else Thomason realised that water could be brought under control in India and turned to the service of man instead of being wasted. He had many plans for irrigation canals; the grandest of these was the Ganges canal at Hardwar, the aim of which was to bring water to the barren lands which lay between the Ganges and the Jumna. Without his ardent advocacy it is unlikely that this great work, the predecessor of so many others, would ever have been brought to accomplishment. It is sad to have to record that he never saw the fruit of his labours: the canal was opened in 1854, the year after his death.

It must seem strange that in so many years of able and devoted service Thomason never received a single mark of distinction. But he was not a forgotten man. On the very day on which he died, Queen Victoria signed the document giving her approbation to his appointment as governor of Madras.

Easy and affable in conversation, Thomason maintained impenetrable reserve in certain areas of his being. But everyone who had close contact with him became aware that his Christian conviction was the mainspring of all that he was and did. Less effusive than many of his evangelical friends, he did not speak easily on these matters, but perhaps his faith was all the stronger for this reticence. When he was on tour, all work ceased on Sunday. If there was no chaplain in the company, the lieutenant-governor himself would conduct service according to the Book of Common Prayer, and all were expected to attend.⁹⁰ 'Holy' is not a word which would readily be applied to one holding so high a position in public life, but this was precisely the word which the friends of Thomason used when speaking of him. R. N. Cust, who knew him well during the last ten years of his life, wrote of a meeting in 1844, where 'I was struck by his holy demeanour', and, considerably later, of the succession of younger men 'who had learnt their lesson from him, had been the recipients of his friendly notice, and made his holy life their great example'.

Like Lawrence, Herbert Edwardes (1819-68) did not find it easy to be a Christian. Passionate in temperament, adventurous, and brilliant in execution of his ideas, he found it hard to endure the follies of others and the restraints imposed by routine.⁹¹ But, when he had made up his mind to follow the Christian way, he poured into that following a devotion similar to that which he had lavished on his military career.

The almost incredible feat which first brought Edwardes wide acclaim was the pacification of the Kurram valley in 1847/8 without the firing of a single shot. On 17 December 1847 the Waziri tribe agreed to submit to authority, to pay tribute and to dismantle their forts. Within a few months tracts of country from which the fertilising streams were diverted by feuds, had been brought back to cultivation by the protection of a strong government . . . through others a canal had been designed and begun; while a people who had worn arms as we wear clothes, and used them as we use knives and forks, had ceased to carry arms at all.⁹²

It was difficult for the young warrior not to be complacent. In 1850 he received the unusual honour of the degree of DCL from the University of Oxford. In 1853 he was commissioner of Peshawar, a key position and one of no small danger – Edwardes' predecessor Colonel Mackeson had been stabbed to death in broad daylight on the verandah of his own house.

It happened that there was at that time a group of earnest Christian

officers, eight of whom used to meet for prayer on Sunday evenings. The question was raised whether Peshawar might not be a suitable centre for missionary work. Two of the party, in fear and trembling, went to the young commissioner to raise the question with him. A previous request, made to the late commissioner, had been brushed aside with the contemptuous remark, 'No missionary shall cross the Indus while I am Commissioner of Peshawar. Do you want us all to be killed?' – an ironic remark in view of what happened not long after. The reaction of Edwardes was very different: 'Certainly, send for a missionary, call a meeting, and I will preside myself.'

The meeting was held, and the commissioner made an impressive speech:

Our mission, then, in India, is to do for other nations what we have done for our own. To the Hindoos we have to preach one God, and to the Mohammedans to preach one Mediator . . .

The British Government has wisely maintained a strict neutrality in religious matters, and Hindoos and Mohammedans, secure of our impartiality, have filled our armies and built up our empire. It is not the duty of the Government, as a Government, to proselytize India . . .

The duty of evangelizing India lies at the door of private Christians; the appeal is to private consciences, private effort, private zeal, and private example . . .

In this crowded city we may hear the Brahmin in his temple sound his shunkh and gong – the Muezzin on his lofty minaret fill the air with the azan, and the civil Government, which protects them both, will take upon itself the duty of protecting the Christian missionary who goes forth to preach the Gospel.⁹³

Two missionaries came. There was no disturbance, and no one was killed. In the dark days of the great uprising Peshawar was remarkable for the tranquillity which prevailed.

Such courageous declarations on the part of government officials in favour of the Christian faith and missionary enterprise were naturally as water in the desert to evangelicals and their friends in England. A cool assessment of the situation may suggest that such speeches as that of Edwardes, in spite of their transparent sincerity, may in the end have done more harm than good. In the eyes of Indians the least word or act of one in the service of government was clothed with official grandeur; if he spoke in favour of missions, it was all too easy to conclude that he was putting the whole weight of his official authority behind what the missionary was trying to do. The missionary gloried in his spiritual independence of all earthly powers, but it was precisely this independence which the over-ardent servant of the government could prejudice in the eyes of the Indian observer.

The action of Edwardes in favour of missions was not altogether without precedent. When Bishop Heber was in Bombay in 1825, he desired to take in hand there his project for forming district committees in aid of Bishop's College, Calcutta and of the work of the SPG in India. A meeting was held

which was attended by the governor (Mountstuart Elphinstone), three judges, the commander-in-chief (Sir Charles Colville) and almost all the members of the government. Heber comments on the special value attaching to the presence of the governor, by reason of his high reputation for talent and for pre-eminent knowledge of the natives of India, their feelings and interests.⁹⁴ The presence of the bishop no doubt gave respectability to the meeting. The governor neither presided nor spoke, but it seems clear that he did not regard his attendance as in any way infringing the rules of official neutrality. The bishop was much gratified at receiving no less than £1,800 in contributions from the good people of the presidency of Bombay. The opinions of the non-Christian inhabitants of Bombay on this occasion have not been recorded.

9 · Bengal 1794–1833

I THE EMERGENCE OF THE BAPTISTS

The English-speaking peoples advanced late and reluctantly towards the envangelisation of the non-Christian world. In the eighteenth century only one Englishman was sent to India as a missionary; and he, after only one year's service, exchanged the lowly status of missionary for better rewarded employment as a Company's chaplain.

All this was changed by two apparently insignificant but related events which took place in the year 1792.

On 31 May of that year a small group of Baptist ministers assembled at Nottingham for a meeting of their association. The preacher was a young and little-known minister, William Carey. Taking as his text Isaiah 54: 2 and 3 ('Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thine habitations; spare not, lengthen thy cords, and strengthen thy stakes . . . thy seed shall inherit the Gentiles'), Carey spoke with prophetic power, laying before his brethren Christ's commission to preach the gospel to all nations. His sermon could be summarised in two short phrases: 'Expect great things from God. Attempt great things for God.'¹ All were stirred; yet it appeared that, as so often, emotion would not immediately lead to action. In an agony Carey caught hold of the arm of his friend Andrew Fuller, and asked: 'Is there nothing again going to be done, sir?' His voice was heard; before the participants separated, they had passed the sober resolution 'that a plan be prepared against the next Ministers' Meeting at Kettering for forming a Baptist Society for propagating the Gospel among the heathens'.² Though few can have realised it at the time, this was in fact the dawning of a new day. The English churches were ready to enter the field.³

The next step was the formation of a society to carry out the purposes of the association. This took place, as planned, at Kettering on 2 October 1792. The operative resolutions were as follows:

1. Humbly desirous of making an effort for the propagation of the gospel among the Heathen, agreeably to what is recommended in brother Carey's late publication on that subject, we, whose names appear to the subsequent subscription, do solemnly agree to act in society together for that purpose.

2. As in the present divided state of Christendom, it seems that each denomination, by exerting itself separately, is most likely to accomplish the great ends of a mission, it is agreed that this society be called *the Particular Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen*.⁴

The subscription taken up on this occasion amounted to £13 2s 6d.

The Society was in existence. Who should go to represent it in India, its chosen field of work? Andrew Fuller remarked, 'We saw there was a gold mine in India, but it was as deep as the centre of the earth . . . Who will venture to explore it?' Carey, the initiator of the whole project said at once, 'I will venture to go down . . . but remember that you [Fuller, Sutcliffe and Ryland] must hold the ropes.' 'This', said Fuller later, 'we solemnly engaged to him to do.' Carey's offer was considered by the Society and approved. So William Carey became the first missionary appointed by the Baptist Society to serve in India, being at that time thirty-one years old.

2 WILLIAM CAREY, 1761-93

The early years of Carey have been so often and so well recounted that no more than a summary is here required.

William Carey was born in the village of Paulerspury, of poor but not ill-educated parents. The return of his uncle Peter from abroad awakened the boy's interest in foreign parts; more important, the uncle, a gardener, implanted in his nephew a love of flowers and plants and all natural things which remained with him all his life. His father's decision to apprentice him to a shoemaker made of him a cobbler. Many years later, when an ill-mannered guest at a dinner party in Calcutta turned to him and said, 'Dr Carey, I understand that you were once a shoemaker', Carey with suitable modesty replied, 'No; not even a shoemaker, sir; just a cobbler' – a mender of other men's old shoes.⁵ An apparently inborn passion for knowledge made of him a scholar. When he was twelve years old, he began to teach himself Latin. A few years later he launched out on the study of Greek with the help of a physician turned weaver, Thomas Jones. In 1779 he was brought into contact with Thomas Scott (1747-1821), at that time an unknown curate but later to become one of the foremost among the Anglican evangelicals and a noted commentator on the Scriptures. Carey was deeply impressed by the preaching of Scott and later recorded that 'if there be anything of the work of God in my soul, I owe much of it to Mr Scott's preaching, when I first set out in the way of the Lord'.⁶

As time went on, Carey added to the three classical languages which he had studied some knowledge of French, Dutch and Italian. A friend, passing by the little house in which he lived in Leicester, saw him surrounded by the emblems of the three main concerns of his life – his leather apron, the open

book ready to his hand and the beautiful flowers which it was always his delight to grow.⁷

There was, however, by this time a deeper concern than these three – passionate devotion to the Christ whom he had come to know as Saviour. As a boy he had been a conforming Anglican but without deep inner conviction. Through the friendship of a fellow-apprentice, John Warr,⁸ he gradually became aware that something was missing, but ‘had no idea that nothing but a complete change of heart could do me any good’. In 1779 the crisis came; he entered into a wholly new experience of the grace of Christ, and found deliverance and peace in him.

In 1783 Carey became convinced that baptism by immersion on the profession of faith is the only scriptural form of baptism. Accordingly, on 5 October of that year he was immersed by Dr John Ryland in the river Nene below Northampton Castle. From that time on he was recognised as a member of the Baptist fellowship. In 1787 he was ordained to the Baptist ministry by three friends, Ryland, Sutcliffe and Fuller. He took up work in the village of Moulton on a salary of £11 a year.

As early as 1783 Carey had become interested in the conversion of ‘the heathen’. Like many others he had been stimulated by reading the account by Captain James Cook (1728–79) of his voyages in distant parts, and he had become painfully aware of the existence of many nations which had never heard a word of the Gospel. During the next eight years one of his main preoccupations was the collection of information of every kind on these nations, on missionary enterprise in the past, including that of the Roman Catholics, and on the practicability of missionary effort in the present. In 1791 he was ready to go to press. The full title of this pamphlet of eighty-seven pages is *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens in which the Religious State of the Different Nations of the World, the Success of Former Undertakings, and the Practicability of Further Undertakings, are Considered*.⁹ The little work is entirely free from fanaticism or strained emotional appeal. It sets out in moderate language the character to be expected of missionaries if they are to carry on their work with any prospect of success, and lays on the conscience of all Christians the burden of supporting and, as far as circumstances permit, of sharing in the work of the Christian mission: ‘Many can do nothing but pray, and prayer is perhaps the only thing in which Christians of all denominations can cordially and unreservedly unite, and in this the strictest unanimity should prevail.’

So William Carey was to go to India as a missionary. He set out, on a Danish ship, on 13 June 1793, and arrived in Calcutta on 11 November of that year.

3 UNPROMISING BEGINNINGS

The prospects of the mission were not improved by the association with it of John Thomas, a doctor and a Baptist, who had previously had some experience of India.

The merits and defects of Dr Thomas have been well summarised by John Clark Marshman, who must have seen him in early days in India and often heard his character discussed in the family circle:

He was a man with whom no permanent association of labour could be formed . . . He . . . possessed great fluency of address, and exhibited much spirituality of mind; on the other hand, he was . . . so extravagant and mystical as to bring his sincerity into question. He was warm in his attachments, but irascible and overbearing, and so intemperate in language as to render all intercourse with him hazardous.¹⁰

In 1786, on his second visit to India, Thomas had been introduced to Charles Grant, the deeply Christian civil servant. Grant had the idea of employing Thomas as missionary at Malda, where he possessed an indigo factory, and recommended him to his equally Christian successor, George Udny. Thomas acquired a good knowledge of colloquial Bengali and also considerable skill in presenting the Gospel to Bengalis; but the defects in his character were such that in 1790 Grant felt it necessary to withdraw his support from him, and Thomas returned to England.¹¹ Such was the man who accompanied to India the first group of Baptist missionaries.

There was no reception committee to meet Carey when he arrived. He had no clear idea as to what was involved in missionary work, no certainty as to where he should go or what he should do. After he had made various abortive attempts to get settled, and when his stock of money had almost run out, George Udny took upon himself the role of good Samaritan and appointed Carey as manager of a new indigo factory he had just opened at the small village of Madnabati. The mission now had a home and an income. But life at Madnabati was far from easy. The place was remote and unhealthy. One of Carey's sons died; the mental health of his wife declined so rapidly that for the last twelve years of her life she was in a state of helpless insanity. With no one to care for them the surviving sons of Carey ran wild. So five years were passed in remote and obscure exile.

Two good things came out of this time of great trial.

Both Carey and his sons acquired a remarkably extensive knowledge of the Bengali language. An old friend of John Thomas, Rām Bāsu, had sought him out in Calcutta and agreed to serve as Carey's *munshi*. This man was an excellent Bengali scholar, and had in addition a considerable knowledge of Sanskrit. He stayed with Carey for a number of years, instructed him in both

languages, and laid the solid foundation of knowledge on which Carey's great achievements of later years were built up.¹²

Carey, as soon as he had mastered the elements of the language, set to work on the translation of the New Testament. By the time of his removal from Madnabati the work was complete, and some progress had been made also in the translation of the Old Testament. But here Carey ran into an unexpected difficulty which was to haunt him and his colleagues until the end of his life. His achievements as a grammarian and lexicographer place him in the foremost rank of Indologists, but he was lacking in that gift essential for a translator – a keen sensitiveness to the finer shades and nuances of idiom and meaning. It was found that this first version of the New Testament was hardly intelligible; for the second edition almost the whole work had to be done again.

Towards the end of the year 1799 the situation of the mission was radically changed. Word reached Carey that four new missionaries, Marshman and Ward, Brunsdon and Grant,¹³ were on the way. In view of the probable hostility of the British government in India, the travellers were advised not to land at Calcutta but to proceed straight to the tiny Danish settlement of Srīrāmpur (Serampore) sixteen miles up the river. On 14 October 1799 they presented themselves to the governor, Colonel Bie, and were received by him with every possible kindness. He decided that the missionaries were entitled to stay under the protection of the Danish crown – and stay they should.

William Ward completed his thirtieth year a few days after reaching Serampore. He had received a better education than his colleagues, and had been well trained as a printer. Being 'endowed by nature with a lively imagination and a pregnant wit',¹⁴ he had soon abandoned the more mechanical parts of the printing industry and had served in England as editor of a number of periodicals, each of which he had brought to a high level of repute. Having once met Carey in England, he offered his services in the hope that his skill in printing might help in the production of the Scriptures in the Indian languages. He was a most competent technician, a good manager and a patient student of men and things; and he was reckoned to be the best preacher at Serampore.

Joshua Marshman was one year older than Ward. He was a man of splendid diligence and genuine learning, but his mind was like a jackdaw's nest, full of wise saws and modern instances derived from many sources, but without any clear order or coherence. His devoted son, John, recorded sadly that 'his firmness was apt sometimes to degenerate into obstinacy. From the peculiar constitution of his mind, he seldom went straightforward to an object, but took a wary and circuitous course to remove the difficulties in his way. Hence he was often charged with pursuing a tortuous and designing policy.'¹⁵ The greatest good fortune that ever befell Marshman was his

marriage in 1794 to Hannah Shepherd, a lady of whom it was written that she 'was a woman of feeling, piety, and good sense, of strong mind, and great disinterestedness . . . and withal of so amiable a disposition that nothing was ever known to have ruffled her temper'.¹⁶

Not many weeks had passed before the new arrivals were convinced that chance or divine providence had provided them with a centre for the work of the mission than which none better could be found. But a strong-willed colleague had first to be convinced. Fortunately, the arguments in favour of Serampore prevailed, and Carey was obliged to give way. The British government was inclined to increase rather than to remit its hostility to the presence of unauthorised foreigners; in Serampore they would be under the protection of a friendly and fearless governor.

So began a partnership of many years to which there are few parallels in Christian history. Not many weeks had passed before Carey knew how fortunate he was in those who had come to join him:

Brother Ward is the very man we wanted; he enters into the work with his whole soul. I have much pleasure in him, and expect much from him. Brother Marshman is a prodigy of diligence and prudence, as is also his wife in the latter: learning the language is mere play to him; he has already acquired as much as I did in double the time. I believe all their hearts are entirely set on their work.¹⁷

4 PRINCIPLES OF MISSIONARY ACTION¹⁸

When Carey came to Serampore, he had already had nearly six years of gruelling apprenticeship such as rarely falls to the lot of a missionary. He entered his second period of work with clear ideas as to what was to be done. The Serampore principles can best be set out as a five-pronged assault on the very heart of the non-Christian world, to which in the light of experience a sixth was added:

i. Non-Christian peoples must be approached in their own language. For that reason the missionary must possess as good a knowledge as possible of the local forms of speech.

Carey was not a scholar for the sake of scholarship; all his work was practical and pragmatic in aim. For learning a language the availability of a good grammar is half the battle; no good grammar of Bengali existed, so one must be produced. Carey loved the language, and was convinced that 'the Bengali is intrinsically superior to all other spoken Indian languages' (Carey did not know Tamil).

His imaginative sympathy is shown in his provision of simple *Bengali Colloquies*, written with the help of Bengali scholars, and later enlarged to serve as a ready book for his pupils at Fort William College.¹⁹ These brightly

written little studies are described by the great H. H. Wilson as giving 'a lively picture of the manners and notions of the people of Bengal' – too lively in the opinion of those who did not approve of the inclusion in Carey's work of the kind of language used by quarrelling women. Carey and his colleagues opened the eyes of the Indian world to the beauty and to the literary possibilities of pure Bengali as it existed on the lips of the people. He is rightly regarded as one of the creators of modern Bengali prose.

ii. Coming as he does from a wholly different culture, the missionary must be sedulous to acquaint himself with the mind and customs of the people among whom he dwells. The fulfilment of this duty falls into two parts. The missionary should be able and eager to read the religious literature of his neighbours. He should be a trained and accurate observer of the minutiae of custom and in particular of worship.

In 1805, or a little earlier, Carey set himself to translate into English the *Rāmāyana*, the second of the great epics of India. The choice was excellent. The story is known all over India, and the many vernacular versions are all derived from the Sanskrit original. But in 1810, when three quarto volumes had been published, Carey felt that the labour was unrewarding in comparison to some of the other tasks that devolved upon him, and no further volumes were published.²⁰

The expert in local manners and customs was William Ward, who had begun to collect information soon after his arrival in India. In 1806 he published the first volume of a compendium on the *Manners and Customs of the Hindus* which by 1811 had grown to four volumes.²¹ This work was re-edited and revised time and again, and for a long period remained the main quarry of those who wrote on India. The diligence of the writer cannot but be admired. He drew largely on his own observations, but was not afraid to incorporate sections from the writings of others, such as H. T. Colebrooke, better qualified than he in relation to some parts of his great enterprise.²²

iii. The primary task of the missionary must be the widespread diffusion of the Gospel among the peoples of India. In a land where the vast majority of the inhabitants are illiterate, this can be achieved only by oral proclamation. The preacher must seek out the people in the streets and in the bazaars, under the great village trees, on the river banks, and wherever they are wont to resort. All the missionaries, as soon as they had acquired sufficient knowledge of the language, spent many hours in this occupation. It was generally agreed that Ward was the most effective among them.²³

With experience the missionaries found themselves drawn increasingly away from controversy, in the direction of a positive proclamation of Christ and his work and especially of his death and resurrection:

Carey and I went to a village this morning. Our congregation was noisy; but, whilst he was relating the sufferings and death of Christ, there was all attention. He is more and more persuaded that this is the one net for the catching of converts. Redeeming love is more and more his theme.²⁴

This theme recurs in the fifth section of the 'Bond of the Missionary Brotherhood of Serampore':

In preaching to the heathen, we must keep to the example of St Paul, and make the greatest subject of our preaching Christ Crucified . . . So far as our experience goes in the work, we must freely acknowledge, that every Hindoo among us who has been gained to Christ, has been won by the astonishing and all-constraining love exhibited in our Redeemer's propitiatory death.²⁵

Carey and his colleagues did not fail, when challenged, to point out to their hearers what they judged to be the weaknesses and imperfections of Hinduism and Islam; but on all was enjoined the most scrupulous avoidance of everything that could cause legitimate offence to the non-Christians:

Nor is it advisable, at once to attack their prejudices by exhibiting with acrimony the sins of their gods; neither should we upon any account do violence to their images, nor interrupt their worship. The real conquests of the Gospel are those of love.²⁶

To this moderation there was one grievous exception, not in speaking but in writing. In 1809 the attention of the government was drawn to a pamphlet which had issued from the Serampore press and which by its style and tenour, including abusive remarks about the Prophet Muhammad, could not fail to irritate the minds and to inflame the zeal of the adherents of the faith of Islam.

The facts, as established by the missionaries, are as follows:

A Muslim *munshi*, a recent convert, had been asked to prepare a Persian version of a Bengali booklet comprising a short account of the life of the Prophet. This had been taken almost wholly from the dissertation prefatory to Sale's translation of the Qu'rān (1734), a most respectable authority.²⁷ The *munshi*, with the zeal of a convert, had introduced into the text new material not in the original, including a reference to the prophet as a tyrant and other remarks which could not but be offensive to Muslim readers. Only 300 copies had been sent out, and there was no sign of any public uproar; but valuable ammunition had been placed in the hands of the anti-missionary party. The Serampore trio took serious account of the dangers into which imprudence had led them and never offended in this way again.

Carey was a man of vivid, extended and sometimes fantastic imagination. His purview ranged far beyond the confines of Calcutta and Serampore. As early as 1805 he had written to George Udny, at that time in Calcutta as deputy of the governor-general:

Our ultimate plan is to settle missionary stations throughout Bengal and Orissa, and in several parts of Hindoostan Proper . . . The places at which we desire to settle missionaries are at or near to Cawnpore, Benares, Dinagepore, Goalpara, Chittagong, Jessore, Cutwa, Dacca, and Juggernath.²⁸

The plan was not as visionary as it seemed. By the time of Carey's death in 1833 the Baptists were established in nineteen stations – in Bengal, Assam, the North-West Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh), and as far away as Delhi. To staff these many and varied places the Serampore trio made use of a great variety of workers – Europeans, converted soldiers, Armenians, Anglo-Indians and Indian converts. Only six of those employed by them had been sent out from Europe. Not all these workers were equally satisfactory; a number of enterprises failed to take root and had to be given up. But the work of 'Serampore' was far from being confined to Serampore and its neighbourhood.²⁹

A few examples may be given as illustrations of the character of the workers and of the work undertaken.

One of the earliest stations to be founded was Katwa, some distance beyond the Dutch settlement of Chinsurah but still in the Hūglī valley. The missionary appointed to this place was John Chamberlain, a man of whose deep devotion and linguistic gifts there could be no doubt, but whose contentious temper made him at all times a difficult colleague.³⁰

In 1810 Chamberlain was transferred to Agra. His place was taken by William Carey the younger, who in this year was first formally introduced into the service of the mission.³¹ William was diffident and, suffering from asthma, lacked the vigour of his father. But he served the mission faithfully for a period of forty years.

Chamberlain had made a good start in distant Agra, both with the study of the local languages, and with work for the improvement of the existing Hindi translation of the Scriptures. But, not much more than a year from the time of his settlement in Agra, as a result of a disturbance in the fort in which Chamberlain had acted with less than ordinary prudence, an imperative order was received by the British authorities in Agra that the missionary was to be brought back to 'the Presidency' (Calcutta). Against this decision there was no appeal.³²

The most astonishing extension of the Serampore mission was that to Burma. In the year 1807 this mission was entrusted to Felix Carey, then twenty-two years old, a man of extraordinary intellectual and especially philological ability, and with no small medical capacity. But Felix's stability was not equal to his ability. After various adventures he returned to India, a bereaved and broken man, heavily in debt. For a time he withdrew entirely from contact with the mission. But in 1818 he returned, in his own touching phrase 'a prisoner of hope' (Zechariah 9: 12). As 'the most complete Bengali

scholar among the Europeans of his day', he was of great service to his father in the revision of the Serampore translations. But he never recovered the glowing faith and bright promise of his beginnings. His death at the age of thirty-six was a blow from which his father perhaps never completely recovered.

iv. Like their great predecessors, Ziegenbalg and Fabricius, the men of Serampore were convinced that the Word of God is in itself the great instrument for the conversion of non-Christians, and that therefore it must be made available to Indians, Christian and non-Christian alike, at the earliest possible date. When Carey came to Serampore in 1800 he brought with him the sheets of his first, gravely imperfect, Bengali New Testament.

Once a knowledge of Bengali had been gained, Carey saw that his next business must be with Sanskrit. This was the key to many of the main languages of India; given a reliable translation of the Scriptures in that language, it should be possible for the learned Indians who were now gathering at Serampore and Fort William to produce respectable versions of the Bible in all the languages which belong to the Indo-European family.

For ten years, all the time that Carey could spare from other tasks was given to perfecting his knowledge of Sanskrit and to completing the Sanskrit translation of the New Testament. By 1808 this work was accomplished. The work could now be extended to all the languages of which Sanskrit is the parent.

One year after the appearance of the Sanskrit version, the New Testament was printed in Oriya. Hindi and Marāthī followed in 1813, Punjabi in 1815, Assamese in 1819, Gujarati in 1820. The work was not done at haphazard. Each sheet of each translation was carefully checked and revised; for the final revision the work came to Carey himself. His knowledge of Indian languages steadily increased, and he was telling no more than the truth when he said that, on first hearing a paragraph read in Gujarati, he understood it so well that he hardly needed to ask a question.³³

Yet it must be questioned whether the method followed was the best that could have been devised. Carey's book-knowledge of languages was astonishingly complete; but he never understood the difference between that kind of erudition and the knowledge which can only be acquired in long years by a sensitive ear through association with those who speak a language as their own. Moreover, there was another cause of inelegant expression and harsh construction in these translations, which has been correctly identified by H. H. Wilson: like many other translators Carey had an almost superstitious reverence for the exact text of the Old and New Testaments – the style and idiom of the Hebrew and the Greek were part of the revelation, and Carey was anxious that nothing should be lost.

In the minds of the Serampore trio speed was as important as accuracy – it was better to have an imperfect translation of the Bible than to have none at all. In this they were mistaken. Once something has been written down, it becomes fixed and almost immutable. Once a translation has become familiar, it is endeared by use. So through version after version inaccuracies and inelegancies persist until they have become an unalterable part of Christian speech. The men of Serampore would have achieved more if they had attempted less.

If this was true even of the versions in languages related, though somewhat remotely, to Latin and Greek, the difficulty could not but be enormously increased when the labour was transferred to languages of an entirely different structure and idiom. One of the strangest of the enterprises of Serampore was the attempt to produce in India a Chinese version of the Bible, the work of translators who had never set foot in or anywhere near China.

By chance, China had come to Serampore, in the person of Johannes Lassar, the son of rich Armenians resident in Macao. As a boy he had spoken colloquial Chinese, and had then been sent to Canton for thorough instruction in Mandarin. Lassar at the age of twenty-four had come to Calcutta. Claudius Buchanan, finding him proficient in Armenian, Chinese and Portuguese, provided him with a generous salary, with a view to his translating the bible from Armenian into Chinese – hardly, it might be thought, a satisfactory way of producing a Chinese Bible. Lassar wisely transferred himself from Calcutta to Serampore.

There a Chinese class was formed. John Clark Marshman and Jabez Carey were set to this grinding labour, joined by six-year-old Benjamin Marshman, as a volunteer who showed great promise and made a game of teaching his little sister the Chinese characters. Then, by an act of heroism akin to folly, Joshua Marshman himself decided that he would join the class. For the next fifteen years he devoted to the immense labour of learning Chinese every moment that could be spared from other tasks, and some hours that might better have been devoted to sleep.

After many years of work Marshman had the satisfaction of seeing through the press the first complete translation of the Bible into Chinese. But already Robert Morrison had arrived in the environs of China and settled at Macao. In the course of twenty years he produced a Chinese grammar, his Chinese dictionary in six volumes, and a complete Chinese Bible which was published in 1823. So Marshman's Bible was superseded within a year of its appearance, and remains only as an exquisite piece of printing on the shelves of the library at Serampore.³⁴ Looking back over the years, J. C. Marshman wrote: 'On an impartial review of the circumstances and wants of the Serampore Mission, the appropriation of Mr Marshman's strength to a

distant object of doubtful expediency cannot be regarded without some feeling of regret.³⁵

In the field of Indo-European languages Carey was on comparatively safe ground. The Dravidian languages of the South, however, are of an entirely different structure and idiom. Carey learned enough Telugu to write a grammar of the language, and enough Kanarese to see a Kanarese version through the press. With Khasi, a language for which a pundit was found in 1813 – ‘he believed he was the only one in that nation who could read and write’ – he entered the world of the Austro-Asian languages, that widely extended family of which Khasi may be the only specimen in India. The presence in Calcutta of an Afghan scholar made possible the beginning of work in Pashto, which has Iranian rather than Indian affinities.³⁶ On the Pashto version there is an interesting note from a considerably later date. Sir Herbert Edwardes, in his book *A Year on the Punjab Frontier in 1848-49* (1851), records that ‘Ali Khan . . . the uncle of the present chief . . . showed me a Pushtoo version of the Bible, printed at Serampore in 1818, which he said had been given him, thirty years before, at Hurdwaar, by an English gentleman, who told him to “Take care of it . . . hoard it up against the day when the British should be rulers of his country”. A mullāh who had read some passages from the Old Testament, affirmed that “it was a true story, and was all about their own Mohammedan prophets, Father Moses and Father Noah”.³⁷

Some authorities have stated that the Serampore fraternity dealt with forty-four languages. This may be true, if the list includes such languages as Tamil, where the translations had been made by other pioneers. A more restrained list suggests that Carey and his colleagues dealt with thirty-four languages, of which a number were no more than dialects of Hindi. But, when every allowance has been made for imperfections of knowledge and style, it is an astounding achievement. Not one of the Serampore versions is in use today; but the pioneers showed the way, in which they have been followed by numberless translators of a later date.

v. The early days of Baptist work had been accompanied by few signs of success. Within a year of the missionaries’ settling at Serampore, converts began to come in.

The first was Krishna Pal, a carpenter aged about thirty-six. A long-term seeker after truth, he had come to the conclusion that Jesus Christ was the only way to salvation. After serious testing it was decided that he might be baptised.

Carey and his friends were at once faced by a number of problems. The solutions arrived at in these early days determined the policy which was long followed by the mission.

Baptism must not be too long delayed. If candidates evinced some knowledge of the Christian faith, an understanding of what they were doing, and a sincere desire to follow Christ, that could be regarded as sufficient. But baptism must be followed by a long period of instruction and Christian nurture.

It was not necessary to change the names of converts, or to replace Indian names by biblical, still less by Western, ones. As George Smith rather quaintly expresses it, 'Beside the "Hermes" of Rome to whom Paul sent his salutations, he kept the "Krishna" of Serampore and Calcutta.'³⁸

The question of caste had to be faced. Carey held that the partial toleration of caste by the Lutheran missionaries in the south had been a mistake. The Portuguese method was the better. By eating with the missionaries, the candidates must show outwardly their repudiation of caste and the sincerity of their desire to be adopted into the Christian family.

So Krishna Pal was accepted for baptism. He and Carey's eldest son Felix went down into the waters of the Ganges together. Carey's description of the scene is characteristic:

Dec 29. Yesterday was a day of great joy. I had the happiness to desecrate the Ganges by baptizing the first Hindoo, viz Krishna, and my son Felix . . . after the address, I administered the ordinance, first to my son, then to Krishna. At half-past four I administered the Lord's Supper; and a time of real refreshing it was.³⁹

Ward in his journal wrote rather more enthusiastically: 'Thus the door of faith is open to the gentiles, who shall shut it? The chain of the caste is broken, who shall mend it?' Krishna Pal, allowing for certain aberrations which caused deep distress to his missionary friends, remained faithful in the service of the mission till his death in 1822. He wrote a number of hymns in Bengali, one of which was translated into English and became widely known. Other members of his family followed him into the church. The first Christian marriage at Serampore was between Krishna's daughter and a Brāhman convert, Krishna Prasād – a further indication that caste was no longer observed in the Christian community at Serampore.⁴⁰ When the convert Gokul died (7 October 1803), the body was carried to the grave by Bhaireb the Brāhman, Peroo the first Muslim convert, Marshman and Felix Carey, with the help of William Carey the younger and Krishna Pal. 'The crowd was much struck by the reverent love Christians show even in death to one another.'

It has often been stated that Serampore attracted only the lowest of the low. This was simply not the case. Krishna Prasād was a Kulin Brāhman; other Brāhmans also received baptism. The Kyasts (writers) were a reputable caste. The carpenter was very far from belonging to the lowest of castes. The majority of the converts, indeed, came from those who held a lowly place

in society, but there was a leavening from other groups which was not to be despised.

Christians, by abandoning caste, came to be rejected by Hindu society and were treated as outcastes. The inevitable result was that they tended to turn to the missionaries for help and support. With the immense extension of the printing works Serampore was able to offer to many among them honourable employment. Some were engaged as teachers and preachers. No financial aid was ever offered to would-be Christians before baptism. But the segregation of Christians from Hindu society, inevitable as a result of the missionaries' attitude towards caste, did tend to an unhealthy introversion, and to a dependence on the foreigner which could not but be inimical to Christian progress.

Carey and his brethren were well aware of this danger. It was their purpose, clearly expressed in the bond of 1805, that the church in India must be an Indian church, and that as soon as possible Indian Christians must be given responsibility for their own affairs:

Still further to strengthen the cause of Christ in this country . . . we think it our duty, as soon as possible, to advise the native brethren who may be formed in separate churches, to choose their pastors and deacons from amongst their own countrymen, that the word may be steadily preached and the ordinances of Christ administered, in each church by the native minister . . . ⁴¹

Carey was well aware that time must elapse before an Indian church could become entirely independent; he adds the prudent reservation:

These churches will be in no immediate danger of falling into errors or disorders, because the whole of their affairs will be constantly superintended by a European missionary.⁴²

vi. From the day of the baptism of the first convert onwards, the attention of Carey and his friends was increasingly directed to education.

The men of Serampore were not likely to underestimate the value of knowledge. They were for the most part self-educated men, who owed to their own love of knowledge and pursuit of it their position in society and in the church. Carey especially, with his strong scientific bent, could be relied on to view knowledge not simply as an instrument to be used in the service of the Gospel, but as a good gift for the illumination of the mind and for the purification of the affections.

So, in the bond so often referred to, stress is laid upon the provision of native free schools. These need not be directed towards immediate conversion:

The progress of divine light is gradual, both as it respects individuals and nations . . . Some parts of missionary labours very properly tend to present conversion of the

heathen, and others to the ushering in the glorious period when 'a nation shall be born in a day'. Of the latter kind are native free schools.⁴³

The primary schools set up by the mission very soon proved their worth. The level of education in them was so superior to that ordinarily provided by the village schools that the people came round clamouring for the opening of schools. Before many years had passed, the number of such schools reached 100, and in them 8,000 children were acquiring the rudiments of knowledge.

Carey, however, was already casting his eyes far beyond the elementary level. Within six months of his arrival in Serampore he had become convinced of the value of English as an instrument for the advancement of knowledge in Bengal. But he held, rightly, that the time for this had not yet come. Gradually there formed within his mind the concept of a great college for India, in which promising young people, whether Christian or non-Christian, should be encouraged to ascend to the higher summits of learning.

It is not possible to determine exactly at what date this idea took shape in Carey's mind. It can hardly be doubted, however, that the opening of the Hindu college in 1816 was the spark from which the flame was kindled. By 15 July of that year the Serampore fraternity was ready with its plan for 'a college for the instruction of Asiatic Christians and other youth in Eastern Literature and European Science'. From the start there was a certain ambiguity as to the purpose for which the college was to be founded. Marshman, who wrote the prospectus, laid stress on its character as being 'pre-eminently a divinity school, where Christian youths of personal piety and aptitude for the work of an evangelist should go through a complete course of instruction in Christian theology'; at the same time the college was to be open to all, without distinction of caste or creed, 'with the understanding that the institution be divested of everything of sectarian character'.⁴⁴

The part that English was to play in the development of intellectual life in Bengal was not foreseen by the founders of the college. English was to be a recognised subject; it was hoped that the students would acquire such a complete knowledge of it that they would be able to dive into the deepest recesses of European science, and enrich their own language with the choicest treasures of European literature. But the basis of instruction was to be Sanskrit. The study of the classical languages was required of all students, Christian and non-Christian alike, in order that the Christian might have a full understanding of Indian thought, and that the Hindu might go back to the enrichment of the contemporary languages of India by the knowledge thus gained.

To the great advantage of the college, Ward, when he returned from England in 1821, brought with him the Scot John Mack. This young man had received the best classical education which Scotland afforded, and to this had added enthusiasm for the physical sciences, especially for chemistry.

J. C. Marshman wrote of him that 'it is difficult to speak of the varied excellencies of Mr Mack's character, without an appearance of exaggeration'. After he had spoken at a meeting of the Bible Society in Calcutta, the Lord Bishop was heard to exclaim, 'Why was that man a dissenter?'⁴⁵ Mack is less well known than he deserves to be, perhaps because the whole of his life in India was given to the service of the Serampore college. In a very real sense, from his arrival in 1821 until his death in 1845, Mack *was* the college, and when he died the glory departed.⁴⁶

The success attained by Serampore was by no means inconsiderable. In 1834 there were thirty-four Hindu students, six Eurasians, and forty-three Indian Christians. (I have found no reference to Muslim students in the college.) These were probably the highest figures ever attained. But this success was simply premature. Inevitably many students were drawn away to the metropolitan and better-provided institutions elsewhere. The Indian church was still tiny; it could not be expected to supply a steady stream of Indian Christian students in sufficient numbers and of sufficient ability to justify the expense of so splendidly planned a college. The defect, however, which really undermined Serampore from the start was the lack of support from the general body of the Baptists in England and in India.⁴⁷

In 1827 Marshman was in Copenhagen, where he encountered many Danish friends formerly resident in Serampore. An interview with the king was arranged, at which Marshman was able to present a petition that the king would grant to the college the privileges of incorporation. Both the king and the crown prince were deeply interested. The charter conferred on the college the privilege of granting the degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Divinity, with the proviso that these degrees should not entitle their holders to any special privileges in the kingdom of Denmark.⁴⁸ The Arts degree has never been awarded; the Divinity degree was awarded for the first time in 1915, when Serampore took rank as the centre for theological education for the whole of Southern Asia.

5 OTHER SERVICES OF THE BAPTISTS

Three other services rendered by the men of Serampore to the cause of progress in India remain to be recorded.

Reference has been made more than once to Carey's passion for all growing things; nothing gave him greater pleasure than his own beautiful garden. On his death-bed he remarked, 'After I am gone, brother Marshman will turn the cows into the garden'; to which Marshman, who was not endowed with a keen sense of humour, replied, 'Far be it from me. Though I have not your botanical tastes,⁴⁹ I shall consider the preservation of the garden in which you have taken so much delight as a sacred duty.'⁵⁰

In 1820 Carey, with the encouragement of Lady Hastings, was successful in bringing into being the Agricultural Society of India, with Lord Hastings, the governor-general, as patron and Carey himself as secretary. To some extent the society fulfilled its hopes that it would so develop peaceful pursuits as to hasten the beating of men's swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks.⁵¹

The men of Serampore were pietists. This did not mean, however, that they were so committed to the work of snatching brands from the burning as to have no time for anything else. They were, in point of fact, deeply engaged in all efforts being made to eliminate abuses and to improve the lot of their neighbours in Bengal. With their extensive connections and their knowledge of the language, they were in a uniquely advantageous position for being well informed. As early as 1802 Carey received an order to make a full enquiry into the practice of infanticide at the island of Sāgar. 'You may be sure', he wrote to Andrew Fuller, 'that I shall make my report as full as possible, and do it with the greatest pleasure.'⁵² In August of that year a government order was passed uncompromisingly forbidding the practice of infanticide; this was so strenuously enforced that when, in 1829, the abolition of *satī* was being considered, many Hindus denied that the sacrifice of children at Sāgar had ever been practised.⁵³

From the early years of the nineteenth century the popular press, though hampered by government regulations and censorship, was beginning to play an important part in the life of Calcutta. It is probable that it was to the nimble wits of John Clark Marshman that the patriarchs of Serampore owed the direction of their energies to this field of human endeavour. The anxieties of Carey as to the possible hostility of government were overruled, and the first issue of the first Bengali newspaper ever to be published, the *Samachar Durpan* (the 'Mirror of News'), appeared on 31 May 1818.⁵⁴ Success was immediate, though the circulation was never very large. The aim of the paper was not immediately evangelistic, and this perhaps added to its appeal and to its usefulness. Two Indian writers have borne witness to its influence:

It exerted an influence over the vast population of Bengal, and was an important factor in the national life . . . the only bond which bound together the people . . . This was the channel through which political ideas and thoughts genetrated [penetrated?] into the country.⁵⁵

After Bengali, English. In April 1818 Joshua Marshman began the publication of a periodical with the title *The Friend of India*, a name that became famous in Indian history. Originally intended as an organ for the publication of religious news, the *Friend* gradually broadened its scope. Its influence was greatly increased when it began to appear in the form of a

quarterly, on the model of the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly Review* (1820). Although claiming to be non-political, it interpreted the word 'politics' in a somewhat generous fashion, and yet managed to flourish under the eyes of a government which was always inclined to be suspicious of the activities of the press.⁵⁶

6 THE LATER YEARS OF SERAMPORE

The later years of the Serampore mission were marked by many sorrows and disappointments.

That which at the time seemed the most grievous of all was the great fire of 11 March 1812. In a single night the mission family saw the labours of many years destroyed. No single life was lost, but the devastation was terrifying. Yet all was not as dark as it at first seemed. Ward, to his astonished joy, found that his steel punches – 4,000 of them, representing fourteen Indian languages – were uninjured. Many matrices were also recovered. Within a week it was possible to start repairing the damage that had been done. On the Sunday following the disaster, Carey preached on the text, 'Be still and know that I am God'.⁵⁷

Carey, deeply impressed by Moravian ideals, had worked out a plan under which the team would form a close-knit community based on common ideals and a deeply rooted mutual loyalty. Each family would have its own modest establishment, for the maintenance of which a small sum as pocket-money would be distributed. But meals would be taken in common. Everything earned by any member of the community would be paid into the common fund and used for the work of the mission. The financial situation at Serampore in later years was very different from the penury of the beginnings. From Carey's salary as professor at Fort William College, from the highly successful school controlled by Hannah Marshman, and from the profits of what was recognised to be the best press in India, large sums accrued to the mission treasury. Marshman, a short time before his death, reckoned that in the course of nearly forty years he had paid about £40,000 into the common fund. The missionaries together must have contributed not less than what was then the gigantic sum of £100,000.

But times change. As younger men came out to India, they desired greater freedom and a manner of life different from that which had so long been accepted at Serampore. As long as Andrew Fuller lived, the influence of the well-tried and prudent friends of the mission kept murmurings under control. But Fuller died on 7 May 1815, and there was no one qualified to take his place. What had been hidden under the surface now became all too plainly visible.

One who had lived through the contentions wrote calmly many years later:

The management of the mission . . . had not given satisfaction to the missionaries sent out from England, and a feeling of personal hostility had grown up to Dr Marshman and Mr Ward, on whom the unthankful task of administration had chiefly fallen. Perhaps it was inseparable from the position of the parties, that the seniors who had borne the burden and heat of the day for so many years, should expect a degree of deference which the juniors were unwilling to yield.⁵⁸

After five years, what the older men always sadly referred to as ‘the schism’ was complete. Carey wrote of it:

I do not recollect in my whole life anything which has given me so much distress as the Schism. Many sleepless nights have I spent examining what we have done to give it occasion, but can discover nothing on which I can fix. The Mission, however, is rent in twain, and exhibits the scandalous appearance of being divided against itself.

At a certain point of tension division becomes necessary. A new Calcutta Missionary Union was formed, to which the younger men transferred their allegiance. On 15 August 1820 Carey was able to write to his son Jabez: ‘I am sure it will give you pleasure to learn that our long-continued dispute with the younger brethren in Calcutta is now settled.’⁵⁹

Far worse was to follow. In England venomous attacks were made, especially on the character of Joshua Marshman. Of all absurd accusations, it was hinted that these great men, who had poured their treasures into the coffers of the mission and were to die as poor as they had lived, were building up great fortunes for themselves and putting their children into positions of grandeur.⁶⁰ Not till 1830 was peace patched up, and then only peace of a kind.

Dark shadows continued to gather round the veterans. On 7 March 1823 William Ward died suddenly of cholera. The blow was almost unbearable. In matters of business he was the ablest of the three. But he was far more than that. He had brought each of Carey’s sons in succession to living faith in Christ. (‘He was my spiritual father’, wrote the younger William truthfully.) With his deep understanding of the Indian mind, he was of all those at Serampore the most skilful guide and helper of the converts. It seemed that without him the work could hardly go forward.

For some time Carey had been gently sinking towards the grave. One last task he was able to complete – the eighth and final revision of the Bengali New Testament. This was finished in June 1832. He lived on for another two years, with little suffering and on the whole in great contentment. The end came on 9 June 1834. In accordance with his instructions nothing was inscribed on his tombstone but his name, the dates of his birth and death, and two lines from a hymn of Isaac Watts:

A wretched, poor, and helpless worm,
On Thy kind arms I fall.⁶¹

Dr Marshman lived for three years after his colleague's death, and retained to the end his astonishing clearness of recollection. Five days before his death he was able to attend the weekly prayer meeting held in the chapel. He died on 6 December 1837, having composed himself to a sleep from which he did not awake. In some ways the most gifted of the three, he was also the least attractive. Of his gifts, and of the great services that he had rendered, there could be no doubt. Had he been more gracious in his manner, the services would have been even more valuable.

On 26 April 1846 John Mack was carried off by a sudden attack of cholera, having spent just half his life at Serampore. He was described, not inappropriately, as the last of the giants. Hannah Marshman, having survived her husband by ten years, died at Serampore aged eighty, on 1 March 1847; she was the last survivor of the group which had come to Serampore in 1800.

John Clark Marshman decided to return to England in 1852, to give himself to the composition of the invaluable work, *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward*. He lived on until 1877, with no proper recognition of his great merits.⁶²

In 1854, just sixty years after Carey had set foot in India, the committee of the Baptist Missionary Society agreed to take over Serampore College as its missionary and educational training school. The breach with the old Serampore was thus finally healed. Many mistakes had been made and much suffering endured; but the men who made Serampore left behind them an imperishable memory. No short account can do justice to all that they achieved. What they accomplished and what they suffered were in many ways paradigmatic for the whole development of Protestant missions in India.

7 OTHER MISSIONS AND THEIR MISSIONARIES

At the end of the eighteenth century the only missionaries in Bengal were the Baptists, who had been able to establish themselves under Danish protection at Serampore. But word of their achievements spread far and wide in the West, and the years between 1794 and 1833 were marked by a steady increase in interest in the missionary cause and in willingness on the part of young people to offer themselves for missionary service.

The London Missionary Society sent its first missionary to India in 1798. Nathaniel Forsyth, a Scot, had studied at the University of Glasgow, and was thus the first missionary to represent the academic tradition of the British Isles.⁶³ Forsyth, warned by the experiences of others of the hostility of the British government in India, settled at Chinsurah, a few miles north of Calcutta, where the Dutch provided the same protection as the Danes had offered to Carey and his friends at Serampore. It was good that the monopoly

of the Baptists, which they had never desired, should be broken; but Forsyth was hardly notable as a missionary. Unlike the Baptists, he was not a linguist; and, though he stressed the importance of education, he had evidently forgotten his own boyhood, and was 'not sensible of the difference between the constricted range of a child's mind and the expansive nature of his own'.⁶⁴ By 1820 eight missionaries of the LMS had served in Bengal.

After 1813 conditions for the residence of British missionaries in India were considerably eased. The first two missionaries of the Church Missionary Society reached Calcutta in 1815, and they were followed by two others in 1817. By the time of the next revision of the charter in 1833, twenty-eight Anglican missionaries of the evangelical wing had reached North India, but not all of these were resident in Bengal. As in other parts of the field, a considerable number of the missionaries of the CMS, and some of the most distinguished, were Germans.

For the time being the Scottish Missionary Society and the American Board confined their efforts to western India. The one representative of the Netherlands Missionary Society, A. F. Lacroix, who arrived in 1821, after six years transferred his services to the LMS. Of the missionaries of the time none was more highly regarded and more deeply loved than he.⁶⁵

In the period under review the SPG sent to Bengal fourteen workers; but a number of these were teachers at Bishop's College, Calcutta, rather than missionaries in the strict sense of the term.

The number of societies now engaged in the work must not be allowed to conceal the predominance of the Baptists. During this period, 'stations' had come into existence in twenty-six centres. In eighteen of these the Baptists had been the pioneers; the rest of the societies together had only eight.⁶⁶

All the missionaries of the time were agreed that the aim of missionary work must be the conversion of the non-Christians. The preaching of the Gospel must be the major part of missionary activity. But during the first third of the nineteenth century there was a steadily growing consensus of opinion that preaching is not enough. Inveterate prejudice had made the minds of Hindus and Muslims alike singularly unreceptive of the Christian message; a kind of softening process must go on, and for that the only available instrument was education. The first bishop of Calcutta, T. F. Middleton, put the matter clearly and simply:

The minds of the people are not generally in a state to be impressed by the force of argument, still less to be awakened to reflection by appeals to their feelings and to their fears... what is further required seems to be a preparation of the native mind to comprehend the importance and truth of the doctrines proposed to them; and this must be the effect of education.⁶⁷

Schools could be started in many places; desire for education was widespread, and the superiority of education in the mission schools to that

available elsewhere was self-evident. But should mission schools be entirely secular, or should an element of Christian propaganda be included?

Missionaries have constantly been accused of forcing upon unwilling listeners doctrines which they could not comprehend and in which they were not interested, and of indoctrinating children at an age at which the faculty of discrimination had hardly begun to develop. The facts seem to be at variance with the affirmations. It is clear from the sources that missionary educators on the whole showed an almost exaggerated care in avoiding anything that could unnecessarily cause offence and any imposition of Christian doctrine on minds that were not ready to receive it.⁶⁸

On the principle all were agreed. There were interesting differences of opinion as to the manner in which the principle was to be applied.

The LMS workers at Chinsurah started with a purely secular curriculum, which it was hoped would not cause any religious controversy.

Serampore was a little less cautious. Aesop's *Fables* were regarded as useful. *Moral Tales*, mainly in the words of holy Scripture but without too evident a Christian colouring, were also introduced. 'The soul of a man is of more value than the sun, the moon and all the stars' is a sentiment to which it was unlikely that the rising generation would object.⁶⁹

Not all the missionaries were satisfied with the state of the schools. George Mundy, who arrived in Bengal in the service of the LMS in 1820, wrote to London soon after his arrival:

I am exceedingly disappointed regarding the state of the schools. I had not the slightest idea but that they were conducted on Christian principles, and was much hurt when I found myself sent out to sup^d. schools where the Scriptures were not introduced, and where not the least religious instruction is allowed to be given.⁷⁰

Less caution than might have been expected was expressed by William Adam, the Baptist who had accepted the Unitarian position; he did not expect missionaries to avoid all reference to Christianity:

On the contrary, there should be a faithful exhibition of those great principles of religion and morality which the reason and conscience of men even when most corrupt and debased will seldom refuse to acknowledge, accompanied with the confirmations which every professed revelation more or less strongly supplies.⁷¹

The missionaries of the CMS, with their strong evangelical convictions, were likely to move in the direction of the other extreme. In 1818 the Calcutta committee of the Society felt it desirable to issue a word of warning:

The Servants of Christ . . . must unite the wisdom of the serpent with the harmlessness of the dove . . . it is folly to excite disgust by an open and direct attack on hereditary superstitions . . . The Gospel of Christ requires us . . . to admit the light by a wise system of adaptation to the strength of the visual organ, and to communicate instruction as men may be able to bear it.⁷²

The wisdom of the serpent showed itself first in those schools in which the learning of English had been introduced. In 1820 the German missionary J. A. Jetter at Burdwan introduced in his school the reading of St Matthew's Gospel in English; on which the pious chaplain Thomas Thomason commented that, however much people 'may dislike Gospel Truth, they do not object to the learning of English from the Gospel itself'. Not long after, the reading of Scripture was introduced also in the Bengali schools of the CMS throughout its area of work. By 1825 the same policy was being followed in the schools supported by the SPCK.

Bishop Heber, who arrived in India in 1823, noted in a letter of 13 November 1824 that 'the missionaries . . . have in no instance that I have heard of (though I have made pretty diligent enquiry) pursued a line of conduct likely to give offence to the natives';⁷³ but he also noted with pleasure that in the schools, which he was also at pains to visit, the prejudice against employing Christians seemed to have disappeared, and 'the pupils seem to attend with interest to the Scripture lessons imparted to them'.

The missionaries were pioneers, more than in any other field, in promoting the education of girls. Hindu society did not regard it as in any way necessary or desirable for a girl to be able to read and write; her duties lay elsewhere. Protestant missionaries from the start were determined that the privileges made available to boys should be accessible also to girls. Serampore had made a beginning in the matter.⁷⁴ But the prejudices against schools for girls, and even against the education at home of girls of good family, proved so strong that little progress could be made.

A notable step forward was taken when in May 1821 the British and Foreign School Society, stimulated by William Ward, decided to send Mary Anne Cooke to Calcutta to teach girls in association with the Calcutta School Society. This arrangement could not be carried into effect. In 1824 Miss Cooke's work was taken under the wing of a newly formed society with the splendidly nineteenth-century title, 'The Ladies Society for Native Female Education in Calcutta and its Vicinity', presided over by Lady Amherst, the wife of the governor-general.⁷⁵ Bishop Heber, in a letter of 16 February 1824, set out the principles on which the work of Miss Cooke was based:

not . . . to attempt in any direct way the making converts, but to give to as many of the Indian females as possible, an education of a useful and moral character; to enable them to read the Scriptures; and to leave them, in short, in such a state of mental cultivation as will enable them in after life to choose their religion for themselves.⁷⁶

The number of girls affected by Christian education was admittedly very small. But the pioneer in the scientific study of this period has expressed the opinion that

the efforts of the missionaries before 1833 were of supreme importance. They alone brought the status of Indian women under public question . . . It was the

missionaries who, in spite of the inevitable limitations of their work, demonstrated that Indian women were capable of improvement, if an effort was made on their behalf, and who aroused in some of the women themselves the power to appreciate a better condition of life.⁷⁷

The multiplication of societies and missionaries opened out many new possibilities for Christian work; but this development was not without its disadvantages. What had appeared as a united front when the Baptists were alone in the field was now fragmented. The missionaries did not always find it easy to get on with one another; a spirit of rivalry and mutual criticism soon began to make its influence felt in Bengal.

The Baptists have never been easy neighbours for Christians of other communions. Mutual affection and esteem were maintained, but questions of church order, and in particular the question of close or open communion, could not but raise their heads. What Carey had learnt from his friends in England was the stricter rule, that only those who have been baptised by immersion on profession of faith may be admitted to the Lord's Supper. For five years this was the rule at Serampore, though this was regretted by some among the brethren. But the presence at Serampore from time to time of honoured friends who were not of the Baptist persuasion made it increasingly difficult to maintain the rule. Ward and Marshman, who maintained the more liberal view, were successful in persuading Carey. Ward wrote joyfully:

I rejoice that the first Baptist church in Bengal has shaken off that apparent moroseness of temper which has so long made us unlovely in the sight of the Christian world. I am glad that the church considers *real religion* as the ground of admission to the Lord's table.⁷⁸

Matters continued in this state for a number of years. But the brethren in England were by no means happy. Andrew Fuller, the well-tried friend of the mission, regarded this as far more than a difference in detail regarding the ordinance. He succeeded in persuading Marshman; the latter had little difficulty in securing the adhesion of Carey, who had always regarded the stricter rule as 'the safer side'. Ward never agreed, but would not allow such a difference to lead to a breach of fellowship within the Baptist community. The decision, however, could not but cause distress to many friends of Serampore who took the other view.⁷⁹

If Baptists could sometimes be a trial to Christian friends, so also could Anglicans. Here the difficulty arose not so much from the missionaries, who maintained friendly and intimate relations with their non-Anglican brethren, as from the chaplains, who not infrequently failed to realise the situation and the sensitivities of 'dissenters', and sometimes gave grave offence without knowing that they had done so. The benevolent attitude of Bishop Middleton towards the Baptists earned their gratitude. Yet Middleton was

always aware of his position as a bishop of the established church, and was much concerned that its position should be recognised and its privileges in no way abated.⁸⁰

A much more difficult character than Middleton was Claudius Buchanan, who was in India from 1797 until 1806. Able, determined and devout, Buchanan had vision and imagination beyond most of his contemporaries. But, courteous as he always was to the Baptists, he never imagined that they could be on an equality with a graduate of the University of Cambridge who was also vice-provost of the Fort William College. When in 1807 he put forward the plan of a British 'propaganda' to be formed at Serampore and gradually to take over the whole work of Bible translation, the Baptists found it impossible to agree, and what even the gentle Ward called 'a dreadful collision' took place.⁸¹

Yet, when Buchanan set out for England, Marshman wrote to Andrew Fuller:

I must, after all, declare that he is a good man, thoroughly evangelical, a friend to the cause of God, but by no means an enemy to us; a man with whom friendship is desirable, but not coalition; the services he has rendered to our mission *ought never* to be forgotten. A little too much of worldly prudence – not avarice – and, perhaps, a touch of ambition are his only blemishes.⁸²

The friendly toleration which existed between the various Protestant agencies was not in general extended to the Roman Catholics. The differences were not merely doctrinal. The Baptists especially were distressed at the level of ignorance in which the Roman Catholics had been left by their pastors, and had little hesitation in taking over Roman Catholics who wished to join another fold. It is pleasant to be able to record one exception to the rule. A French missionary of the Paris society, Fr Tabard, had arrived in Cochin-China in 1820. At the early age of thirty-three he had been appointed vicar apostolic of that area. Having been driven out of his field of service, he came by way of Penang to Calcutta, where he hoped to arrange for the printing at the press in Serampore of the dictionary of the Vietnamese language on which he had long been engaged. During nearly two years he was the guest of John Clark Marshman. Just as he was about to leave India for Rome, he received orders to undertake the ungrateful task of vicar-general of Bengal. Twenty-two months later, on 31 July 1840, he died suddenly. Marshman published, in *The Friend of India*, a long account of the work of the bishop, praising highly his competence in the fields of literature, medicine and biology, and in the language, history, laws, customs and religion of Cochin-China.⁸³

Missionaries in Bengal certainly had their controversies and contentions; but this is only one side of the picture, and too much stress must not be laid on it.

A 'Monthly Missionary Prayer Meeting' was held in Calcutta with fair regularity from 1816 onwards. Naturally no Roman Catholics were present; but it seems that the doors were open to all missionaries of recognised non-Roman societies,⁸⁴ and also to 'a few of the influential laymen who had identified themselves most prominently with the missionary cause'.⁸⁵ Out of the Prayer Meeting grew a more formal assembly:

In 1831, the missionaries of the various societies in the city [Calcutta], few in number, but most friendly to each other, established a monthly meeting for prayer and consultation, which by degrees settled down to what was soon known as the CALCUTTA MISSIONARY CONFERENCE. The fact that they were strangers in a strange land, yet brethren of one faith, devoted to one object, and serving the same Master, naturally drew them to each other. Special reasons for their union were found in the advantage of bringing together their common wants and experience, of making common cause in their many difficulties, and of combining publicly for united action in great public questions . . . very numerous have been the subjects requiring prompt and decided action on the part of Christian men, in which this Conference has brought out measures of high importance which have been productive of great good.⁸⁶

The Conference continued in being for a good many years, and prepared the way for something more important than itself. It happened that in September 1855 a large number of missionaries had occasion to be in Calcutta. The opportunity was taken to organise a General Conference of Protestant missionaries in Bengal. This was attended by forty-seven missionaries of a variety of societies. The meetings, which extended over four days, were found by all those present to be valuable. A precedent had been set. In December of the same year a conference was held at Benares, attended by thirty missionaries, among them the veteran A. F. Lacroix of Calcutta, who had presided at one of the sessions of the Calcutta conference. These gatherings may be regarded as in some ways the small seeds out of which was to grow in due time the great World Missionary Conference held at Edinburgh in 1910.⁸⁷

10 · New Beginnings in the South

I THE END OF THE DANISH MISSION

In 1786 Christian Friedrich Schwartz entered on the sixtieth year of his life and the thirty-seventh of his missionary service. He lived for another eleven years. His life, therefore, covered the whole period of the greatest expansion and development of the Danish mission, and was prolonged into the period of its decline. Schwartz was aware of the beginning of this decline and of its causes. But, as long as he lived, Thaṅjāvur continued to be the centre of harmonious and fruitful activity, all of which revolved round the tirelessly active patriarch.

During these later years official preoccupations added greatly to the labours of the missionary. In a letter of 1793 he remarks that 'for two years I have discharged the duties of a resident'.¹ This meant that his verandah and the enclosure in front of his house were constantly crowded with those who came to him on official business or to seek his favour. They were left in no doubt that the first concern of the missionary was the proclamation of the Gospel:

Those who came to see me in the morning attended our morning prayers; others who called at night heard the instructions given to the candidates for baptism. Sometimes forty or fifty persons are present, both of high and low castes. Frequently from fifteen to twenty Brahmans are sitting by, while I am catechising. They sit quietly for an hour, and hear everything that I have to say.²

Schwartz's missionary concerns by no means excluded other interests and concerns for the whole man. His garden at Thaṅjāvur was famous, including a number of rare trees and plants; and, being intended for use as well as beauty, it supplied the greater part of the needs of the mission family for fresh vegetables. Schwartz encouraged the development of such cottage industries as spinning among the girls in the mission schools. The baptism of a number of people from the Kaḷlar (robber) community called out another example of his concern for practical affairs. These converts had fields which they had much neglected. Schwartz was insistent that their irregular and often lawless way of living must be replaced by steady diligence; but, if they

were to make a satisfactory living out of their farms, agriculture must be improved:

As the watercourses in this district had not been cleared for fifteen years, by which neglect the cultivation was impeded and the harvest lessened, I entreated the collector to advance a sum of money to clear them . . . The work was completely done, and those inhabitants who formerly, for want of water, had reaped only four thousand large measures, called *kalam*, now reaped fourteen thousand *kalams*, and rejoiced in the increase.³

The mission in Thaṅjāvur had by now taken on the aspect of a considerable and flourishing concern. There were three churches – a small church in the fort, mainly for the use of Europeans (from 1785 comes the astonishing note that in this church about 100 soldiers of the garrison gathered each evening for a short service), a Tamil church at a distance of about a mile from the fort, and a third church at the outstation of Vallam about six miles away, where another regiment of Europeans was stationed.

Some notes may be added here on the numerical growth of the congregation. In 1792 one hundred and forty six non-Christians were baptised; in 1793, the year in which Schwartz was absent from the station, forty-three; in 1794, sixty-two; in 1795, twenty-nine; in 1796, thirty-nine. These figures show both the attraction exercised by the Gospel and the care taken by the missionaries in admitting enquirers to baptism. In the year of the death of Schwartz it was reported that the Christian community in the Thaṅjāvur area, apart from those in Rāmnād and Pālayankottai, numbered three thousand, the majority of whom were from the more prosperous castes.

Schwartz retained his health and vigour until November 1797. In that month he fell seriously ill; though his robust constitution for some time resisted the spread of infection, it became clear that he could not recover. The end came on 14 February 1798. The death of this great and good man was greeted with universal lamentation; the respect in which he was held by all is clearly shown in the monuments erected in various places in his memory.⁴

In quiet and somewhat isolated Thaṅjāvur, matters might go forward very much as they had always done, but the mission as a whole could not remain unaffected by what was going on in the rest of the world. The Enlightenment had burst upon Germany. Schwartz, shortly before his death, had written sadly: 'The condition of the church in Germany is grievous; they have invented a Gospel which was unknown to Paul and the other apostles; they cast aside the precious sacrifice of Christ, and the powerful workings of the Holy Spirit.'⁵ It is not surprising that the supply of missionaries able to carry on in the old ways was drying up.

The most notable among the later missionaries was Dr Christopher Samuel John, probably the ablest of all the missionaries sent out by Halle; he arrived in 1771 and continued in service in Tranquebar without a break until 1813. With him was his 'Jonathan', J. P. Rottler (1749–1836), who left Tranquebar for Madras in 1803. The passion of John's life was education; he greatly improved the mission schools and, to the distress of his colleagues, opened a school for European pupils, which he ran at considerable financial profit to himself.⁶ John was a devout man, who kept his eye on the pastoral well-being of the congregations, but the conversion of non-Christians ceased to be the centre of his missionary concerns.

The missionaries were not idle, but time that in the earlier days would have been devoted to direct missionary work was now spent, not unprofitably, in scientific pursuits. In a statement made by the secretary of the mission in 1785 we are told that the missionaries are ready

as far as their work and means permit, to study and contribute to the knowledge of learned men in Europe . . . we have already provided them with a telescope, microscope, thermometer, air-pump, and an electrical machine; but they still need a large terrestrial globe, as well as a celestial one, besides the latest works in natural history.⁷

The supply of missionaries did not completely fail. In 1791 Augustus Frederick Caemmerer arrived and settled in Tranquebar, which was to be his home for forty-six years. But it was his destiny to watch a long slow process of decline and to be present at the death of the old Danish mission.

Support from Denmark was erratic and could not be depended on. The English mission was in the field with much of the strength of English Christianity behind it. In 1819 Caemmerer yielded to the inevitable, and asked the SPCK to assume temporary responsibility for the work, except in Tranquebar itself, for which the Danish mission was still responsible. This meant the transfer of eleven congregations with their catechists and chapels, and of the care of 1,300 Christians, from the Danish to the English field.⁸ In practice this transfer was less startling than might appear. All that it meant was that J. C. Kohlhoff, the son of Tranquebar missionaries, who had spent his early years at Tranquebar, would extend his operations and would assume responsibility for Christians who had not been earlier under his care. It does not appear that any disturbance took place in any of the congregations affected.

A more radical change took place in the year 1825, when the SPG, now able under its charter to work in any of those parts of India which had come directly under British rule, agreed to take over all the work of the SPCK in those areas.⁹ The consequences of the change were more extensive than perhaps any of the parties to the operation had foreseen. It was not the intention of the SPG to dislodge any of those already in service in India;

indeed, the SPCK was under obligation to maintain Kohlhoff and some others until the day of their death. But as a chartered society the SPG felt itself bound to carry on the work on purely Anglican lines, supplying as missionaries those who had received ordination in the Anglican tradition or in one related to it.¹⁰

The transfer was carried out gradually, and with tender regard for the feelings of all concerned. The churches would probably have become completely reconciled to the changes had not the matter of caste become a centre of burning strife.¹¹ The old Lutheran forms of worship were retained in Tiruchirāpaḷli until 1826, and in Thaṅjāvur until 1844. No suggestion was ever made that the venerable Pohle and Kohlhoff should be ordained according to the Anglican rite or should be regarded as unqualified to hold the positions in the church which they had so long held. In 1817 the SPCK asked Dr Rottler, who was already sixty-eight years old, to move to Madras and to take charge of the work there. Rottler had no anti-Anglican prejudices. He translated the Anglican Book of Common prayer into Tamil,¹² and introduced it in his congregation. Tamil Christians in Madras and its neighbourhood, surrounded as they were by English and Anglican influences, seem to have raised no difficulties at all.

2 MOVEMENT IN THE FAR SOUTH

To most observers the events recorded in the last section must have appeared as an end; but in Christian history it often occurs that an end is also a beginning. In the early years of the nineteenth century the first community movement towards a Protestant church in India came about.

The Shānārs – or, as they prefer to be called, the Nādārs – are a large community in the extreme south of India, and were divided at that time between the British-controlled district of Tirunelveli and the independent Indian state of Travancore. Some of these people are farmers, but many of them earn their living as climbers of the palmyra tree. The home of many is in the strange area known as the palmyra forest, where the tall, straight trunks stand so thickly together as to give the illusion of a real forest. The hard, exacting work of climbing the trees to extract the sweet juice gives to the men immense physical strength and hardiness, matched by a certain ruggedness of temperament. When they were first brought under Christian influences, the great majority were illiterate; but, since education has been made available, a number of them have given evidence of great intellectual powers, and from among them have come outstanding leaders in the Christian churches of India.

In the Hindu social order the Nādārs did not rank high. Their association with the production and sale of alcohol carried a certain social stigma and a

measure of exclusion from Hindu society. The touch of a Nādār has never been regarded as defiling, but Nādārs were not permitted to enter Hindu temples. The uncertainty of their status may have made them inclined to look with favour on a different social system which could offer them recognition such as could not be hoped for within the Hindu social order.¹³

Considerable obscurity attaches to the circumstances in which a notable movement into the church began. The first convert drawn from the community was a young man from the village of Kālankudi, whose Hindu name was Sundarānandam, and who on baptism became David. Born in or about the year 1775, this man had come into contact with Kohlhoff, was instructed and baptised by him, and in 1796 was sent to help Satyanāadhan in Pālayankottai. He made his way to his own village and there was made welcome by his relatives, who had not seen him for a number of years. He soon found among them considerable willingness to listen to the new truths which he communicated to them and to believe. The first baptisms took place in October 1797, in a village named Shanmugapuram, not far from a considerably larger village which, after the entire population had become Christian, took the name Kadāchapuram, the village of grace. The new believers were subjected to much harassment at the hands of their Hindu neighbours; though this rarely reached the level of violence and personal injury, it could be disagreeable and wearying. David was able to secure a plot of land some miles away, and there the refugees settled. As this was the first settlement in that area which could be called a Christian village, it was given the name, Mudalūr, the first village; and under that name it has continued to the present day as a centre of Christian life and activity.

The movement grew gradually, and then suddenly gathered pace. The figures for the years 1802 and 1803 are astonishing. A carefully kept record makes it plain that between 2 April 1802 and 24 January 1803, forty-six baptismal services were held and 5,629 persons were baptised.

The actions of the Lutheran missionaries and their Indian associates have been harshly criticised; when so many people were baptised in so short a time and with so little instruction, how was it possible that there could be any real faith among them? It is true that, eight years later, at a time of great hardship, many of the converts lapsed from the faith and returned to their old ways. But many stood firm, and a number of villages in the area have a continuous Christian history of more than a century and a half. The evidence has been carefully sifted by Bishop R. Caldwell.¹⁴ His sober conclusion (p. 78) is that 'their apostasy seems to have been owing not so much to their having been baptized prematurely as to their having been neglected after baptism'.

There is no evidence that any financial inducement was offered to the converts by the missionaries – the mission was far too poor to have provided even a pittance for so large a number. If the people expected to be brought

under powerful protection against oppression, they must have been much disappointed; the evidence suggests that oppression was worse after they had been baptised than it had been before.

The direction of the work in Tirunelveli was in the hands of C. W. Gericke, who had arrived in South India in 1767 and had worked continuously and faithfully for thirty-five years.¹⁵ His journal makes it clear that everything possible was done, in the short time available, to prepare the people. The catechists visited them on a number of occasions. Gericke himself spent long hours with them, trying to ascertain the measure of their sincerity. The solution of the problem that faced him was not easy. Immediate baptism would indeed bring with it the danger of extensive apostasy. But, if baptism was postponed and the opportunity lost, it was to be feared that sincere enquirers would lose heart and drift away. It can hardly be doubted that Gericke, acting in faith, made the right decision; he can hardly be blamed if for the next thirty years the resources of the mission were inadequate to the demands made upon them.

The great period of the baptisms was followed by what a number of writers have not inappropriately called the dark period. Until 1808 the Christians were under the care of the godly but erratic William Tobias Ringeltaube, but in that year he withdrew to Travancore and severed his connection with the SPCK. The veteran Satyanāadhan was growing old; he retired to Thaṅjāvur and died there in 1815. The merchant Mr Sawyer, a true and tried friend of the Christians after whom the village of Sawyerpuram is named, died in 1816. Visits to the south by the country priests were rare. No visit at all seems to have been paid by any European missionary.¹⁶

Just when everything seemed to be at its darkest, help came from an unexpected quarter. A European regiment was stationed in Pālayankōṭṭai to maintain order in the extreme south. In 1816 the Reverend James Hough was appointed as chaplain.¹⁷

Hough had been caught up in the great evangelical movement which resulted in the sending of so many 'pious chaplains' to India. He had officially no responsibility for Indian Christians, but he soon began to seek them out, and in four years did much to rebuild what had fallen down and to gather that which had been scattered.

Hough found that there were in the area upwards of 3,000 Christians connected with the Anglican missions.¹⁸ The country priest Abraham had been sent to care for them and was carrying out his duties faithfully. In each of the principal centres there was a church of sun-dried bricks with palmyra-leaf roof. These churches were found to be in good repair, as they were built of the same materials as the houses in which the people lived and were not beyond their means to maintain. There were a few schools, but these were in

very poor condition. The greatest lack of all was in the matter of books. There seems not to have been in the mission a single copy of the Tamil bible. There were a few New Testaments, but these were mostly in the churches rather than in the possession of individuals. The Anglican Book of Common Prayer was entirely unknown.

Hough set to work with tireless diligence to improve the standard of Christian life in the villages. Two years after his arrival the changes that could be noted were remarkable. A second country priest, Visuvāsanāthan, had been appointed and was living in Nazareth, the second of the cities of refuge created for the benefit of Christians. The number of schools had risen to thirteen, including two for girls.¹⁹ Books had been widely distributed. The number of baptisms of non-Christians was not large – twenty-five in 1817, fifty-two in 1818; but the church continued to grow.

By 1820 the work had grown to such an extent that Hough, his health enfeebled by frequent illness, was no longer able to cope with it. It did not seem to him that the Indian workers were able at that time to stand entirely on their own. He therefore wrote to the corresponding committee of the CMS in Madras for help. The committee had at its disposal the services of the Reverend C. T. E. Rhenius, a German who had already had five years' experience in Madras. It was decided that he should move to Pālayankōṭṭai; in the following year he was joined by the Reverend B. Schmid, also a German.²⁰ In March 1821 Hough received appointment to the much larger station of Poonamalee near Madras. The Germans were left alone to develop the work on the lines that seemed to them to promise the best hopes of success.

3 GROWTH, SCHISM, RECOVERY

Charles Rhenius must rank as one of the greatest among the missionaries who have served the cause of Christ in India. Bishop Caldwell wrote of him that 'he was a man of great administrative power, fervent missionary zeal, an excellent preacher and speaker in the vernacular, as well as a writer of unusual merit, and one of the hardest and most continuous workers ever seen in India'.²¹

Rhenius had not been long in India before it became clear that he was a linguist of exceptional abilities. He speedily mastered Tamil to the point at which even his critics were fain to admit that 'in point of Tamil idiom Rhenius was impeccable'. Towards the end of his life he composed a Tamil grammar which after a century and a half is still found useful. Unlike most grammars written by Europeans, which are based on European models, Rhenius, following Beschi, took as his starting-point the understanding of the language which is found in the works of the Tamil grammarians. After some years of work he became dissatisfied with the Fabricius version of the

New Testament, on the ground that at many points it did not correspond to correct Tamil usage. In 1823 he set to work to replace it by a version of his own. The work has many merits. It held its own in the Anglican missions for forty years, until it in its turn was superseded by the Union version of 1869.²²

The five years which Rhenius had spent in Madras were years of less than perfect peace. In evangelical conviction he was at one with his friends in the CMS; at many other points difficulties could and did arise. In 1820 the corresponding committee seems to have reached the conclusion that it would be happier with Rhenius absent than with Rhenius present; let him go away and found a German kingdom as he pleased. Both he and they would experience a sense of liberation, which would be good for all.

So it came about. Pālayankōṭṭai is about 400 miles from Madras; in the days before the coming of the railway, it was reckoned that the journey, on horseback and with bullock carts, would take a month, though those who were prepared to endure the discomforts of a voyage by coastal craft could with luck make the journey from Madras to Tuticorin in ten or twelve days. Strict control from Madras would obviously be impossible. Rhenius could gather around him a posse of like-minded continentals – Schmid, Müller, Lechler, Schaffter; they would do what he told them to do, and all would be well.²³

Rhenius was able to build on what Hough had achieved. Earlier movements had been to the east and south of Pālayankōṭṭai. Now a station was opened to the south-west, at the very foot of the western Ghats, and called Dohnāvur, after the pious and wealthy Count Dohna, whose generous gift made possible the building of a large stone church which is in use up to the present day. Work was opened up in the northern part of the district, in the area of the fertile black cotton soil, so different from the green irrigated rice-fields of the Tāmraparṇi valley. In 1826, with the help of many European friends, Rhenius was able to build in Pālayankōṭṭai a graceful church in Renaissance style.²⁴

At three points Rhenius left an abiding mark on the development of the church which he guided. Every village was to have a school and a Christian teacher who would serve also as catechist to the local group of Christians. All teachers must come to headquarters once every month, there to receive careful training and instruction in the teaching and practice of the church. In every village every evening the bell would be sounded to call the faithful to prayer. This custom has continued to the present day.²⁵

In spite of many difficulties and reverses the work went forward with surprising rapidity. On 3 August 1825 Rhenius reported that 'to my own surprise, there are now, in no less than ninety different villages, 838 families or above 3,000 souls'.²⁶ Ten years later George Pettitt learnt that Christians were to be found in no fewer than 293 villages. In some places the number was insignificant, but the whole represented a considerable movement into

the church of Christ. The great majority of the converts came from the Nādār community, but other groups were also represented.

Rhenius was no starry-eyed idealist. He knew that, even when belief in Jesus Christ is genuine, new converts have a long journey to make before they can be regarded as established in the faith:

We need not therefore be surprised when in our time, in new congregations from among the heathen, we discover much that is of the Wicked One; evil practices that have become habits from very childhood; nor must we expect that these new congregations will, after believing in Christ Jesus, be immediately perfect . . .²⁷

Controversy between Rhenius and friends in Madras slept for a time, but awoke again in connection with the proposal for the ordination of four of the catechists working in the Tirunelveli mission. The work was growing beyond the strength of the missionaries; Rhenius proposed that the old custom of the Danish mission should be followed and that the catechists should be ordained in Tirunelveli without the intervention of a bishop. The CMS committee in Madras naturally replied that, when there was no bishop in India, no objection could be taken to ordination according to the Lutheran form, but that, since the arrival of the first bishop of Calcutta, it was assumed that ordinations would follow the customs of the Church of England.

In June 1832 Rhenius wrote at length to the CMS in London, affirming his independence, and the rights of missionaries to decide all issues relating to the upbuilding of the church which they had been instrumental in bringing into being.²⁸

At this point of time Anthony Norris Groves (1795–1853) emerged on the scene to disturb still further the troubled waters in Tirunelveli. This sincere and devoted man had offered himself to the service of the CMS; but, as he had accepted the principles of the Plymouth Brethren, his offer could not be accepted. After a short period of unsuccessful missionary work in Baghdad, Groves came to India in 1833 to seek a field of missionary endeavour. One of the first visits that he paid in India was to Pālayankōṭṭai, where he found himself delighted with all that he saw.²⁹ There can be no doubt that he fortified Rhenius in his growing disillusionment with the Church of England and strengthened him in the assertion of his independence.

With all his great gifts Rhenius was characterised by a strange insensitivity to the feelings of others and to the effects that his words were bound to have. On 9 May 1835 he wrote to Dr Stevenson in Bombay:

I never promised to submit to the English bishops; not even to observe the Church of England forms . . . When my fellow-labourer and I were sent out to India, now twenty-one years ago, no question was ever put to us on the subject of conformity to the Church of England; nor have I, during these twenty-one years, received a single application from the Society to conform.³⁰

It is hard to acquit Rhenius at this point of self-deception. When he was accepted for service by the CMS, he knew perfectly well that the first bishop of Calcutta had already arrived in India, and that it was the set policy of the CMS gradually to bring its missions into conformity with the practice and worship of the Church of England. Breaking-point had been reached. The CMS committee felt bound to maintain its Anglican position. Rhenius would not abandon the independent attitude which he had taken up. This being so, the committee could not do other than declare that its connection with Rhenius was at an end:

afflicting as it is to them to dissolve their connexion with one, whom, on many grounds, they highly honour and esteem, yet they feel bound in consistency, as attached members of the Church of England, to take this very painful step, and to declare that the missionary relation which has hitherto subsisted between the Society and Mr Rhenius is at an end.³¹

Heart-breaking as it was, Rhenius saw that he could not do other than accept the decision and leave the area in which he had worked so long and with such success. Arcot presented itself to him as a suitable location for a new and independent mission. On 29 June 1835 he arrived in Madras on his way to his new station.

Then Rhenius made the second great mistake of his life. A number of friends were urging him to return to Pālayankottai, though no longer in the service of the CMS.³² A letter was received on 9 September from seventy-seven catechists pleading with him to return. He yielded to these urgings and made up his mind to return to Pālayankottai. He knew well that his return would lead to bitterness and controversy, but it was his habit to do whatever seemed to him to be right. On 22 October he arrived in Pālayankottai to begin the last stage of his earthly journey.

Not much need be added to the story of the 'Rhenius affair'. When it became clear that he must go, the CMS sent in George Pettitt to restore order and to bring back the mission to Anglican ways. Pettitt was young and had had only two years of service in Madras; but from the moment of his arrival he showed great qualities of tact, modesty and firmness. The twelve years of his residence in Pālayankottai were a time of pacification, stabilisation and progress.

Life was not easy. At the end of the year 1835 careful scrutiny revealed that the figures of the congregations were as follows:³³

With the Society: 176

With Mr Rhenius: 67

Neutral: 15

Divided into two parties: 35

During the years that followed both sections were enlarged by the accession of non-Christians and the formation of new congregations. But, as the CMS party went from strength to strength, anxiety increased among the supporters of Rhenius. There was, however, no reconciliation, greatly as this was desired by many on both sides of the ravine. Then on 5 June 1838 the entire situation was changed by the death of Rhenius. He had served in India for twenty-four years without a break. The simple marble slab which covers his grave records in English the claim, 'Surely my judgment is with the Lord, and my work with my God' (Isaiah 49: 4). There all admirers of Rhenius will thankfully leave the matter, and join in the hope expressed in the Tamil inscription on the stone: 'A crown of righteousness shall the Lord, the righteous judge, give me in that day, and not to me only, but unto all them that love his appearing' (2 Timothy 4: 8).

The CMS behaved in a manner entirely worthy of a great Christian society. It was agreed that, from the date of the death of Rhenius, his widow should receive undiminished the pension to which she would have been entitled had he never left the society. Eight years later Pettitt had the joy of welcoming the second son of Rhenius, Charles, as a fully accredited missionary of the Society.³⁴

There was now no obstacle in the way of reconciliation. The door was open to all who wished to return. Schmid had already left the district and was living in the Nilgiri hills. Lechler felt that he could not honestly accept the Anglican position, and wisely joined the LMS. No difficulty was felt in bringing the Swiss Paul Pacifique Schaffter back to the same relationship to the Society as he had had before the schism occurred. The case of J. J. Müller was more difficult, as he had already received deacon's orders in the Anglican tradition, and had therefore consciously moved into schism. It was not easy for him to return; but in the end all difficulties were removed. In May 1840 he was received back with great joy by all the missionary family. But this time almost all the catechists had signified their acceptance of the new regime. In the Tirunelveli church today Rhenius is universally held in honour as the third founder of the church.

4 AN EXTENSION WESTWARDS

The Tirunelveli district, which was annexed by the British in 1799, had along its western border a common frontier with the Indian state of Travancore, into which a multiplicity of small principalities had been merged. For the greater part of this frontier the two regions are divided by the great barrier of the western Ghats; but where the mountains break down towards the ocean there is no clear division between them. In the north and centre of the state the people speak Malayālam; this is the home of the

Thomas Christians. In the south they speak Tamil and are closely related to their neighbours on the British side of the border.

Nowhere in India was the Hindu caste system more clearly defined and more emphatically maintained than in Travancore. The Brāhmans dominated everything, and a succession of orthodox Hindu rulers had maintained them in their position of power.³⁵ The Shānārs were kept in a state of total subservience; the situation of the excluded communities – Paraiyas, Pulavars and the rest – could hardly be distinguished from that of slaves. Actual slavery was a feature of this society.

The Gospel came to south Travancore almost, as it seemed, by chance. The apostle was William Tobias Ringeltaube (1770–1815), a man devout and humble but restless and volatile, who carried eccentricity to the point almost of absurdity. After a brief and unsatisfactory period of service in Calcutta, Ringeltaube offered his services to the LMS, was accepted, and reached Tranquebar on 5 December 1804. His fellow-travellers turned north to start the Society's work in the Telugu area. Ringeltaube was uncertain as to where he should go and what he should do, when, as he records in a letter of 5 August 1805, he received a visit from a native of Travancore, who told him that in his village there were 200 people desirous of being baptised and besought him to come and care for this flock without a shepherd.

Behind this information lay a series of strange events. Mahārāsan, a native of Mayilāḍi, a village in Travancore not far from the border of British India, a Paraiyan, but with more education than usually fell to the lot of members of that community, decided to go on pilgrimage to Chidambaram. Dissatisfied with what he found there, on his return journey he stopped at Thaṅjāvur to see his younger sister and brother-in-law who lived there. On the Sunday he stood outside the door of the church, and heard the preacher, J. C. Kohlhoff, retail such things as he had never heard before. Kohlhoff, recognising from his dress that he was a pilgrim, addressed him, and persuaded him to prolong his stay and to put himself under instruction. After eight days Mahārāsan was baptised, given the name Vedamānickam, and sent back to his own village. His friends and relations were much amazed at the change in him; but, when he showed them his Tamil New Testament and started to explain the new truths that he had learnt, many derided him and started to practise their Hindu ways more zealously than before. Some, however, listened and agreed. Among them were two cousins of Mahārāsan, who on believing received the names Gnānamuthu and Gnānapiragāsam. The younger of the two, who was twenty years old at the time of the coming of the Gospel to Mayilāḍi, later served for forty-eight years with great faithfulness as a catechist of the LMS.³⁶

Believers were few, and troubles were so many that Vedamānickam was inclined to sell his lands and to move elsewhere. Before taking this step he

decided to go once more to Thaṇjāvur and to ascertain whether any help could be sent to him. To his joy he learnt from Kohlhoff that there was a missionary in Tranquebar who, as soon as he had learned Tamil, would be free to come to Mayilāḍi. Vedamānickam prolonged his journey as far as Tranquebar, met Ringeltaube and assured him that whenever he could come to Travancore he would be welcome.³⁷

So it came about that on 25 April 1806 Ringeltaube passed through the Aramboli pass and was in Travancore. From the moment of arrival his difficulties began: 'I spent the day most uncomfortably in an Indian hut. Perhaps my disappointment contributed to my unpleasant feelings. I had expected to find hundreds eager to listen to the Word; instead of which I had difficulty to make a few families attend for an hour.' Still, the beginning had been made; for nearly ten years this was to be the centre of the life and interests of Ringeltaube.

At first he was able to pay only sporadic visits to the flock. He made Pālayankōṭṭai his centre, and for two years or more gave much time to caring for the neglected Christians of Tirunelveli. In 1809 Travancore was in a state of war, and work there was almost impossible. But in 1810 Ringeltaub was able to settle in Udayagiri, not far from Mayilāḍi, and in 1812 in Mayilāḍi itself, where the greatest number of Christians was to be found.

During this time the missionary lived under conditions of extreme simplicity, with a total disregard of comfort and even of appearances. At times he did not have clothes of even ordinary respectability to wear. According to his own account, his house contained 'four broken chairs, two old couches made of wood and reed, and a rope tied from one wall to the other on which a coat, gown and some boots are hanging. Well, and what more? Shelves with books, two tables and one lamp.'³⁸ Yet with all these oddities he must have been a man of considerable ability and notable integrity: he retained the respect and liking of both the Residents who served in Travancore during his time there, and also of the British authorities in Pālayankōṭṭai.

Ringeltaube had no illusions as to the nature and the motives of the people among whom he worked. Any white man was supposed to have influence with the Residents, and to be prepared to use that influence on behalf of Christians. Stern warnings had to be issued to them: 'I took occasion to exhort the people to be obedient to their masters, and particularly to the magistrates, and to waive all views of temporal advantage by profession of Christianity, and not to imagine that they would be exempt from the cross, or discharged from the obligation of their relative duties.'³⁹ In 1813 he writes rather dejectedly: 'I now have about six hundred Christians . . . About three or four of them may have a longing for their salvation. The rest have come from all kinds of motives, which we can know only after years have passed.'⁴⁰

Yet the work did grow. In seven years seven small churches, little more in reality than sheds, had been erected. Each congregation was served by a schoolmaster who served also as catechist.⁴¹ Ringeltaube himself travelled tirelessly from place to place, instructing, exhorting, preaching to the Hindus wherever opportunity offered. But the long years of hard work and loneliness told on both his health and his spirits: 'I am fast decaying', he wrote to the directors of the LMS, 'and am unfit for active service.'⁴²

As there seemed to be no hope of a missionary successor, Ringeltaube, on 23 January 1816, ordained the faithful Vedamānickam to the ministry with the laying on of hands, clothed him in his own surplice, and gave him a certificate of ordination. At that time there were in connection with the mission 747 baptised members, cared for by a staff of twelve Indian workers.

What follows is mysterious. Ringeltaube can be traced as far as Madras, where he spent an evening with the chaplain Marmaduke Thompson, and then as far as Malacca, where he was the guest of William Milne of the LMS. Various reports, contradictory and unreliable, were received as to his further movements, but at this point he simply disappears from history. No one knows when or where he died; the probability is that he died at sea and that the ocean was his grave.⁴³

Though Ringeltaube never knew it, in 1814 the directors of the LMS had decided to send the help for which he longed and which he never saw.⁴⁴ In December 1817 Charles Mead arrived in Travancore. Mead was a man of immense energy and practical skills. He soon saw that Mayilāḍi was no fit place to be the centre of a growing work and moved to Nāgercoil, where a house had been made available for him. From that time on Nāgercoil was the centre of the work of the LMS in Travancore.

In 1819 three important events took place.

Most of the early converts had belonged to the excluded castes. Now a strong movement into the church began among the Nādārs, no fewer than 2,000 being registered as enquirers within two years.

The foundation stone was laid in Nāgercoil for a church which would seat 2,000 worshippers.⁴⁵

A seminary was brought into existence in Nāgercoil, with the same large ideas as activated the Baptists in the formation of their college at Serampore. When in 1840 Bishop Spencer of Madras visited the seminary, he was surprised to find the boys learning Greek: 'They read me a few verses of the *Iliad* and also of the Greek Testament, and their knowledge of the Greek Testament and of the Greek language is really very respectable . . . They also read in English a chapter of the Bible, which they translated readily, and I was told very accurately, in Tamil.'

Charles Mault and his wife arrived to support Charles Mead in the work. Thus began a partnership which was to endure for more than thirty years.⁴⁶

The variety of forms of work developed in this mission is notable.

Plans were put in hand to establish a hospital at Neyyoor. Many difficulties were encountered by the way. The first doctor appointed to Neyyoor left the mission, after only two years, to engage in secular work. In 1853 C. C. Leitch, an ordained missionary who was also a fully qualified medical man, came to take charge of the district and to re-open the hospital. In the five further months of life that were granted to him he won golden opinions, and a great prospect of work seemed to be opening up before him. But in August of that year, to the deep distress of his colleagues and of the many friends that he had made in that short time, he was drowned in the ocean at Muttam, six miles from Neyyoor. But the LMS was planning wisely and largely; the hospital at Neyyoor was to grow into the largest Christian hospital in India.

Slavery was not abolished in Travancore until 1855. A number of the converts and of the pupils in the schools were slaves. Mrs Mault taught little slave-girls lace-making to enable them to earn money to purchase their freedom. This was the beginning of a cottage industry, which survived for more than a century, and brought a little extra prosperity to a great many Christian homes.⁴⁷

It is clear that salvation, as understood by these missionaries, included the health of the body, the enlightenment of the mind, and the training of nimble fingers, as well as the proclamation of the truths of the Gospel.

One unusual activity was added to the list, when in 1818 the pious Resident Colonel Munro secured the appointment of Mead as civil judge at Nāgercoil.⁴⁸ This was part of a series of sincere and well-meant efforts to ensure the protection of the poor. But the authorities of the LMS rightly took the view that the combination of the judicial with the spiritual function did not fit well with the character of a missionary. After one year Mead resigned the appointment.

Ringeltaube had discovered the danger to the work that could arise through too close associations of missionaries with government, even though that association was much less than was generally supposed. The LMS missionaries of a later date made the same discovery, and this led them to be extremely cautious in accepting those who applied for admission to the church. Scrutiny was exacting, and the period of probation before baptism was granted was exceptionally long. This is shown by the statistics for the year 1859, just at the end of the period now under review. There were 210 congregations under the care of seven missionaries and 394 Indian workers. Adherents numbered 16,939, but of these only 2,195 had been baptised and there were only 980 communicants.

The lot of converts has never been an easy one. This flourishing church was not to be exempt from persecution. Custom laid it down that women of the less exalted communities should wear nothing above the waist. The

Thomas Christians have never made any objection to this custom; but in south Travancore this enforced nakedness was felt to be a badge of subjection and Christians began to wish that the custom could be changed. Taught by the wives of the missionaries, some of the Christian girls made for themselves small jackets. Others went further, and provided themselves with an upper cloth resembling the upper part of the *sāri*, as worn by Hindu women. To this blurring of distinctions the Hindus took violent objection.⁴⁹

In the year 1827 persecution was fierce, and it continued throughout the three succeeding years. Several chapels and schools were burnt down. Converts were falsely accused and some were imprisoned. School books were torn in pieces and thrown into the streets. Women were insulted and attacked in the bazaars. Military aid had to be called in to restore order.

At length the *dewān* (prime minister) was approached, and a promise was given that a proclamation would be issued to settle all the matters under dispute. The proclamation, when it came, was not such as to bring much comfort to Christians. The use of the jacket was allowed, but the upper cloth was absolutely forbidden. Labour on Sundays and service at temple ceremonies were not to be exacted from Christians, who, however, were reminded that the Christian precepts included humility and obedience to superiors. Something at least had been gained, and much attention drawn to the injustices suffered by Christians.

Strangely enough the persecution brought about no abatement in the number of those desiring admission to the church. They came in crowds to the churches, 'voluntarily demolishing with their own hands their shrines and idols, and some of them bringing their gods of gold, silver, brass, and wood, and the instruments of idolatry which they surrendered to the missionaries. So mightily grew the Word of God and prevailed.'⁵⁰ An unexpected by-product of the success of the Christian mission, was a movement among the Hindus for the revival of Hinduism.

5 STEADY GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

For twenty years, from 1838 to 1858, the southern Tamil country was the scene of steady, and for the most part peaceful, Christian development.

In 1826 the SPCK gave up its increasingly ineffective attempts to maintain a mission in South India and handed over its responsibilities to the SPG, now able without infringing its charter to work in what had become British territory. The first missionary, David Rosen, arrived in 1829.

The SPG was successful in attracting to its service a number of men of great distinction who had started their career in other parts of the Christian church.

Henry Bower (d. 1885) was an Anglo-Indian who, after some years in the

service of the LMS, was ordained to the Anglican ministry. His fame rests mainly on his work as the chief translator of the Union version of the Scriptures in Tamil, which appeared in 1869 and in almost all the churches replaced the earlier works of Fabricius and Rhenius.⁵¹

Robert Caldwell⁵² (1814–92) was awarded a scholarship at Balliol College, Oxford. After the award had been made it was discovered that he was not eligible, having been born in Ireland and not in England.⁵³ In consequence Caldwell took his degree with distinction from the University of Glasgow. He arrived in India on 18 January 1838 in the service of the LMS. Careful study led him to the conclusion that the Church of England was the least un-Christian of the Christian churches and that the SPG was the least unsatisfactory of the Anglican missionary societies. In 1841 he walked up to the Nilgiri hills to be ordained by Bishop Spencer of Madras, and on his return journey stopped at Thaṅjāvur to call on the aged J. C. Kohlhoff.⁵⁴ Early in December of that year he reached Idayankudi, where he was to reside for the next forty years and to labour with great devotion in many fields of missionary endeavour.

George Uglow Pope, a Cornishman sent to India by the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, reached Madras in 1839. He, like Caldwell, decided that his true home was the Church of England. He reached Sawyerpuram in 1842 and set to work to make the little, remote village a kind of university for South India. A man of wide learning, a perfect master of Tamil on all levels, a brilliant teacher, he was his own worst enemy. Again and again irascibility betrayed him into unwisdom, and in the end it led to his withdrawal from India. But to the end of his life he continued his services to the Tamil language, producing uniquely valuable editions of the Tamil classics and serving for many years as teacher of Tamil in the University of Oxford. He is buried near to his friend Benjamin Jowett, the great Master of Balliol.

The CMS was equally successful in bringing into its service men of great stature.

First to be mentioned is John Tucker, who in 1833 was brought out from Oxford to be the secretary of the corresponding committee of the CMS in Madras. Since 1817 a fellow of Corpus Christi College, he had been a friend of both Thomas Arnold and John Keble, and was fully abreast of developments in what came to be called the Oxford Movement; but he found himself completely at home with his colleagues of the evangelical persuasion. A notable tribute has been paid to him by Robert Caldwell:

he was a man of learning and culture, a devout and holy man, with a great reputation for wisdom . . . It was one of the sights of Madras to see the almost interminable line of carriages, especially on Sunday evenings, that filled the street in front of his church, the chapel of the CMS mission, ever since known as Tucker's chapel.⁵⁵

Edward Sargent, though born in Europe,⁵⁶ had been brought up in Madras and had in consequence a perfect mastery of colloquial Tamil. By diligent application he had made up for the defects of early education;⁵⁷ and, though never a scholar, he was well enough thought of to be placed in charge of the first class of candidates for ordination to be brought forward in the Tirunelveli mission.⁵⁸

John Thomas, a musical Welshman, came to Megnānapuram in 1838, and spent more than thirty years in building up a movement of thousands of enquirers into the Christian church.⁵⁹ Thomas was possessed of many gifts – as lawyer, doctor (though untrained), preacher, teacher, administrator. He was a man of resolute will: ‘there was only one will in the district, and that was his’, wrote his friend Robert Caldwell. He was criticised as being less than successful in stimulating independence of thought and action among his followers; but it must not be forgotten that when he died twelve Indian clergymen whom he had selected, trained and directed joined in carrying his body to the grave.

The co-existence in one small area of two Anglican societies with rather different emphases might have led to difficulties and rivalry. One or two of the SPG men had come under the influence of the Puseyite Professor Street at Bishop’s College, Calcutta, and held views which were not congenial to their brethren of the CMS; but on the whole those of different backgrounds and traditions worked together in amity for nearly fifty years.

It was always the wish of the missionaries that the Christians should live at peace with their neighbours and should change the old customs only when these were clearly incompatible with the Christian profession. But inevitably some among the non-Christians felt the preaching of the Gospel to be a threat to society as organised at that time. Many of the villages belonged to Hindu owners or proprietors, who expected complete subservience from their tenants. The Christians, having attained a new sense of human dignity, were inclined to stand up for their rights – conduct which was at times regarded by the owners as provocative. Christians were advised to endure with patience such injustice as they shared with many others of the poorer classes. But if they were hauled into court on false charges, or if violence reached a certain level, it became the duty of the missionaries to report the matter to the higher authorities.⁶⁰

Opposition to the Christian cause was growing and was marked by the foundation of two new societies, the ‘Sacred Ashes’ (*Vibūthi*) Society, and the Society for Diffusing the Philosophy of the Four Vedas. The formation of such societies was perfectly legitimate, and no objection could be taken to defensive action on the part of non-Christians. But at times the actions were more than defensive, and might even rise to the height of actual violence. About the year 1841 a petition was sent to the authorities complaining of the

murders, plunders, highway robberies, demolition of the temples of Hindoo deities, and other acts of wicked injustice carried out by the Missionaries, who for some time have been strolling about in this province, teaching the Christian Veda, and by the ever-wicked Maravers, Kallas, Shanars, Parias, Pallas, and other low-caste mobs which they have got into their possession.⁶¹

Worse was to follow. In 1845, in the neighbourhood of Nallur where P. P. Schaffter was at work, a carefully organised assault was made on a number of Christian villages; lives were actually in danger, and it was clear that one of the aims was the extensive carrying off of plunder. The situation was so serious, and the allegations against the missionaries so many, that the missionaries of the two societies combined to print and send out a carefully prepared statement, setting the bare facts before the public. This was signed by eighteen ordained missionaries, one of them being the Indian John Devasahāyam.⁶² A case was also lodged in the local sessions court.

The case aroused intense interest as far away as Madras, and led to a resounding controversy between the civil and the judicial authorities in Madras. A hundred Hindus had been arrested. The sessions judge, concluding that the evidence was confused and uncertain, acquitted some of the accused but convicted others. Those convicted, with the help of leading Hindus, immediately appealed to the Sadr Adalat, the higher court in Madras, which reversed the judgement of the lower court and ordered all the prisoners released.

At this point the governor, the Marquess of Tweeddale, intervened, called for all the papers relating to the trial, and, taking the view that one of the judges, Malcolm Lewin, through over-sympathy with Hindus and dislike of missionaries, had gravely departed from judicial impartiality, dismissed him from his post, constituted a new court and ordered a re-trial. Inevitably such a decision aroused an immense furore of controversy. The missionaries on the whole took the view that Tweeddale had been specially sent by the Lord to prevent a grave miscarriage of justice; the legal profession and many in the European community took the opposite view, and held that the independence of the judiciary had been gravely infringed.

However, the governor's decision was a decision. The new court was formed, the re-trial was held, the guilty were again found guilty, but were sentenced to less severe penalties than some felt that they had deserved. The missionaries, who had not desired to be vindictive towards the offenders, felt that the judgement of the new court was fair to the Indian Christians, and merciful towards the accused, and were therefore well satisfied with the result.⁶³

In many places peaceful co-existence between Christians and non-Christians was achieved. But the harassments were sufficient to make many Christians feel that they would be better off if they moved away from their

neighbours and settled elsewhere. The population had been considerably diminished by constant wars, by famine and by the ravages of cholera and other epidemic diseases. There were large areas of empty land, and it was not difficult to secure extensive areas for Christian settlement. So Suviseshapuram (the village of the Gospel), Ānandapuram (the village of great joy) and many others came into existence. These settlements gave peace to the Christians; but there were grave drawbacks. The Christians had drawn out of Hindu society and thus lost the opportunities for Christian witness provided by propinquity and by the tangle of family relationships. There was a certain artificiality about these villages: having no deep roots in tradition, they failed at times to produce coherent and orderly societies. As the number of missionaries increased and a number of them settled in these Christian villages, the power of the foreigner tended to increase, and the ability of the Indian Christians to take independent action correspondingly to diminish.

It must not be supposed, however, that the Christians were without means of asserting themselves. Docility is not a characteristic of the Tamil people, especially in those classes from which the Christians were for the most part drawn. When in 1845 Bishop Spencer of Madras carried out his second visitation of Tirunelveli, he found himself unable to visit Mudalūr, since the Christians were engaged in conflict with their gentle and devout missionary, George Heyne.⁶⁴

The missionaries found it wise to consult the people on all matters which concerned them and, wherever possible, to accept their advice. One example may be given. At the height of the palmyra season, when the sap is rising rapidly, the trees should be climbed three times a day seven days a week. But, if this is done, how can the climbers come to church? The faithful, when consulted, agreed that the second climb might be omitted on Sundays; it would then be possible for the young men to combine their duty to the trees with their Christian avocations. Thus arose the custom, continued to the present day in many villages, of having the principal Sunday service at the hottest time of the day.

Careful as the missionaries were to regard the susceptibilities of the Indian Christians and to take them into their confidence, they were not wholly successful in avoiding contentions, in many cases arising out of caste feelings, of which the Christians were far from having entirely freed themselves. Just at the end of the period under review, the Indian demand for independence reached the proportions of what at one time threatened to become a considerable schism.

The exact occasion of the dissension is uncertain, and very varying accounts of it are to be found in the sources. All, however are agreed that the head and centre of it was one Arumaināyagam (1823–1918), commonly

known as Sattampillai ('monitor'), from the title which he bore in the Christian educational system. This man, recognised as the most brilliant pupil of the Sawyerpuram seminary, was employed in the SPG school at Nazareth, but in 1850 was dismissed from his post by the missionary superintendent, in circumstances which have never been satisfactorily cleared up. He went to Madras, and while there read a small book written by the Reverend Robert Caldwell: *The Tinnevelly Shanars: a Sketch of their Religion and their Moral Conditions and Characteristics as a Caste* (Madras: SPCK, 1849). In this Caldwell had written, not untruly but in rather uncomplimentary style, about the people among whom he had worked for nearly ten years. Sattampillai's already existing anti-white and anti-missionary feeling was fanned to white heat, and he returned to Tirunelveli, actuated by two separate but overlapping aims.

The first purpose was to give the Shānārs a new sense of dignity, by elevating them from their ambiguous position in the social scale to the status of a respectable Hindu caste, with the caste title of Nādārs, 'dwellers in the land'. This was supported by the affirmation that the Shānārs were actually the Kshatriyas, high-born nobles, of the south, and descended from the ancient kings. Those who accept this legendary tale are probably few, but it is evidence of the success of the movement to which Sattampillai gave his support that the caste-title 'Nādār' is today in almost universal use, and that the name 'Shānār' has practically disappeared.

The second aim of Sattampillai was to create a church which should be free from all white and missionary influences. With the help of a number of disaffected catechists in the local missions, and of Christians in whom caste relationships proved stronger than Christian affiliations, he brought into a being at Prakāsapuram, a village one mile from Nazareth but within the area cared for by the CMS, the Hindu Church of Lord Jesus. Desirous of removing everything that could suggest European influence, the founder at many points went back from the New Testament to the Old. He himself used the title Rabbi. Like the Seventh Day Adventists, who were later to become their neighbours, the Hindu Christians observed Saturday as the day of worship. The church was built on the model of the Jewish temple in Jerusalem. Incense was used in worship, and it is reported, though not on unimpeachable evidence, that on occasion animal sacrifice was practised. For a brief period it seemed as though the Hindu church might draw in a large number of the local Christians; at the height of its popularity it was reckoned to have 6,000 members. But such hopes were not to be fulfilled.

After more than a century the small community of the Hindu Christians still exists. That it should have been able to maintain itself so long without any help from outside is certainly a remarkable feat in Indian Church

history. But the claim that this can be seen as a successful example of an Indian independent church is acceptable only with considerable reservation. The highest point of success of the movement seems to have been reached about 1860. The founder lived on for more than fifty years and watched the slow decline of the movement which he had called into being and the frustration of the high hopes with which he had set out upon his venture. Today the Hindu Christian church exists only as one tiny community in Prakāsapuram. For this a number of reasons can be adduced. The new movement never worked out a coherent theology related to the revelation of God in Jesus Christ. Its appeal was limited to a single caste, the Shānār-Nādārs. Almost all those who joined it were discontented members of existing Christian churches. The Hindu Christian fellowship does not seem to have set itself even to convert members of the Nādār community, let alone to spread out among the numerous Hindu castes by which it was surrounded. It was founded not so much on love as on resentment and ill-will. It seems to have depended too much on the charismatic qualities of the original founder, which do not seem to have been passed on to the sons who took over the inheritance from him. To the Christians in the neighbourhood, the Hindu Christian movement has served as a warning against complacency; it has never served as an inspiration or as a guiding star.

To read the records of the time is to receive an impression of great stability. Some fell by the wayside, and there were many imperfections; but many stood firm even in the face of threats and violence. Literacy was on the increase even among girls. There had been a considerable production of Christian literature. Above all there was a steady rise in the competence and devotion of the lay assistants through whom so much of the work was done.

The missionaries had developed, on the foundations laid by Rhenius, the famous Tirunelveli system, which was noted and copied by missions in many parts of India. All the workers were required to come in to headquarters once a month and to spend two days there. Careful and systematic instruction in the Bible and in Christian doctrine would be given. A sermon would be preached by one of the catechists and discussed and criticised by the others. Every problem of Christian life in the villages would be discussed. Then the workers, having received their pay, would return to their villages on foot. Out of this careful lay-training the ordained Indian village ministry came into being. Of those who signed the declaration referred to above, seventeen were foreigners and only one was an Indian. Some missionaries saw that this simply would not do. An Indian church must have an Indian ministry. Risks would be involved, but they must be taken, the best candidates must be ordained, and the result must be left to the Holy Spirit.

6 A HEROIC PIONEER

Just at the end of the period under review the northern part of the district of Tirunelveli was the scene of an unusual form of Christian enterprise.

Thomas Gajetan Ragland (1815–58) had taken high honours in mathematics at Cambridge, and had become fellow and tutor of Corpus Christi College.⁶⁵ In 1845, the year in which John Henry Newman finally decided to leave the Church of England, Ragland offered himself to the CMS for service in India and was accepted; he reached Madras in January 1846.

For a number of years he served as secretary of the corresponding committee in Madras, carrying out his duties with the meticulous precision which characterised everything that he did. But he had always maintained a longing for more direct missionary work. On a long visit to the stations in Tirunelveli and Travancore, he was struck by the great difference between the southern and the northern parts of the district of Tirunelveli. In the south were numerous missionaries, each with his flourishing district, and large groups of Christians organised almost on the model of the English parochial system. The north by comparison had been much neglected. There was no resident missionary. When in 1845 a widespread spirit of enquiry was awakened, it died away to nothing because no one could be spared to develop it.

Ragland worked out a careful plan for extensive itineration in the area, to be carried out by three missionaries with Indian helpers, chosen for their spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice. Life would be hard, as much of the year would be spent in tents, with periods of rest in headquarters. This was to be no casual and unplanned sowing of the seed. A carefully drawn map of the area showed about 1,000 towns and villages. These were minutely surveyed by Ragland, who reckoned that it would be possible to cover the entire area in a year, a period which he hoped later to be able to reduce to nine months.

The aim was to be steady and systematic turning of the soil and sowing of the seed, in the expectation that response would show itself in certain areas; when this occurred, concentrated work should at once be undertaken in the hope that congregations would come into being.

It seemed unlikely that Ragland himself would be able to take part in such a venture. His health was always frail. Slight deafness prevented him from ever acquiring a good knowledge of Tamil; he was not a ready speaker, and had no gift for controversy or for ready repartee. Moreover he had an almost morbid sense of his own unworthiness. By the time of his death all who knew him regarded him as one of the chosen saints of God; but sainthood did not come easily to him. He was sensitive, impatient, fretful, at times hasty and intemperate in speech. Yet he was able so to master all these imperfections that many of those who knew him never suspected the temptations that had been overcome.

When Ragland returned from leave in England in 1853, his health had so much improved that to his great joy he was appointed to lead the new enterprise. He was to be accompanied by two young missionaries, Fenn and Meadows, and by an experienced Indian colleague, Joseph Cornelius. Ragland's plan was put into operation, and found to work excellently. The small, scattered congregations gained new heart. Knowledge of the area was steadily accumulated. Immediate gains were few but not expected.

Fate, however, seemed to be against the venture from the start. Fenn fell desperately ill of typhus and had to be away from the mission for more than a year. In 1858 two other young missionaries, Every and Barenbruck, were carried off by cholera. Ragland's health had shown signs of increasing debility. Then, in October 1858, while resting in the bungalow at Sivakāsi which had been built as a home for members of the team during their periods of rest, he was seized with violent haemorrhages and died in a few minutes.

The work was never resumed in the same way and on the same scale. Nothing seemed to have been gained. Yet forty years after Ragland's death, in Sivakāsi where he lies buried, a notable movement broke out among the women, a movement to which there has never been a parallel in any other part of India. Year after year women of substance and of good position in society (though not of high caste) decided to join the church and were baptised semi-secretly but with the knowledge of their husbands. There has never been a parallel movement among the men; but the Ragland Memorial Church in Sivakāsi preserves the memory of one whom the Indian church has never forgotten.

The four silver cups, engraved with the pelican (the symbol of Corpus Christi College), which he had won while a young man as mathematical prizes at Cambridge, are still in use as chalices in the churches of that northern Tirunelveli which he loved and for which he gave his life.⁶⁶

II · The Thomas Christians in Light and Shade

All attempts to bring together the two wings of the Thomas Christians had failed. The two groups continued in separation, curiously interconnected by ties of relationship and sometimes of friendship, but distinct in allegiance and in some of their habits and ways of doing things. The end of the period 1786–1858 found them yet more deeply divided by further influences from the West, the coming of which had not been foreseen in the eighteenth century.

I THE ROMO-SYRIANS

The worthy plan of the Portuguese to provide an Indian bishop for the Serra had been frustrated by the untimely death of Archbishop Kariyaṭṭil in 1786, before he had even taken charge of his diocese of Cranganore. The natural successor seemed to be present in the person of the administrator Thomas Pareamakal, who had accompanied Archbishop Kariyaṭṭil on his journey and had written an account of it.¹ But the authorities apparently felt that he was not the right man to hold this high office. This judgement seems to be confirmed by a letter from the bishop of Cochin to the archbishop of Goa, dated 29 October 1792, in which it is stated that Pareamakal (this is his spelling of the name) is intriguing against the *padroado* and the archbishop in vengeance for the failure to appoint him as archbishop of Cranganore.² No further appointment of an Indian bishop was made for more than a century.

C. C. de Nazareth³ has worked out with immense industry the names, and, as far as the facts are attainable, the careers, of all who held high office in the dioceses of Cranganore, Cochin and Mylapore, over a period of nearly three centuries.⁴ With few exceptions these are shadowy figures, few of whom rose above the level of the purely conventional and traditional. The dioceses were often left for long periods without bishops. A number are noted as 'bishops elect', bishops who never managed to secure episcopal consecration but did succeed to the management of their dioceses; but more are listed as governors – administrators who could not carry out any episcopal act unless by special permission. The majority of these officials served only for a very limited period. On a single page of the *Mitras* (vol. II, p. 57) are listed the

names of no fewer than nine men who held this office. It should be noted, however, that one of these, the Franciscan Fr Joachim of Sta Rita (Botelho), by special permission of the pope confirmed no fewer than 50,000 children. Another, the Dominican Fr Paul of Thomas of Aquinum and Almeida, did secure consecration as archbishop of Cranganore on 4 March 1821 but effectively ruled his diocese for less than a year. He died on 19 December 1823 at the age of fifty-one.⁵

As far as anything emerges from these pages beyond names and dates, the impression left on the mind of the reader is of a church fully committed to the maintenance of the *status quo*. The Romo-Syrians made no attempt to increase their numbers by conversion of non-Christians. Numbers, in point of fact, show a tendency towards slight diminution rather than increase. There are few signs, if any, of an adventurous spirit or of a desire to adapt the Christian message to the needs of Indian society.

Things went rather better in the vicariate of the Serra, which continued to be under the direction of the Italian Carmelites with their great centre at Varāppoli (Verapoly). This is partly to be accounted for by the better relations which they managed to maintain with the Dutch, as long as these were in control. The Dutch never quite overcame their dislike of the Portuguese and their suspicions of the Portuguese missionaries. From the start the Italians managed to enter into friendly, and at times even cordial, relations with the Dutch and received help from them in various ways. The British, when they replaced the Dutch,⁶ maintained their rule of even-handed justice to all parties, but their main interest was in the fortunes of the independent Thomas Christians; the strongly Protestant views of some of the British Residents caused them to look with less favour on the Romo-Syrians.⁷

A valuable note from the year 1838⁸ gives us the information that in that year there were in the archdiocese of Cranganore 72 churches of the Syrian rite with a Christian population of about 76,000, and in the vicarate of the Serra 42 churches, with 32,000 adherents. To these should be added, on the basis of probability, about 40,000 of the independent Syrian tradition.⁹

2 THE INDEPENDENT THOMAS CHRISTIANS

In 1786 Dionysius the Great (Mar Thoma VI) had already been a bishop for twenty-six years. In 1770 he had accepted re-consecration at the hands of foreign bishops, and from that time on his position seemed secure. Even the Roman Catholics accepted his consecration as valid, though schismatic, and his followers were naturally delighted to have a bishop against whom the old objections could not be raised. Yet life was never as peaceful for him as he could have wished.

To a large extent his troubles were of his own making. Before the eyes of all

bishops among the Thomas Christians dangled the possibility that the two branches of the church might become once again one body; each naturally saw himself as the head of this happily united community. This restless ambition led Dionysius into an endless series of negotiations with the Roman Catholics, all destined to end in frustration. It seems that as late as 1799 Dionysius made some kind of submission to Rome, and as evidence of his sincerity agreed to celebrate mass with unleavened bread. But he had hardly entered into the agreement when he broke it, and thereby landed himself in legal proceedings in the Travancore law courts; the verdict of the court was unfavourable to him.¹⁰ This was the end of his attempts to secure recognition from Rome.

Mar Ivanios, the last survivor among the foreign bishops, died in 1794. In 1796 Dionysius consecrated his nephew Mathan as his coadjutor and successor, with the new name Mar Thoma VII.

In 1799 the first British Resident, Colonel Macaulay, arrived in Travancore, to be succeeded in 1809 by the devoutly Christian Colonel Munro. With the coming of the English the independent Thomas Christians emerged from the obscurity in which they had long been hidden.

The first visitor from outside was the Reverend Dr R. H. Kerr, chaplain in Madras, who came to Kerala in 1806. Kerr was sympathetic to what he found. He reported that 'the service in the Syrian church was performed nearly after the manner of the Church of England, and that such Roman Catholic tenets as were rejected by Anglicans were not held by them'. The remark of G. T. Mackenzie that 'Mr Kerr did not go below the surface' is perhaps justified.¹¹

Later in the same year came a better-qualified and much more influential visitor, the Reverend Claudius Buchanan, vice-provost of the college of Fort William in Calcutta. Buchanan had a genuinely enquiring mind, and an almost journalistic skill in the presentation of what he had learnt. His book *Christian Researches in Asia*¹² immediately became a best-seller, passed through many editions, and introduced the reading public in England to worlds of which at that time it knew nothing.

Buchanan visited Cranganore and Ankamāli, and others of the main Syrian centres. The highlight of the journey was, naturally, the two visits Buchanan was able to pay to the *metrān* Dionysius the Great, then about seventy-eight years old. The impression made by this prelate was entirely favourable: 'he is a man of highly respectable character in his Church, eminent for his piety, and for the attention he devotes to his sacred functions. I find him to be far superior in general learning to any of his clergy whom I had yet seen.'¹³

One of the main subjects discussed with the *metrān* was the provision of Scriptures for the church, and in particular the translation of the Bible into

Malayālam. The *metrān* agreed that there was nothing in their canons against the translation of the Scriptures; such a translation would undoubtedly be of great benefit to the community; he would himself see to it, with the help of learned *cattānārs*, a number of whom were perfectly at home in both Malayālam and Syriac.¹⁴ As a token of affection Mar Dionysius gave to Buchanan a beautiful copy of the whole Bible in Syriac. 'It will be safer in your hands than in ours', he said. 'And yet we have kept it, as some think, for near a thousand years.'¹⁵

The most delicate subject discussed between Buchanan and the *metrān* was the possibility of a union between the Anglican and the Syrian churches. On this, naturally, the *metrān* was very cautious. 'I should sacrifice much for such a union', he said; 'but let me not be called upon to compromise anything of the dignity and purity of our church.' Buchanan was quick to assure him that, in the event of union being arrived at, no such sacrifice would be demanded of him.¹⁶

When allowance is made for Buchanan's initial ignorance of the church which he was visiting and the difficulty of communicating through interpreters, what he had managed to learn was of considerable significance. Yet he suffered under a number of illusions, which he passed on to his readers, and these caused difficulties in the later relations between the two churches. He believed himself to have discovered a primitive, and in the main pure, church which had for the most part escaped what he regarded as the deformities of the church of Rome. He gravely underestimated the differences which in fact existed between the Church of England and the Thomas Christians. Like many of his predecessors, he failed to understand the attachment of the Thomas Christians to their own customs and traditions, and the tenacity with which they were capable of resisting any change.

Buchanan's principal hope was that, once enlightened, the church of the Thomas Christians could become a wonderful instrument in the hand of God for the evangelisation of the whole of India, free from the disadvantages which attach to the work of the foreign missionary. In point of fact the Thomas Christians were not much interested in evangelising even their own Hindu neighbours and had never looked beyond the narrow limits of their own territory between the mountains and the sea.

3 NEW BUILDING ON OLD FOUNDATIONS

Buchanan had thrown out the challenge. What would the Church of England make of it?

That an answer was made to the challenge was due almost entirely to the efforts of one remarkable man. Colonel J. Munro became Resident of

Travancore in 1809, and held the office for nearly ten years. For a considerable part of that time he was also in charge of the administration of both Travancore and Cochin. This unusual combination of offices meant that Munro was lord of all that he surveyed. He was strict, authoritarian and paternalistic in his methods; but his strength and his authority were directed to one single end, the welfare of those committed to his care. He found these feudatory states impoverished, divided and weakened by a chronically corrupt government; he left them peaceful, united and moderately prosperous. The whole population rejoiced in the good gifts that he had brought them, and regarded him as their European saviour.¹⁷

Munro was a man of deep piety and profound evangelical conviction. The independent Thomas Christians were the objects of his special concern and loving care. He found them poor and depressed, ignorant and, by his evangelical standards, superstitious. He was intensely desirous of seeing a renewal of their life, and was prepared to take endless pains to bring this about. If he had been less dictatorial in his methods, he might have achieved more than he did; but to him more than to any other man was due the renewal of life experienced by the independent Thomas Christians in the nineteenth century.

One of the aims of Munro was to make possible the marriage of the *cattānārs*. From one point of view, this was a reasonable step for the Resident to take; he knew that celibacy formed no part of the tradition of the Thomas Christians; it had been introduced only by the Portuguese in the days of their ascendancy. He ascertained that the *metrān* would have no objection to the change.

But Munro's method of giving effect to his wishes was a typical blend of authoritarianism and benevolence. He had expected that the *cattānārs* would come forward eagerly to enjoy the offered freedom; to his surprise they showed considerable reluctance to do so. The reason they gave was poverty – they were too poor to meet the expenses involved in setting up a family. Munro was not the man to waste time on inner scruples; with financial difficulties he was able at all times to deal. In a letter dated 31 July 1816 he expressed approval of the one *cattānār* who had agreed to get married, and asked the CMS missionary Mr Norton to pay to him the sum of Rs. 400, to be handed over in the presence of the bishop. Hearing that fifteen others were prepared to take the step if some provision could be made for their financial necessities, he stated that he would be willing to pay to each of them Rs. 150 or Rs. 200, if this was held to be a suitable sum to set them on the road to domestic happiness. Freedom with pay proved highly attractive; before long the number of married *cattānārs* exceeded that of those who had kept to the rule of celibacy.

4 A MISSION OF HELP

Another of Munro's darling projects was the creation of a college for the education of the priests of the Syrian church. He desired to see as head of this institution an Anglican clergyman of evangelical principles. With this in view he wrote to the corresponding committee of the CMS, recently formed in Madras with the Reverend Marmaduke Thompson as its secretary, asking for its help. The committee took unusually resolute action. Hearing that a missionary, the Reverend Thomas Norton, was on his way to Ceylon, the committee took it upon itself to deflect him to Travancore and to instruct him to report to Munro. Thus an Anglican mission of help to the ancient church in India came into being almost by accident, and without serious thought as to all that was involved in its existence.¹⁸

Norton arrived in Ālappuḷa (Alleppey) in May 1816. His first task was to meet the *metrān* Dionysius II and to explain his aims.¹⁹ He found himself faced by an almost solid wall of suspicion. The Thomas Christians had seen what the Portuguese had done to their church; it was natural for them to suppose that the aim of the English visitor was the total subversion of their ancient traditions. Norton, in his own words,

endeavoured to convince the Metropolitan in the presence of several of his Kattanars that we had no other object than the benefit of the Syrian Church; and assured them that it was our sole desire . . . to bring them back to their primitive state according to the purity of the Gospel that they might again become a holy and vigorous church active and useful in the cause of God.²⁰

In December 1816 Mar Dionysius II died without having consecrated a successor. The affairs of the independent Syrians were again thrown into confusion. But a wise solution was found. Recourse was had to the little diocese of Tolīyūr, the foundation of which was recorded in an earlier chapter. The bishop at that time was Mar Philoxenus, already aged, who made a favourable impression on the Europeans and was greatly respected by the *caṭṭanārs* for his saintliness and integrity. He was persuaded with some difficulty to emerge from the retired life which he preferred and to take charge of the Malankara church. He agreed, on condition that he was allowed to appoint one George of Punnathra as vicar-general. After eight months George was consecrated as *metrān* with the title Dionysius III, and Philoxenus returned to his chosen retreat at Tolīyūr. The new *metrān* ruled the church until 1825.

In 1816 Benjamin Bailey and his wife joined the mission. The buildings of the college were going up. It was reported that there were twenty-five pupils. Plans were put in hand for taking up as soon as possible the work of translating the Bible into Malayālam.

About this time an unexpected visitor appeared in Kerala in the person of Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, the first Anglican bishop in India. As a high churchman Middleton was apprehensive as to the possible effects of this Anglican incursion into the territories of an ancient Eastern church. He strictly warned Norton that 'experience had already shewn that it was not impossible to scatter disunion among the Syrians; and the ministrations of a stranger not intimately familiar with their idioms, either of speech or thought, might very seriously aggravate the evil'.²¹ He was glad to see, however, that 'there can be no doubt that they are prepared for an intimate and friendly communion with us'.

The home committee of the CMS, when informed of what was happening in Travancore, was not sure of the extent to which it could give its approval to such proceedings. It was only the assurance given by many friends of the operation that the aim was to secure through the 'renovated Syrians'²² a wide extension of the work of evangelization in India that opposition was stilled, and approval of the work secured, on the understanding that reform and not proselytisation was the purpose to be kept constantly in view.

Doubts having been set at rest, the committee took up in earnest the task of forwarding the mission. In 1818 two further missionaries, Joseph Fenn and Henry Baker, were sent to Kerala. In the instructions given to them the missionary aim was stressed: 'We think, with Dr Buchanan, that the revival of the Syrian church will be the means of supplying efficient missionaries for surrounding heathen and Mahomedan countries.' More explicitly the missionaries were told what they were to avoid:

The Syrians should be brought back to their own ancient and primitive worship and discipline, rather than be induced to adopt the liturgy and discipline of the English Church; and should any considerations incline them to wish such a measure, it would be highly expedient to dissuade them from adopting it, both for the preservation of their individuality and entireness, and greater consequent weight and usefulness as a Church.²³

Fenn was an unusual and highly gifted man. When he felt the call to missionary service, he was already a qualified lawyer earning £1,500 a year, a very large sum in those days. He proved to be an excellent missionary, perhaps the most successful of all those who served the mission of help in its early days. It was a misfortune that ill-health compelled him to return to England after only eight years of service.

One further witness to the propriety of the conduct of these first missionaries may be cited. The Reverend W. H. Mill was in Kerala in 1821 and 1822 with a view to surveying the Syriac manuscripts in the possession of the ancient church; naturally he spent much time with the missionaries – especially with Fenn with whom he had been at school.²⁴ They made him

welcome, took him round on their journeys, and showed everything that he could wish to see of their work. Close acquaintance dispelled prejudice. He wrote:

they do nothing but by the express sanction of the Metropolitan . . . their use of the Anglican service for themselves and their families in one of their chapels is agreeable to the catholic practice of these Christians (who allowed the same 250 years ago to the Portuguese priests) and is totally unconnected with the purpose of obtruding even that liturgy upon the Syrian Church.²⁵

The missionaries were prudent in their conduct, but the disturbance caused by their presence was probably far greater than they realised. They had under their control the young men destined for the ministry of the church; though a majority among these disappointed them by their total lack of desire for learning, some had drunk in new ideas of the Gospel and the church. The Syrians, with their habitual courtesy, concealed their feelings from the foreigner; there can be no doubt that many among them were deeply anxious and apprehensive. The missionaries might have introduced only the nose of the camel into the tent; the Syrians were shrewd enough to feel that the whole weight of the camel was pressing from behind.

The translation of the Bible into Malayālam was from the start a major concern of the missionaries. This proved to be a work of much greater difficulty than had been expected. Neither grammar nor dictionary was available.²⁶ Two earlier translations made by *catṭanārs* from Syriac proved to be so imperfect as to be unusable. The major difficulty was that at the time there was no standard Malayālam prose; into what kind of Malayālam should the Scriptures be translated?²⁷

So the work dragged on rather slowly. At last in 1829 5,000 copies of the New Testament were printed and were available for use. The Bailey version is vulnerable to criticism on a variety of grounds. Too close an adherence to the Greek original at times distorts the Malayālam idiom. An excess of Sanskrit words makes the book difficult reading for the less learned among its readers. Elegance of diction is sadly lacking. But the 5,000 copies were sold in a surprisingly short space of time, and the sales continued. Perhaps no single event contributed more to the renewal of life among the Thomas Christians.²⁸

The translation of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer was a much more questionable proceeding. The missionaries had held Anglican services in English for themselves and their families. Before long, however, they became convinced that to make the Syrians acquainted with the Anglican liturgy would be a valuable contribution to that reformation which they desired to see taking shape within the Syrian church:

Not that we wish to impose any of our ceremonies on them, much less to identify them with the English Church; but a model is necessary for them in their attempt at

reformation; and we know of none better than the sober but dignified deportment of the Church to which it is our privilege to belong.²⁹

A number of copies of the parts of the Prayer Book which had been translated were circulated among the *caṭṭanārs*, some of whom seem to have used them in their churches. For the Syrians to engage in worship in their own language was an entirely new experience, and some of them found this very attractive in spite of the absence of the ceremonies to which they were accustomed. But it was made clear that the Prayer Book was never to be regarded as more than a supplement to the Syriac liturgy. Holy Communion was never celebrated in Malayālam, and the missionaries never on any occasion invited a Thomas Christian to receive Communion at an Anglican service. This they would have regarded as an infringement of the order of the church and of the rights of the *caṭṭanārs*.

What the missionaries were doing was, however, much more dangerous than they seem to have realised. A number of Malankara Christians insensibly came to feel themselves more at home in Anglican worship than in the Syriac rite with which they had grown up. Subversion was not intended, but it was undoubtedly taking place.

In 1825 Mar Dionysius III died. He never made any secret of his attachment to the old ways and of his loyalty to the patriarch of Antioch; but he remained on excellent terms with the missionaries. They in return felt respect and deep affection for him, and sincerely mourned him when he died.

Once again recourse was had to the venerable Mar Philoxenus, who was persuaded to emerge from retirement, and to take up the heavy burden of serving as *metrān* of the bereaved church. It was clear that this aged man could not bear the whole burden alone, and his request for a coadjutor was immediately granted. As there was no agreement among the Syrians as to who the coadjutor should be, the ancient method of casting lots was adopted.³⁰ The lot fell upon Cheppāṭ Philip (Philipose Malpān), who was consecrated with the title Mar Dionysius IV, on the understanding that he would work under the direction of Mar Philoxenus as *metrān*. This arrangement lasted until 1830, when Mar Philoxenus died, full of years and honour and deeply regretted by his missionary friends. Mar Dionysius then ruled as *metrān* for twenty-five years of what an Indian writer has called 'an exceedingly unquiet episcopate'.³¹

Few writers have a good word to say about Mar Dionysius. As long as Mar Philoxenus lived, he concealed his true character. From 1830 onwards complaints were many. The personal life of the *metrān* was not regarded as being above reproach. Abuses crept into the life of the church. The friendly relationship between the missionaries and the Thomas Christians began to deteriorate.

The events of the period between 1830 and 1840 have been the subject of such extensive and embittered controversy that an impartial account, generally acceptable as such, is almost impossible to produce. By the supporters of one point of view the missionaries are represented as destroyers whose aim was to assimilate the ancient church in every respect to the Church of England; Mar Dionysius, for all his faults, is to be regarded as the courageous defender, who saved the church from being reduced to the status of a Protestant sect. From the other side the missionaries are seen as honourable men who carried out loyally their appointed task of working for a much needed reformation in the church without attempting to alter its essential character; while Mar Dionysius is the crafty prelate who resisted all reforms, even those most urgently needed, and produced in the church a new schism which has lasted to the present day.

In the welter of contradictory allegations and rumours, certain events can be taken as reasonably well established.³²

In the crucial period 1833–4, the experienced missionaries were all absent, and the Anglican church was represented only by two young and untried men, Joseph Peet and W. J. Woodcock.³³ Woodcock was inclined to enter into ardent controversy with Thomas Christians on every possible occasion, when he knew little of the doctrine and ancient traditions of the church, and even less of the mentality of the people among whom he had come to dwell. The fiery Peet learned wisdom and became in time a greatly respected and valued missionary. But in time of crisis he was impetuous and imprudent. Many of the charges made against him can be shown to rest on flimsy evidence or none at all. But, even when allowance has been made for this, it is clear that the way in which he behaved was bound to be gravely disturbing to the minds even of those who were inclined to favour what the missionaries were trying to do.

One or two of Peet's more incautious actions should be recorded.

Many of the most precious possessions of the Malankara church, including the famous copper-plates, were kept safely in a doubly locked room in the seminary, one key being in the possession of Peet, the other in the possession of the *metrān*. On the suspicion that Mar Dionysius was intending to remove these treasures from the seminary and to take sole charge of them himself, Peet broke the lock to which he had no key and removed the precious articles to his own bungalow.³⁴ This constituted without doubt grave aggression on the rights of the *metrān*.

A *malpān*, who disliked the doctrines put forward by Peet, on a number of occasions entered the classroom as soon as Peet had left it and directly contradicted what he had taught. One day Peet entered the room while the *malpān* was in possession and heard what was being said.³⁵ For this act of insubordination the teacher was immediately dismissed from his post; against this high-handed action there was no appeal.

Peet gravely offended the *metrān* by requiring him to sign a declaration to the effect that 'I am bound for the future not to ordain Kattanars, before I receive a satisfactory testimony from the Rev Mr Peet and the Malpan who is in the College that they have a good knowledge of the Scripture both in Syriac and in Malayalam.'³⁶ The *metrān* had no intention of acting according to this agreement; nevertheless his pride was wounded by having to submit to this imposition by a much younger man.

An important document recently published³⁷ makes plain the state of exasperation reached by the missionaries and their supporters in Madras at the almost complete failure of nineteen years of devoted work. Much money had been spent and the time of a number of missionaries expended, but there was no sign of any extensive reform of the kind that they desired to see.

The Reverend John Tucker had recently arrived in India as secretary of the corresponding committee of the CMS in Madras. It was part of his duty to supervise the mission in Kerala; in fulfilment of this duty, he arrived in Kōṭṭayam early in 1835. Tucker, like the missionaries then resident in Kerala, was new to India, and he had little understanding of the point of view of the Thomas Christians. He rapidly reached the conclusion that much more decisive steps should be taken against what, from the Anglican point of view were defects in the 'Syrian' position, and that the church should be challenged to engage in a thorough reformation of its ways on lines satisfactory to its foreign helpers. With this in view, the *metrān* should be asked to convene a synod to deal with all the matters still under dispute.

In November 1835 Bishop Daniel Wilson of Calcutta, in the course of his primary visitation, came to Kōṭṭayam. Like Bishop Middleton before him, he had an intense concern for the integrity and independence of the ancient church; but his views must to some extent have been influenced by the missionaries with whom he was staying. Several complimentary visits were exchanged between the bishop and the *metrān*. But on 21 November a final and more businesslike meeting was held, with a number of *cattānārs* present. A long discussion ensued,³⁸ couched in terms of the most careful courtesy. The bishop made it plain that he claimed no kind of authority over the church; he desired simply to make a number of suggestions which he hoped would be acceptable to all concerned. Mar Dionysius replied politely that 'the church shall assemble and take [these suggestions] into consideration'. Subsequent events showed that the *metrān* had no intention of accepting any of the bishop's suggestions. He continued the practice, to which the gravest objection was taken by the Anglicans, of ordaining boys as deacons at the age of seven or eight, and as priests at the age of seventeen.

The synod of Māvēlikara was convened in January 1836. It was attended by Mar Dionysius and by Mar Cyril of Tolīyūr, by more than fifty *cattānārs*, and by a number of lay-people. The missionaries discovered to their chagrin

that the opposition to their work was much stronger than they had supposed. No doubt much pressure had been brought to bear on those present to drift with the tide; but in the course of the debate only one voice was raised in disagreement with the views of the majority. The resolution adopted by the synod amounted to a categorical denial of any need for change, and a total repudiation of all that the missionaries had tried to do.³⁹ The operative clauses are as follows:

We, the Jacobite Syrians, being subject to the supremacy of the Patriarch of Antioch, and observing, as we do, the Liturgies and ordinances instituted by the prelates sent under his command, cannot deviate from such Liturgies and maintain a discipline contrary thereto . . . For this reason we do not follow any faith or teaching other than the orthodox faith of the Jacobite Syrian Christians, to the end that we may obtain salvation through the prayers of the ever happy, holy and ever-blessed Mother of God, the redresser of all complaints, and through the prayers of all Saints.

Shortly after the dissolution of the synod a circular was sent out to the effect that no deacon might study in the Kōṭṭayam seminary on pain of being debarred from the priesthood, and that any *caṭṭanārs* or lay-people associating in any way with the missionaries would render themselves liable to the penalty of excommunication.

5 A MISSION IN DISSOLUTION

So the projects entered into with such high hopes twenty years earlier were laid in the dust; all that the missionaries had attempted to do appeared to have been in vain. Worst of all, the very thing that above all they had desired to avoid – a split in the ranks of the Thomas Christians – was clearly on its way.

The great majority in the Malankara church had rallied to their *metrān* and had accepted his decisions; but there was a minority which had decided that it could not honestly remain within that fold and which desired to be taken into the Anglican fellowship. A considerably larger number had accepted many of the ideas of the missionaries, but, having no desire to leave the church of their fathers, intended to stay where they were and to work for reform from within.

The missionaries had to decide what they were to do. The easiest course would have been to have cut their losses and to have withdrawn completely from Kerala. There were, however, weighty arguments against any such course. Their work had not been confined to the Christian world. Missionaries were at work in Alleppey and Cochin. Congregations of converts had come into being, and, as the Thomas Christians were not willing to receive them, had been organised on the Anglican model. Furthermore, something

had to be done about those who had cut themselves off from the ancient fellowship in which they had grown up. It did not seem fair to leave the reforming party in the ancient church without the help and guidance which could be given only by the missionaries. Rightly or wrongly, they decided to stay. This decision landed them with a number of delicate and intricate problems.

A considerable amount of property had been accumulated – through grants made at the instance of Colonel Munro for the benefit of the ‘Syrian’ community; through the generosity of the *rāni*; through gifts made by the missionaries themselves from their own resources; and through regular contributions from the Church Missionary Society. The property consisted of buildings of considerable value, especially the seminary at Kōṭṭayam; of landed property, including the large area known as Munro Island; but also of lands acquired by the missionaries and of capital sums held on various terms. It was found impossible to arrive at agreement between the *metrān* and the missionaries as to ownership of the properties, trusteeship and rights of administration. The Travancore government, on the advice of the government of Madras, decided to form a bench of three arbitrators, one appointed by the *metrān*, one by the missionaries, and one by the government, to go into all the related questions and to settle the matter. All were agreed that the properties were to be used for the benefit of the ‘Syrian’ community; the question as to who should administer what, and in what way, was tangled and intricate. The arbitrators made their award on 4 April 1840. As to the property acquired in various ways before the arrival of the missionaries there was no dispute – these were held to belong absolutely to the Malankara church, and were to be administered by the *metrān* with the help of one priest and one layman elected by the church. The later gifts, received through the agency of Colonel Munro, were held to be controlled by the conditions laid down regarding the services to be rendered by the missionaries; they were therefore to be administered ‘by the Rev. the Missionaries at Kōṭṭayam, the secretary to the Madras Corresponding Committee, and the British Resident jointly’.⁴⁰ Other properties were sold and the proceeds divided, in what the arbitrators judged to be equitable proportions, between the *metrān* and the missionaries.

To the impartial student it may seem that a fair and generous solution had been reached. This is not the view held by the Malankara church, most of the members of which believed and to this day believe that they were deprived of their rights by cunning and self-interested missionaries, through whose machinations they were robbed of valuable properties which they have never been able to recover.

The missionaries of the CMS felt that in two directions they had full liberty to operate as directed by their consciences.

The college in Kōṭṭayam was still under their control, though it had moved to a different building. They would continue to provide for all classes, non-Christians as well as Christians, the best education which it was within their power to offer. As, despite the threats uttered by the *metrān*, there were always some deacons in the college, *malpāns* to instruct these students in Syriac were from time to time appointed.

The 'mission of help' had now been transformed into an open mission. The missionaries found themselves increasingly drawn into service to the non-Christians around them. For a considerable period, having no church of their own and no Indian congregation of the Anglican persuasion, they had refused to baptise any non-Christian in the neighbourhood of Kōṭṭayam. This restriction was withdrawn, when in 1842 the church (which later became the cathedral) of the Anglican diocese was opened for worship.⁴¹

Converts from the upper classes have always been few. The first successes of the missionaries were among the Īzhavas, that stalwart community which stood roughly on the same level as the Shānārs further south. But the attention of the missionaries had been drawn to two of the most needy groups in the population.

As early as 1818 the missionaries had written to the CMS in London about the forlorn condition of the people called Pulayas, and added, 'should any plans for their amelioration be adopted, and if we can be of assistance, it will afford us great pleasure'. As late as 1906 the official State Manual of Travancore wrote of the Pulayas that they 'occupy a very low rank in the social scale. They are a polluting caste; even other polluting castes above them are polluted by them. Formerly they were all slaves of the masters they worked under.'⁴² They are steeped in ignorance and superstition, and generally very poor.'⁴³

Another group which attracted the attention of the missionaries was that of the hill peoples, often called the hill Arrians, who lived in the forests between Travancore and the Tirunelveli district.⁴⁴

Converts from these two groups were numerous and soon far outnumbered those from among the Thomas Christians and other groups of higher social standing.

From the start the missionaries took a firm line on the principle of the equality of all human beings as children of God redeemed by Jesus Christ. The conference of 1857 declared that 'we are and have been unanimously agreed that converts from the slave castes are to be introduced into our churches and partake of the ordinances of religion and stand on the same footing as other members of the church'. Against their will the missionaries found themselves compelled to spend much of their time in the defence of what they regarded as the elementary rights of their people. One student of the period writes amusingly that 'the aggressive tendencies of Joseph Peet

were now directed from fighting “Syrian superstition” into the more profitable occupation of opposing the appalling social injustice which denied to large groups of people the simplest decencies of life’.⁴⁵

Two Indian writers have drawn attention perceptively to the revolutionary effects of this pioneer evangelistic work on the understanding in ‘Syrian’ circles of the nature of the church:

Syrians had been inclined to regard their church as an exclusive social caste or ethnic community . . . For the first time many Syrians were awakened to three truths. First that the Church exists for spreading the Gospel to all peoples, irrespective of their caste status. Second, that the Church has a special responsibility to serve and uplift the poor and depressed. Third, that the church has a spiritual unity in Christ, transcending all caste divisions.⁴⁶

The third problem for the mission, and by far the most difficult, arose from the predicament of those who had been so deeply influenced by evangelical teaching, and so disturbed by the refusal of the *metrān* to consider any kind of reformation, that they felt conscientiously unable to remain within the fellowship of the Malankara church. That church refused to regard dissidents as still forming part of its membership. Were they to be isolated without any form of fellowship within the Christian world? The Romo-Syrians were always waiting with open doors to welcome any who wished to leave the Malankara fellowship. Were the Anglicans to be condemned for ever to a self-denying ordinance?

The handling of the problem followed no systematic plan. The strongest group of would-be Anglicans was not in Kōṭṭayam but at Mallapalli some miles away. The missionaries, regarding them as still in some sense members of the ‘Syrian’ fellowship, drew up for them a revised form of the Eastern liturgy, removing all those elements which they regarded as unscriptural. These Christians, having formed themselves into a community, naturally desired to have a place of worship. The foundation was laid on 9 March 1836; the church was opened for worship on 27 September 1842. In 1838 land was bought at Māvēlikara; a church was built and opened for worship in 1840.

In 1840 Bishop Spencer of Madras, from whom the missionaries now received their licences, held a visitation in Kerala. He visited nine centres and held confirmations in most of them. The Anglican wing of the ancient church was now in being. The bishop spent eleven days at Kōṭṭayam and enquired carefully into the proceedings of the missionaries. He declared himself entirely satisfied with all that had been done, and was particularly pleased with the college, recognising the promise it showed of great service in the future.

The Anglican ‘Syrians’ have never been a large body, but for nearly a century they provided the greater part of the leadership in the Anglican diocese of Travancore and Cochin, as well as producing men and women

capable of holding high positions in education, in government service and in business.

Some had left the church of their upbringing. Others, while no less committed to the cause of reform, felt it possible to remain where they were and to further the cause of reformation from within the ancient church. The most prominent among these was Abraham Malpān.⁴⁷ Born in 1796, this remarkable man had been ordained to the priesthood at the age of sixteen. For many years he served as teacher of Syriac in the college founded by the CMS missionaries, and was thus brought into close touch with the evangelical form of the Christian faith which they professed. More perhaps than any of the other *caṭṭanārs*, he had adopted the principle that the doctrines and practice of the church must be tested by the Scriptures, and that, though the venerable traditions of the church must not be unnecessarily interfered with, there were many areas of both teaching and practice in which reform was greatly to be desired.

In 1840 Abraham surrendered his position in the college and gave himself up completely to the care of his large congregation at Marāmannu. Here he began to put into effect the principles of reformation as he understood them. The first great change was the holding of the Sunday services in Malayālam. A revised form of the *Qurbāna*, the service of Holy Communion, was also introduced, those elements which Abraham regarded as being at best superfluous, at worst erroneous, being quietly removed. But the structure of the *Qurbāna* remained unaltered; it was still unmistakably the Eastern service which had persisted for so many centuries in the church.⁴⁸

Later events were to show that there had been more sympathy with the cause of reformation, among both *caṭṭanārs* and lay-people, than had appeared in the apparent unanimity with which the decisions of the synod of Māvēlikara had been received. But at this time the main support for Abraham's policy came from the deacons, who like him were deeply under the influence of biblical authority and who rallied round him as their leader. All this was sufficient to arouse suspicion and hostility in the mind of Mar Dionysius; he proceeded to excommunicate the entire congregation of Marāmannu, and announced that he would not advance to the priesthood any of the deacons who had associated themselves with Abraham.

6 ON THE WAY TO DIVISION

This action of the *metrān* aroused grave anxiety in the mind of the *malpān*. He was a reformer, not a revolutionary; convinced though he was of the need for reform, the last thing that he desired was to cause the disruption of the church or the abandonment of its inherited order. He was still a compara-

tively young man, but his health was already precarious, and he foresaw that, in the event of his death, the whole reform movement might die away and be lost. Nothing was to be expected from Mar Dionysius, whose opposition to reform of any kind had if anything become more rigid with the years. Many problems could be solved, if it were possible to secure the appointment of a *metrān* concerned for more than the maintenance of the *status quo* and open to new ideas.

Abraham looked round for a possible candidate and found one in his own family. His nephew Matthew had studied under the missionaries in Kōṭṭayam, and while there had been deeply influenced both by them and by his uncle. In 1840 he was studying in the CMS institution in Madras, where he was again exposed to the biblical and evangelical principles maintained as stoutly by the missionaries in Madras as by those in Kerala. Abraham decided to approach the patriarch in Mardin directly, and to use his nephew as his emissary for this purpose.⁴⁹ Sometime in 1841 Matthew completed the long and arduous journey to Mesopotamia and introduced himself to the patriarch. This potentate received him cordially, and from the first moment formed a favourable opinion of the character and talents of his guest. At some point in the year 1842 the patriarch reached the conclusion that, by consecrating Matthew as bishop and sending him back to India with his own special authorisation, he might restore peace to the church by providing it with a head against whose status no cavil could be raised⁵⁰ and who would be accepted by the whole church as its true and lawful bishop. It is not clear whether the patriarch was fully aware of the evangelical movement in the church in Kerala and of the reforming proclivities of his protégé. The deed was done. The consecration took place, and Mar Matthew Athanasius, as he had now become, prepared to set out for home. To clear the way before him the patriarch issued an order of excommunication against Mar Dionysius.

In carrying out this consecration the patriarch was departing from precedent in a number of ways. Patriarchs had in the past consecrated bishops for the Indian church to which the majority of their subjects belonged. But in every case these had been Syrians of Mesopotamia, selected by the patriarch on the basis of his personal knowledge of them. Consecration of Indian bishops had begun in the seventeenth century; but such consecrations had been carried out in India, in most cases by Eastern prelates resident in or visiting India. It appears that Matthew Athanasius was the first Indian ever to be consecrated as bishop by the patriarch in person. Moreover, though the patriarch was right in thinking that many in the Indian church desired the replacement of Mar Dionysius by a more reputable successor, it could not be said that Matthew had come to Mesopotamia with any recommendation from the church as a whole. The step taken by the patriarch in the hope that it would lead to peace worked in

the opposite direction and became in the end a source of further division leading to the disruption of the church.

The new prelate arrived back in Travancore in 1843, to be warmly welcomed by his uncle, whose health gave cause for increasing anxiety.⁵¹ But Matthew disappointed the hopes of his friends by showing greater eagerness for the expulsion of Mar Dionysius than for the promotion of the reforming movement. It was natural that a new *metrān* should be anxious to establish his position in the church. But it was unlikely that Mar Dionysius, after so many years in office, would tamely accept supersession by a younger rival; he could count on the support of the majority of the *cattānārs*, and hoped for the support both of the Travancore government and of the British Resident. Without delay he took the initiative by writing to the patriarch, assuring him of his own loyalty, and informing him that Matthew Athanasius was in reality an agent of the missionaries, whose aim it was to subvert the church from its allegiance and to change its ways.

Perplexed by these contradictory reports, in 1846 the patriarch sent his secretary, Mar Cyril (Kurilos), to Kerala to straighten things out. It appears that he gave Mar Cyril letters under his seal, but with a blank space in which the name of the person to be accepted as *metrān* of the church was to be filled in. By agreement with Mar Dionysius, Mar Cyril entered his own name in the blank space, and claimed to be the only legitimate *metrān* of the Indian church. Mar Dionysius reported to the resident that he had laid down his office in favour of Mar Cyril.⁵²

The government of Travancore had no wish to become involved in the internal dissensions of Christians. But, being under legal obligation to make certain payments to the church, it could not evade the necessity of deciding which of the two claimants was entitled to receive the money. A commission was appointed to determine whether Mar Matthew Athanasius or Mar Cyril had the better claim; it reported in 1852 that the documents put forward by Mar Matthew Athanasius were genuine, and that those put forward by Mar Cyril were a forgery.⁵³ Matthew Athanasius was accordingly recognised by the civil authority as the one and only *metrān* of the ancient church.

The new *metrān* could urge many things in his own favour. All authorities seem to agree that he was the best qualified, theologically, of all the metropolitans who have ruled the ancient church. Even his adversaries seem to have cast no aspersions on his moral character. He remained on friendly terms with the missionaries, who, though no longer directly concerned in the affairs of the church, continued to take a great interest in them. Unquestionably he had been given authority by the patriarch to rule the church, and as to the validity of his consecration there could be no doubt. The government of the country in which he lived had recognised him as legitimate *metrān* and had assured him of its support.

On the other hand there was much against him. The majority of the *caṭṭanārs* were not willing to accept him as their head; obdurate in their adherence to the ancient ways, they could not tolerate one who had made no secret of his adherence to the reforming party, though less than active in pressing its claims. There were other *metrāns* on the scene who might be able to question the validity of his consecration, on the ground that the patriarch had acted without full knowledge of the situation. Some Anglicans could be counted on to support him; there were others who regarded him as an intruder and were prepared to lend what aid they could to those opposed to him. He could not have a quiet life.

It is almost impossible, on the basis of the available evidence, to form a reliable estimate of the character and work of Matthew Athanasius. There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of his acceptance of his uncle's ideas and plans; yet at times he seemed inclined to place his own interests ahead of the interests of the church. He depended for the validity of his consecration on the patriarch and declared his loyalty to the patriarchal throne of Antioch; but when the patriarch seemed to turn against him, he asserted his independence and acted in defiance of what the patriarch would have required. At times he made no secret of his adherence to the evangelical views of the faith;⁵⁴ at other times he seems to have adhered rather strictly to the ancient Syrian tradition.

It may well be that, in the extraordinary complexities of the situation of the ancient church, no individual could have followed an absolutely straight and inflexible course. Matthew lived on until 1877, having been for twenty-five years the recognised head of the ancient church. It was his aim, as it was the aim of his friends, to establish and to secure peace for the church. It was his misfortune that he became largely instrumental in bringing about that very thing which, from the start, the CMS missionaries had been most anxious to avoid – further dissensions and, in the end, disruption in the already divided church of the Thomas Christians.

12 · Anglican Development

I INDIA AND THE ANGLICAN EVANGELICALS

Anglican clergymen had been active in India since the beginning of the seventeenth century. Throughout the eighteenth century the SPCK in London had given generous help to the Lutheran mission in South India; but chaplains had always been few, and Anglican missionaries were nowhere to be found. By the middle of the nineteenth century the situation was entirely different. That this was so was due more to one cause than to any others – the development of the evangelical revival in the Church of England.

Some of the followers of John and Charles Wesley separated themselves from the Church of England and formed the various branches of the Methodist fellowship; but a good many of the most highly educated and most influential among them remained in the church of their origin and gradually formed the evangelical wing of the Church of England.

Among the Anglican evangelicals one man stands out, in the range and depth of his influence, far above all others. Charles Simeon (1759–1836) never held any office in the church other than that of incumbent of Holy Trinity Church, Cambridge. For fifty-four years he expounded the Gospel as he understood it from the pulpit of that church, and gathered round himself a group of devoted, and in some cases distinguished, disciples. His attention had early been directed to India, to which he referred as ‘my diocese’, and later as ‘my province’.¹ At the time of his appointment to his church in Cambridge, the Church of England was not sending missionaries to work in India; it therefore seemed to him good that some of the most promising among his followers should serve the East India Company as chaplains on its establishment. Thus the noble succession of ‘pious chaplains’ came into existence. These men were not missionaries; they earned their salary by caring for the English-speaking communities in India. But no one could forbid them to learn an Indian language or to make their services available to any Indians who might care to take advantage of them.

The first of Simeon’s friends to arrive in India was David Brown (1762–1812), of Magdalene College, Cambridge, who arrived in India as a newly ordained deacon and was never able to secure advancement to the priesthood.²

Brown was not marked out by any special intellectual gifts, nor is he credited with great eloquence. But he was exactly the right man for the times. Calcutta society was dominated by the goodly trinity – Cornwallis, unemotional in his devotion and unsullied in his integrity; John Shore, later to be governor-general, whose growing piety gradually overcame his constitutional shyness; Charles Grant, the intensity of whose evangelical convictions at times led him into a rather disagreeable narrowness. Brown's manly, straightforward and uncompromising proclamation of the Gospel as he understood it secured for him the favour of these three men, and in course of time he came to exercise an outstanding influence on the whole of English society in Calcutta. For some years senior chaplain at the presidency, he was appointed by Lord Mornington (Wellesley) as provost of Fort William College, an office in which he rejoiced in the opportunities of influencing the minds of young men, some of whom would later come to be rulers in India.

David Brown, though not a missionary, had at all times a deep concern for the non-Christian population around him. But there was at the time little missionary interest in England, and he had to wait long for colleagues who would share his wider interests. At last in 1796 he was joined by Claudius Buchanan (1766–1815), a Scot who had entered Cambridge at the age of twenty-five and was just thirty when he arrived in India. Buchanan proved to be one of the ablest, and certainly the most flamboyant, of all the chaplains who served on the establishment.

Buchanan found various fields in which to exercise his talents. He was appointed by Wellesley as vice-provost of the college of Fort William, and he had much to do with drawing up the statutes by which the college was governed. Mention has already been made of his *Christian Researches in Asia* and of the immense interest aroused in England by successive editions of that work. More influential than any other of his writings was perhaps his *Memoir of the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for India both as the Means of Perpetuating the Christian Religion among our own Countrymen and as a Foundation for the Ultimate Civilization of the Natives* (1805).

When the long debate on this theme wound to its end, and it had been agreed by Parliament that a bishop should be appointed for India, it was the opinion of many Christians that Buchanan was better suited than any other, by his abilities and his acquaintance with India, to put into execution the plans with whose drawing up he had had so much to do. But considerations of health made this impossible. Buchanan returned to England in 1808 and died peacefully in 1815, having seen accomplished much of what he had planned.

In 1806 four new chaplains, all of evangelical persuasion, reached India – Henry Martyn, Daniel Corrie and John Parson for Calcutta, Marmaduke Thompson for Madras.

Henry Martyn was perhaps the ablest, and certainly is the best known, of all the chaplains who have served in India. A Cornishman, he entered St John's College, Cambridge, apparently unaware of his own great abilities. When still less than twenty-one years old, he was ranked as senior wrangler,³ and showed equal proficiency in the study of the ancient languages. In due course he became a fellow of his college. Friendship with Charles Simeon led on to ordination, and to a deep desire to serve Christ in the non-Christian world. Martyn had in fact offered his services to the CMS in 1802, but had had to withdraw the offer because of heavy financial losses and undischarged duties to his family. In 1805, on the advice of his friends, he accepted a Company's chaplaincy in India; this would give him enough both to live on and to support the unmarried sister who was dependent on him. He arrived in Calcutta on 12 May 1806.

Martyn served only six years in India; but he left behind him three imperishable memorials.

Soon after his early death his *Journal* was published *in extenso* by Samuel Wilberforce, later bishop of Oxford and of Winchester. This work revealed to the world an evangelical saint, worthy to stand in the same rank with Blaise Pascal and David Brainerd. In these pages the reader encounters an intensely sensitive, vulnerable spirit, unsparing in criticism of his own weaknesses, increasingly consumed by the desire to be wholly centred in God, to love him above all things and to find his only joy in doing God's will. The writer seems completely and successfully to have hidden his inner torments from all his friends⁴ and to have impressed them by his unvarying cheerfulness.

Martyn was never afflicted by that narrowness which at times has been the bane of evangelicals. His concentration on the study of Scripture was intense, but he records that closer acquaintance with it had deepened his appreciation of poetry, music and painting. From his Cawnpore days the formidable Mrs Sherwood, authoress of *The Fairchild Family* and of *Little Henry and his Bearer*, has left us a series of attractive vignettes. The simplicity and charm of Martyn stand out in every line: 'He used to come on horseback with the sais running by his side. He sat his horse as if he was not quite aware that he was on horseback, and he generally wore his coat as if it was falling from his shoulders.'⁵ Confirmation of this estimate comes from an unexpected source, the *Life* of the great Mountstuart Elphinstone, who had Martyn as a companion on his voyage from Calcutta to Bombay in 1810:

Mr Martyn has proved a better companion than I reckoned with, though my expectation was high. His zeal is unabated, but it is not troublesome and he does not press disputes and investigate creeds . . . he is a man of good sense and taste, and simple in his manner and character, and cheerful in his conversation.⁶

This is amplified in an even more striking comment in a letter:

We have in Mr Martyn an excellent scholar, and one of the mildest, cheerfullest and pleasantest men I ever saw. He is extremely religious . . . but talks on all subjects as heartily as he could do if he were an infidel.⁷

Secondly, Martyn introduced a new expertise into the art of Bible translation in Asia. He had an ear for languages (he was highly musical) such as the Serampore brethren for the most part lacked, and that sense of idiom in which Carey was so sadly deficient. His personal relations with the group at Serampore were as friendly as could be; but not many months passed before he became aware of the crudeness, and the occasionally misleading character, of the Serampore versions. He seems at times to have expressed criticisms which could not but be felt by his elders as wounding.

Even before leaving England Martyn had begun the study of Hindustani. He then launched out on Sanskrit, but abandoned it as being of little use as an aid to the study of the languages used by Muslims, to which he felt himself increasingly drawn. He welcomed the suggestion made by David Brown that he should give himself to the production of a completely new translation of the New Testament in Hindustani, a language in which the Serampore version was held to be particularly defective. But what is Hindustani?⁸ Urdu prose literature was in its infancy; there was no accepted standard to which Martyn might attempt as far as possible to approximate. To a large extent he had to rely on his own judgement and on that linguistic intuition with which he was so well endowed. Intelligibility could be ensured by constant contact with Urdu speakers. Elegance could be attained only through extensive acquaintance with Persian and Arabic. To this, then, he now set himself. Like many other Europeans, Martyn fell in love with the Persian language and acquired a rare mastery in it. For the acquisition of Arabic his knowledge of Hebrew was a great help. Here then was the gigantic task he had set himself – to produce a Hindustani New Testament which would be independent of all previous attempts at translation, a Persian translation so extensively revised as to be in effect a new work, and an Arabic New Testament also extensively revised.

Colleagues in Calcutta believed that Martyn's plans, though grandiose, could be defended, and, thinking to lighten a little the load of his labours, they sent to work with him one Sabat, an Arab. Rarely can good intentions have been so closely matched with disastrous consequences. Sabat is one of the strangest of the many characters who appear in these pages. There is no reason to doubt that he was an Arab of high lineage. After a wandering life, restless, disorderly, and by his own account criminal, he landed up in Madras, where he secured employment as expounder of Muslim law in the civil courts. A chance reading of the Hindustani New Testament brought him to a sudden conviction of the truth of the Christian Gospel. He was baptised by Dr Kerr and received the name Nathanael, being then twenty-

seven years of age. He made his way to Serampore, and by service in the fields of Persian and Arabic translation won the confidence of the Serampore brethren. It seemed a good idea to send him to Martyn, who was setting himself to master the thought world of Islam and the main languages spoken in the Muslim world.

Difficulties began to arise from the very start.

It was not long before Martyn discovered that, though Sabat had amassed a considerable store of miscellaneous learning, he was lacking in judgement and in the habit of self-criticism. Perhaps aware of his own deficiencies, he made up for them by enormous arrogance:

Another of his odd opinions is, that he is so much under the immediate influence and direction of the Spirit, that there will not be one single error in his whole Persian translation . . . Sabat, though a real Christian has not lost a jot of his Arabian pride. He looks upon the Europeans as mushrooms, and seems to regard my pretensions to any learning as we do those of a savage or an ape.⁹

Dealing with Sabat may have been of great service to Martyn in his painful striving after perfect Christian sanctity; but the weariness consequent on endless dealings with his irrationalities helped to deprive him of the already precarious remnants of his health. When he returned to Calcutta, his friends realised that he was already a dying man. Still, the Hindustani (Urdu) New Testament was complete, and from the moment of publication proved itself a classic. When, many years later, a revision was needed, Dr H. U. Weitbrecht Stanton, himself no mean scholar, recorded that the Martyn version was the basis for the revision and that, though changes had to be made, what emerged was still essentially the work as originally produced by Martyn. To very few versions made by foreigners has such a tribute ever been paid.

Martyn saw that, valuable as his work on the Persian version might have been, a finally satisfactory translation could not be produced outside Persia itself. The enfeebled state of his health made it necessary for him to return to England. He decided to take in Persia on his way, to continue his study of the Persian language, and to make what he hoped might be a final revision of his translation. The story of his year in Shiraz, of encounters with the *mullāhs*, of his desperate ride through Turkey in the hope of reaching England alive and of his lonely death at Tokat on 16 October 1812 produced an immense wave of human sympathy in the English-speaking countries and beyond. Even today the influence of Henry Martyn has not died away.

Martyn's third legacy to the church was one which he himself might have regarded as even more important than his translation work – the winning of a convinced Muslim to faith in Christ.

During his stay in Cawnpore (1809–10) the multitude of those who came to him begging was so great that he let it be known that he would distribute

alms only once a week, on Sunday evenings, and that any who wished to profit by his generosity might come to his bungalow at that time. A group of educated young Muslims used to lounge on a kiosk attached to the wall of Martyn's compound, while he addressed this strange congregation. One Sunday they forced their way to the front of the crowd, listened with supreme contempt, and audibly criticised what was said. But one who came to mock remained to pray. Sheikh Salih, a Muslim of good family in Delhi, had become profoundly dissatisfied with his Islamic faith. Having heard Martyn, he desired to know more. Rather cleverly he arranged to make the acquaintance of Sabat, and without the knowledge of Martyn secured appointment to the translation staff. Entrusted with the task of seeing to the binding of the Persian version, now complete, he read the work from cover to cover, and when the reading was complete found himself to be a convinced Christian. He followed Martyn to Calcutta, and after a year of further testing, was baptised by Daniel Corrie, receiving in baptism the name Abdul Masih.¹⁰

Two others among the pious chaplains demand further notice. Daniel Corrie was united to Martyn by the ties of closest Christian friendship. He was a man whom no one seemed to find it possible to dislike. Wherever he went, he was foremost in promoting Christian work among the non-Christians; what he could not do himself he tried to carry out through the work of Indian helpers. Especially notable was his loving care of Abdul Masih during the years in which they worked together in Agra. In 1835 Corrie was called to be the first bishop of Madras, but the call came too late; he lived for only eighteen months to adorn that high office in the church.

Thomas Thomason, fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge, another of Simeon's men (1774–1829), was rather older than most of the other chaplains when he reached India in 1808. For the greater part of his time of ministry, he was attached to the Old Mission church in Calcutta. According to Bishop Heber, who knew him well, he was 'a very good and very learned man – a child in gentleness and facility of disposition . . . he is an excellent preacher'.¹¹ Perhaps he is best known as the father of a more famous son, James Thomason the great administrator, who carried into his official work the spirit that he had learnt from his father in India and from Simeon in Cambridge.

In later times a regrettable division tended to arise between the work of chaplains and the work of missionaries. The evangelical chaplains refused to recognise the existence of any such barrier. They would carry out conscientiously their work among Europeans and Anglo-Indians, but they did not admit that this was the limit of their responsibilities. The non-Christian peoples were all around them, and must equally be the objects of their concern. They associated on intimate terms with such missionaries as there

were. They influenced many laymen in favour of taking the Christian faith seriously and of accepting its missionary obligations. An astonishing number of mission stations owed their origins to the combined efforts of missionaries, chaplains, government servants and soldiers.¹²

2 A BISHOP FOR INDIA

The act of 1813 for the renewal of the charter of the East India Company had laid it down that there should be a bishop for India, and had added that, if a bishop should be appointed, his salary should be paid by the Company, but that all other matters relating to appointment and duties of the bishop should be defined by royal letters patent.¹³

The appointment of the first Anglican bishop in Asia raised a number of problems to which the answers were not obvious. He was to be a bishop of the Church of England, and must therefore be appointed by the crown; but, as there was no electoral body in India, he must be appointed by letters patent, as in the case of episcopal appointments during the reign of Edward VI. As he would not be resident in England, he would not be a member of the House of Lords. He was to be in some way subordinate to the archbishop of Canterbury, but no indication was given as to the way in which archiepiscopal supervision could be carried out. He was to govern his diocese according to the ecclesiastical law of England, but no provision was made for exceptions, such as might be required in India where conditions differed so widely from those prevailing in England. The whole of India was to be in the diocese of Calcutta; but Ceylon, being a crown colony, was not.¹⁴

The letters patent included the name of the cleric who was to become bishop, and also of those who were to be archdeacons of, respectively, Calcutta, Madras and Bombay.

For the bishopric the choice of the authorities fell upon the Venerable Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, archdeacon of Huntingdon. The selection seemed to be unexceptionable. The new bishop was forty-five years old, married but without children. He was a moderate high churchman of the eighteenth-century stamp – well-read, devout, dignified and an acceptable preacher. He had already had an indirect connection with the work of the church in India; an ardent supporter of the SPCK, he was selected to give the charge at the dismissal of the Reverend Christopher Augustin Jacobi, who, under the auspices of that society, was about to leave England for India.¹⁵

The three men selected to be archdeacons were all fellows of Oxford colleges – Loring (Calcutta) of Magdalen, Barnes (Bombay) of Exeter, Mousley (Madras) of Balliol. All three proved themselves to be well qualified for the new and difficult tasks that they had to undertake.

Consecrated in London on 8 May 1814, Middleton reached Calcutta on 25

November of that year. His arrival was allowed to be as unostentatious as possible, apparently out of fear of some disturbance among the populace. Nothing of the kind occurred.¹⁶ Fears as to the consequences of the appointment of a bishop were seen to be wildly exaggerated; insofar as opinion among the Hindus could be tested, the general view seemed to be one of approval that the Company was at last resolved to follow its Hindu and Muslim predecessors in giving official recognition to the religion which it professed. Nor did the Hindus expect the bishop to live like a half-clothed ascetic. It seemed to them reasonable that, like the eminent teachers of Hinduism and Islam, he should have means to live without discredit among his peers.

The bishop had hardly landed when he began to be aware of the gaps and inconsistencies in the letters patent under which he had been appointed. Deeply conscious of the importance of his position as the only Anglican bishop in Asia, he tended to stand upon his rights, and to spend time and strength on matters that in the light of history can be seen to have been trivialities.

The bishop managed to fall out rather seriously with the Presbyterian chaplain, Dr Bryce, who had travelled out to India with him. Bryce, as a minister of the established Church of Scotland, wished to claim parity with the bishop of the established Church of England, and hoped that his church of St Andrew would rival and even surpass the bishop's cathedral of St John. It cannot be pretended that Bryce acted modestly or in a conciliatory spirit; but Calcutta society was not edified at beholding Anglicans and Presbyterians debating almost in arms the question whether both churches might have steeples, and, if so, which was to be the taller.¹⁷

Middleton soon had much more serious causes than these to disturb his mind. He had been empowered to visit and to license all the Anglican clergy in India, all of whom had been placed under his jurisdiction. But what kind of licences could he issue to them?

Many centuries earlier the whole of England had been divided into parishes. But chaplaincies were not parishes; they had no such clear boundaries; and the chaplain had no such guarantee of permanence as his brother in England. Moreover, not all the chaplains were convinced that they needed a licence from the bishop. The tradition had grown up in the three presidencies that civil chaplains received their instructions and appointments from the governor in council, and military chaplains from the officer commanding in the area. What further authority could be conveyed by a licence from the bishop?

Even more difficult, from the point of view of Middleton, was the problem of his relationship to the missionaries. Missionaries of the CMS had been in Bengal before the arrival of the bishop. They were sent out not by the

church, but by a private and voluntary society, to preach to the non-Christians with a view to their conversion. They seemed to wander at their own sweet will, rather than to be settled in one particular place. At the start they had no Christians and no church. But in a number of places where there was no chaplain they were ministering with great acceptance in English, at the request of the English-speaking inhabitants. What in the world was the bishop to do? If he licensed them to preach in English, 'that were to acknowledge them as performing the duties of parochial clergy . . . If I should forbid them to preach in English, while so many European congregations are without any pastor, it would excite horror and hatred both of my person and of my office.'¹⁸ Again, 'I must either license them or silence them . . . there is no alternative. But how can I silence men who come to India under the authority of a clause in the charter?'¹⁹

To a large extent Middleton was responsible for his own troubles. Like many high churchmen of his day, he had an inveterate prejudice against the CMS. Middleton approved of the SPG as a church society, though it was not represented in Calcutta in his time. The CMS did its utmost to show respect for the bishop and sympathy with his aims; it pleaded with him to license its missionaries – it had no wish to see them exempted from episcopal control, though it might wish to see that control rather carefully defined. It made £5,000 available for the great college which the bishop was in process of creating, and £1,000 a year for its maintenance. Yet to the end relations remained cold rather than cool.²⁰

One of the great merits of Middleton's administration was that he set himself diligently to make himself acquainted with all the affairs of his vast diocese. On his first visitation he left Calcutta on 15 December 1815 and did not return till 10 December 1816. The sacrifices involved in so long an absence were considerable but should not be exaggerated. For those parts of his journeys which could be carried out by sea, the government provided him with ships and with such comforts as the ships of those days could make available. When on land, the bishop travelled with a considerable array of chaplains, secretaries, servants, and even a contingent of armed men, the total being in the neighbourhood of 300 persons. Travel was accomplished in the cool of the morning between 5.00 and 7.30 a.m. by which time fresh tents were already in place at the appointed stopping-place. The distance travelled in a day rarely exceeded twenty miles, and Sunday was always a day of rest. The remainder of the day was spent in relaxation and reading, in attending to the business which awaited the bishop everywhere, in visits to the local Christians, if there were any, in visits to scenes and objects of interest on the way, and in the exchange of courtesy with local potentates.²¹ In the course of this and subsequent visitations Middleton was able to visit the old missions of the SPCK in the south, to meet and encourage a group of Christians in

Tirunelveli, to spend some time with the Thomas Christians, to enquire with great particularity into the doings of the CMS mission of help to the ancient church, and to make contact with the leaders of British society in all the main centres of British administration. Although Ceylon was not included in his diocese, he found time to pay it a visit. These travels brought a measure of order into the diocese as well as encouragement to the scattered Anglican forces.

From an early period of his episcopate one of the chief concerns of Middleton was the formation of a great missionary college to be located in Calcutta. The first statement in detail of the bishop's plans for his college is to be found in a letter to the secretary of the SPG dated 16 November 1818. He enumerated four purposes which could be held to justify so extensive and so expensive a plan for the development of education in a church which was still in a rather rudimentary stage of its life:

1. To train native and other Christian youth in the doctrines and discipline of the church, in order to their becoming preachers, catechists and schoolmasters.
2. To give English education to young Hindus and Muslims, the propagation of English knowledge in India being conducive to the progress of civilisation and Christianity.
3. To promote translation of the Scriptures, the Liturgy, and improving books and tracts.
4. To make a home for missionaries on their first arrival in India.

Contributions came in from various sources. The government granted what appeared to be an excellent site on the left bank of the Hūglī, about three miles from the centre of Calcutta. On 20 December 1820 the bishop was able to lay the foundation stone of the building.²² Best of all, the bishop had been able to secure for his college the services of two professors who proved to be all that he had hoped and more than he had expected.

William Hodge Mill (1792–1853) was a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, where after completing his degree he had made good progress in the study of Hebrew and Arabic. He was an old-fashioned high churchman, and this was enough to win for him the special favour of Middleton; but his diary reveals an unexpected depth of spiritual sensitivity, and this makes him a brother under the skin of his elder contemporary Henry Martyn.²³

Students could not be admitted till 1824. Mill, not having much to do during the first three years of his stay in India, devoted himself to the study of Indian languages and especially of Sanskrit. One result of this application to Indology was the production of a remarkable book, the *Christa-Sangita or Sacred History of our Lord Jesus Christ in Sanskrit Verse*.²⁴ According to the Introduction (p. viii), the original projector of this work was neither Jesuit

nor missionary, but 'an unconverted Gentile pundit, Rāmachandra Vidyābhūshanam of Burdwan'. This Hindu had been deeply impressed by reading, in Bengali, the Gospels of John and Matthew, and formed the idea of working up this material into an Indian *purāṇa* in Sanskrit metrical form. When it became clear that he had not the intellectual resources needed to complete his self-imposed task unaided, Mill took over the direction of the work, not only in the selection and supply of the materials, but in their Sanskrit rendering also, using in this occasionally the aid of other pandits beside Rāmachandra (p. xi). The method followed is that of dialogue between a seeker who asks the questions and a scholar who is able to provide the answers to the questions posed. The aim is to set forth the Gospel material with no more distortion than is involved in genuine translation into an Indian medium.²⁵ The writer was modest in his expectations as to the effect of his work; yet he notes with pleasure that 'many Brahmans have expressed a strong desire to read the work; and one heathen pundit now teaches it to his heathen pupils' (p. lix).

Dr Mill held the post of principal of Bishop's College until 1838, when ill-health compelled his return to England. During the years of his residence he played a vigorous part in all the intellectual life of Calcutta, becoming vice-president of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. On learning of his impending departure, the Society presented Mill with an address (4 October 1837) in which the members expressed their regret at his departure, and their appreciation of the services that he had rendered to scholarship. In particular they noted that

the most valuable of your literary undertakings is your Sanskrit poem, the *Christa Sangita*. In that beautiful work the praises of our redeemer have for the first time been sung in the sacred language of the Vedas. It is your peculiar boast that you have caused the purest doctrines to flow in the stream of this noble language.²⁶

Bishop's College never fulfilled the high hopes of its founder. When it opened its doors in 1824, only four students were admitted, and of these only one was of pure Indian descent. By 1829 the number had risen to ten, and by 1835 to fifteen, a very small number considering the scale on which the college had been planned. The majority of the students were sons of missionaries or were drawn from the Anglo-Indian community. The idea of admitting non-Christian students was discussed from time to time, but nothing was done about it. From 1830 on a few non-theological students were admitted. Some of the students did well, but none was distinguished. And Anglican opinion in Bengal was not wholly favourable to the college. The pious Daniel Corrie wrote to the CMS in London that it was likely to produce 'a poor irreligious clergy, likely to become a scourge instead of a benefit'.²⁷

Bishop's College, like Serampore, though based on a noble idea, was premature. By the middle of the century it had almost wholly lost sight of the purpose for which it was founded. It did not come to life again until 1917, when with Serampore and other colleges it entered upon the project of providing for Indian students in India as good a theological training as they could obtain in the West.

Bishop Middleton did not live to see the disappointment of his hopes. Worn out by labours, frustrations and anxieties, he died on 8 July 1822.

For all Middleton's excellences, his work and that of his successors was impaired and hampered by one grave defect which it was beyond their power to cure – the shackles of the state were firmly fastened on the Anglican church in India. Bishops were appointed by the crown and were sent to India with no knowledge of the country which they were to serve; nearly a century was to pass before a bishop of Calcutta was appointed from among those who had already seen service in Asia. Bishops and chaplains were civil servants, whose salaries were paid by the government from local resources.²⁸ No change could be made in the Book of Common Prayer to adapt it to Indian conditions. In spite of all these handicaps the Indian church did begin at quite an early date to develop characteristics of its own and an ethos different from that of the church in England. But the weight of English authority still rested heavily on it, and denied it that spiritual liberty without which it could not worthily fulfil its ministry on the Indian scene.

3 BISHOPS IN INDIA, 1823–58

The successor of Middleton was Reginald Heber, who arrived in India in October 1823, being then just forty years old.

Heber was not a great scholar, though he was well-read both in theology and in other fields. He had a poetic gift of no mean order, and was the author of some of the finest hymns in the English language. He served the church in India for less than three years; yet in that short time he left a deeper impression on the mind of Christian India than any other man, with the possible exception of Francis Xavier. The means by which he exercised this profound influence was by, in addition to unexceptionable Christian goodness and charity, the mysterious gift of charm:

The singleness of his heart, the simplicity of his manners, the heavenly sweetness of his temper, the passionate devotion of all his faculties to the work of an evangelist, seemed to bend towards him the hearts of all the people, as the heart of one man. They who were, at first, surprised at the unostentatious plainness of his demeanour were soon impressed by the vast resources and genuine dignity of his mind.²⁹

To his other great virtues Heber added that of being a most attentive and perspicacious observer of Indian ways and life.³⁰ We owe his great achieve-

ment in this line to an accident. He set out on his visitation of India on 15 June 1824. He was to have been accompanied by his wife; but, as she had very recently given birth to a daughter and was unfit to travel, Heber had to set out without her. He kept her in touch with his doings through journal letters, illustrated by his own charming drawings. These letters give a clearer picture of the life of Europeans in India, and of the Indian inhabitants, especially in the villages, than any other writing of the time.³¹

Heber was kinder in his judgements on the Indian peoples than many of his contemporaries. In his charge to the clergy of Calcutta (27 May 1824) he said:

I have found a race of gentle and temperate habits, with a natural talent and acuteness beyond the ordinary level of mankind, and with a thirst for general knowledge, which the renowned and inquisitive Athenians can hardly have surpassed or equalled.³²

He urged his hearers to avoid 'all expressions hurtful to the national pride, and even all bitter and contemptuous words about the objects of their idolatry'.³³

In matters of churchmanship Heber was simply an Anglican without more precise definition.³⁴ Men and women of all schools of thought found something to admire in him. His attitude towards the Baptists at Serampore was one of respectful friendship; in fact his admiration for them was so strong that he hoped that a union between the churches might be possible: 'if a reunion of our churches could be effected, the harvest of the heathen world would ere long be reaped, and the work of the Lord would advance among them with a celerity of which we now have no experience'. It has to be recorded with regret but not with surprise that this proposal was received with less than enthusiasm by William Carey.³⁵

Heber, in his farewell address to the SPCK before leaving England, had declared that 'his best hope would be to be the chief Missionary of the Society in the East'.³⁶ More relaxed in his attitude to life, and less rigidly attached to the letter of the ecclesiastical law than Middleton, he soon found his way to the solution of problems that had perplexed his predecessor to the end.

The question of the ordination of Indians to the Anglican ministry was settled once for all by act of Parliament (4 Geo. IV c. 71 para. 6), which laid it down that the bishop of Calcutta may ordain any person whom he shall deem qualified for the care of souls; this service to be rendered only within the diocese of Calcutta; all such persons not being British subjects being exempt from making the oaths and subscriptions required of candidates in England.

The first Indian to be ordained under this act, was a Tamil, Christian David, who had for a number of years been at work in the north of Ceylon. Being satisfied of his suitability, Heber arranged for this man to be sent to

Calcutta to receive some further training, and then ordained him deacon and priest on successive Sundays.

The second ordination was that of Abdul Masih, Henry Martyn's convert from Islam.³⁷ This was a more controversial matter, since Abdul Masih, having failed to obtain ordination from Bishop Middleton, had been presented by the CMS missionaries for Lutheran ordination. After long reflection Heber decided that Abdul Masih should receive Anglican orders. His action was misunderstood by many in India at the time, and has been misunderstood by many later readers. Under the Act of Uniformity of 1662 (preface to the Ordinal), no one who had not received episcopal orders could minister in a church regularly consecrated for Anglican worship. Where missionaries had built their own churches, this difficulty did not arise. But, if the ministrations of Abdul Masih were to be acceptable in all Anglican places of worship, including those which had been consecrated in legal order, there was no alternative to his receiving episcopal ordination; it was not within the power of any bishop to change the law.³⁸

To Heber's great satisfaction, the difficulties in the way of missionaries receiving the bishop's licence were seen to be imaginary. The highest legal authorities in England gave the opinion that, under the letters patent, all clergymen of the Church of England exercising any public ministry within the diocese of Calcutta were subject to the authority of the bishop. The CMS had from the beginning desired that its missionaries should receive the episcopal licence. Heber was glad to find that the missionaries to whom he accorded his licence were 'very respectable and painstaking young men, who are doing far more in the way of converting and educating the natives than I expected'.³⁹

The first long journey of Heber in India lasted fifteen months. After only three months' rest in Calcutta, he set out again on his travels, this time heading for South India, where his presence was eagerly desired by reason of the urgent question of caste in the church.⁴⁰ The bishop should have been warned against setting out on such a journey so late in the season. By the end of January the cooler weather in South India is at an end; from the middle of March very hot weather can be counted on. But Heber's strong sense of duty prevailed against the probability of danger to his health.

On this journey, as on the previous one, Heber charmed everyone he met, and he himself was delighted by a great deal that he saw both in the chaplaincies and in the missions. On 25 March he reached Thaṅjāvur and spent Easter there. On 31 March he was at Tiruchirāpalli. On the succeeding Sunday he spent no less than seven hours in church (for English and Tamil services, including a confirmation), clothed all the time in the heavy robes which at that time were regarded as obligatory for a bishop. He then went out to refresh himself in a small swimming-pool attached to the house in which

he was staying; when he did not return, a servant went out to look for him and found only his lifeless body. Heber was not drowned, as has often been asserted. The cause of death appears to have been the bursting of a blood-vessel in his brain on which death followed immediately. Medical opinion was inclined to ascribe this to the excessive strain to which he had subjected both body and spirit. The crisis could have come either earlier or later in his life.

The grief was universal and well justified. Heber was one of those men so gifted that it seems natural that they should lay their stamp on a whole epoch. If he had lived out the full course of his days, the story of the church in India might have been very different from what it came to be.

The next bishop, John Thomas James, who reached India twenty-one months after the death of Heber, survived only seven months. Of his episcopate there is hardly anything to record, except for the remarkable fact that he received a commission to land at the Cape of Good Hope, now firmly in British hands, and to carry out whatever episcopal functions might be required.⁴¹ He was buried at sea on 22 August 1821.

His successor, John Mathias Turner, lasted a little longer; he arrived in India on 10 December 1829, and died on 6 July 1831.⁴² Turner was more inclined than his predecessors to the evangelical form of Anglicanism, and found a close friend in Daniel Corrie, by that time archdeacon of Calcutta. Of his episcopate also there is not much to be recorded. Perhaps the most notable event of the period was a double ordination which took place in Madras on 7 November 1830. Edward Dent, an Anglo-Indian, proved to be a faithful missionary of the CMS; he is credited with having planted at Dohnāvur the famous avenue of trees which still survives. The other candidate was John Devasahāyam, the first Indian to be admitted to Anglican orders in South India. This remarkable man was born in 1786 of Christian parents and was baptised in Tranquebar by Dr John. He had served in various capacities in the Danish mission and under the CMS, and had everywhere shown himself worthy of higher responsibilities. He had married in succession two granddaughters of Aaron, the first Indian ordained (1733) in the Danish mission, and himself became the progenitor of a noble line of Christian ministers, which continues to the present day.⁴³ He was a man of considerable talents, and in his case experience was rightly allowed to take the place of elaborate theological training.

'Mr John', as he came to be universally known, was in later years given charge of his own district (Kadākshapuram, not far from Megnānapuram), and was regarded as being on an equal level with the missionaries of the CMS. He served for thirty years after his ordination, greatly respected by all, and known throughout the mission as an upholder of high standards of discipline. The Reverend J. F. Kearns of the SPG gave a vivid description of him in his old age:

A good scholar and a good musician, playing on the pianoforte, organ and harp. A real good humbleminded Christian withal. He is now upwards of seventy, and of course not quite so active as he was, but he still will not give up any of the work, and even now puts some of the younger brethren to shame. He is a perfect terror to lazy or inefficient catechists or schoolmasters under him . . . [he has] seen him, but a few years ago, mount his pony with a cheroot in his mouth, and gallop off across the red sandy plain in the heat of the day, to pounce down upon an idle schoolmaster in a distant village.⁴⁴

Tragic experience had shown that no human frame could be expected long to endure the labours involved in being the only Anglican bishop in Asia. In eighteen years there had been four bishops of Calcutta; three of these had died while still in their forties. It was evidently necessary that the diocese should be divided. This matter was attended to before the fifth bishop of Calcutta sailed for India, and the necessary legal steps were taken without undue delay.⁴⁵

The act of 1833 for the renewal of the Company's charter contained the words:

And whereas the present Diocese of the Bishoprick of *Calcutta* is of too great an extent for the Incumbent thereof to perform efficiently all the duties of the office, without endangering his Health and Life, and it is therefore expedient . . . to make provision for the . . . founding and constituting two separate and distinct Bishopricks . . . the Bishops thereof to be subordinate to the Bishop of Calcutta . . . as their Metropolitan.⁴⁶

Letters patent completed the work by constituting the dioceses of Madras and Bombay and recognising that bishops for these sees could be chosen from those already at work in India.

For Calcutta the choice fell upon Daniel Wilson, vicar of Islington, a doughty evangelical and a strong supporter of the CMS. As a known friend of India, Wilson had been consulted about the appointment. A number of clerics had been approached, but all for one reason or another had declined. Then, on 11 December 1832, the thought arose in Wilson's mind that, if others could not go, he might go himself: 'I was compelled by conscience, and by an indescribable desire, to sacrifice myself, if God should accept the offering and the emergency arise.'⁴⁷

The offer was accepted, and on 29 April 1832 the consecration of the fifth bishop of Calcutta took place. There was a great deal to be said against the appointment. Wilson was already fifty-four years of age; it seemed hardly likely that he would long survive the rigours of the Indian climate. As Miss Gibbs pointedly puts it, commonsense told him that 'one of the first duties of the Bishop of Calcutta was to keep alive'.⁴⁸ Plenty of exercise, an abstemious diet, and the necessary rest – like Winston Churchill, the bishop rested, and

often slept, every afternoon for two hours – bore their fruit. Wilson held the office of bishop of Calcutta for twenty-five years and died shortly before his eightieth birthday.

One aspect of Wilson's character was delineated after his death with perfect felicity by Alexander Duff of the Free Church of Scotland:

He kept all around him in a state of constant friction and glow. About his manner of speech and action there were some peculiarities, and even eccentricities, which might have proved fatal to the credit and influence of a more ordinary man; but in him . . . they served only to impart a certain spicy zest to all his appearances, alike public and private.⁴⁹

One of Wilson's first concerns was to bring into effect the provision for the creation of the two new dioceses in India. He thought that he had the suitable men ready to hand – Archdeacon Corrie should go from Calcutta to Madras, Archdeacon Robinson (1790–1873) should leave Madras for Bombay, and Thomas Carr should come from Bombay to Calcutta as archdeacon. But Robinson refused the dignity on the ground of ill-health;⁵⁰ so Thomas Carr, 'an angel, so sweet, humble, and spiritually-minded' as Wilson described him, had to become bishop of Bombay.⁵¹

Corrie, who was fifty-eight years old at the time of his appointment and had spent nearly thirty years in India, held office for less than two years, during which he won all hearts by his goodness and simplicity. The authorities then made the mistake of appointing as his successor a man who had never been in India – the Hon. J. G. T. Spencer (1799–1866), who was connected by family ties with the ducal house of Marlborough. Spencer was a good and upright man, thought by some of his clergy to be too authoritarian, but a true friend of Christian missions. But his health was delicate and he spent much of his time in the cooler climate of the Nilgiri hills. His published records of his visitations, however, give us vivid insights into the state of the missions in Tirunelveli during his time of service in India.

After Spencer came Thomas Dealtry (1796–1861), who had been archdeacon of Calcutta, and who held the see until his death in 1861. In Calcutta he had earned for himself a considerable reputation as a preacher – even that critical lady the Hon. Emily Eden refers to having heard an excellent sermon from the archdeacon.⁵² His administration was excellent, considerate to all but firm in essentials. Especially notable was the increase of the ordained ministry during his episcopate. Dealtry conducted no fewer than twenty ordination services, holding them in a variety of places in order that people might become acquainted with the dignity of Anglican ordinations. He ordained forty-four deacons and sixty-one priests, a considerable number of them being Indian.⁵³

Dealtry had his weaknesses, on which his critics were all too ready to

fasten. But there is no reason to doubt that the *Bombay Times* was telling the truth when it reported that 'his influence . . . extended to all classes of the Christian community, European and native, official and non-official, in whose estimation he was constantly rising till the day of his death'.⁵⁴

Bombay was fortunate in having only two bishops in thirty-one years, Thomas Carr and John Harding. Bombay could not compare with Calcutta or Madras as a centre of Christian activity, but one or two happenings are worthy of record.

In 1847 British cruisers began to land at Bombay African slaves who had been rescued from Arab slave-ships. Gradually a home for them was built up by the CMS in Nasik. The part played by 'Nasik boys' in the history of the church in East Africa will come before us in a later chapter.

In 1843 Sind had been annexed by Britain. In 1852, a school which had been founded in Karachi by a British magistrate from his own funds came as a gift to the CMS. In 1854, a CMS missionary, James Sheldon, arrived, and the CMS mission to Sind was in being.

Like his predecessors, Bishop Wilson of Calcutta was a tireless traveller. In the course of his visitations he penetrated many parts of India in which a bishop had never previously been seen. In almost every place he encountered groups of Christians, European and Indian, eager to be confirmed. In Delhi, in November 1836, no less a person than the famous Colonel Skinner of Skinner's Horse, the builder of St James' Church in that city, presented himself for confirmation with three of his sons. It has often been stated that Skinner maintained a large and agreeable harem. This seems to have been true in earlier years, but, after a remarkable deliverance on the field of battle, he abandoned these habits and lived in strict fidelity to a single wife. However, as he explained to the bishop, his wife, being of the Muslim faith, did not enter into society. It is probably the case that he built a mosque for her not far from the Christian church.⁵⁵

Prominent among the aims of the bishop were an increase in the number of ordained ministers and an increase in the provision of seemly and convenient places of worship. There were many isolated groups of Europeans which never saw a priest; even in large centres congregations were meeting in private houses, barrack-rooms or other unsuitable places. A typical example of this was in Ludhiana, almost on the borders of the Punjab; here the bishop was successful in securing the erection of a church to seat 100 worshippers and, as he was unable to send a chaplain, in arranging for a godly layman to read the appointed prayers and a sermon.⁵⁶

A subsidiary but not unimportant aim was the provision of a great place of worship in Calcutta which should serve as a standing witness to the non-Christian world that the English people are not without religion, and as a central point of reference for what was growing into a great province of the

church. A magnificent site on the Maidan, the great open space of Calcutta, had been secured from the government. The foundation stone had been laid on 8 October 1839. Now at last all was in readiness, and on 8 October 1847 the consecration could take place. The noble edifice has twice been deprived by earthquakes of its spire, and has not the appearance which Wilson intended it to have. Moreover the building as it stands, spacious and impressive as it is, is only the choir of what Wilson intended to be the equal of the greatest cathedrals in the Christian world.⁵⁷

Bishop's College attracted much of the bishop's attention. When in 1839 the college was paralysed by the serious illness of both the professors, the bishop and the archdeacon took up the burden of teaching the students and added this to all their other labours. Much was hoped from the appointment of a young man, A. W. Street, 'about thirty years of age, ripe scholar, iron constitution, fine health, active, enterprising, zealous for missions, prodigal of his strength'.⁵⁸ But there was a problem. The first applicant for the post had been H. E. Manning, later a cardinal of the Roman Catholic church.⁵⁹ The SPG withdrew the proposed appointment on the ground of the candidate's adherence to the Tractarian principles of the new Oxford Movement; but it now turned out that Street had been for seven years under the influence of John Henry Newman and had come with a recommendation from him. Wilson was a pronounced and at times combative evangelical; the last thing that he wanted was the introduction of division at the very heart of the training of the future clergy of the church. Bishop's College was for years a source of anxiety rather than of joy to the authorities of the church in India.⁶⁰

On 25 April 1851 the bishop received news that Street was dangerously ill. He hastened to his residence, and, hearing that Street desired to see him, went straight up to the sickroom. Street was so weak as to be unable to speak. After a short prayer, the bishop kissed the sick man, pronounced the benediction and withdrew. As he was leaving, the dying man raised himself by an immense effort in the bed and said, 'God bless your lordship.' Three days later he died.

In 1845 Wilson had been gravely ill and had been advised by his doctors that he must return for a time to England. He left Calcutta on 3 May and did not return until 14 December 1846. It would have been better for his reputation and for the life of the church if he had agreed at that time to resign his office. He had served in India as long as his four predecessors put together. He was in his sixty-ninth year and could never recover the vigour that he had once had. But Wilson was one of those who do not easily give up; he had undertaken a great charge and would see it through to the end. Ten more years of service were granted to him; but it cannot be said that these were as productive as those that had preceded them.

A number of interesting events did occur. Among these was the first

consecration of an Anglican bishop to take place in Asia. That strange figure Sir James Brooke, the white *rājā* of Sarawak,⁶¹ whose dominions Wilson had visited, decided that his little kingdom would not be complete unless he had a bishop of his own. The choice fell upon the doughty doctor–priest F. T. MacDougall, whose wife was a sister of the wife of the controversial Bishop Colenso of Natal. MacDougall was given the title bishop of Labuan,⁶² and was instructed to seek consecration at the hands of the three bishops in India. The bishop of Bombay was unable to reach Calcutta; but by good luck George Smith, the first bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong, was on leave in India and was available just at the right moment to make up the complement of bishops. Wilson wrote movingly of the great service of consecration on St Luke's Day, 18 October 1855, when 'Dealtry preached a glorious sermon, and hundreds could not get admission to the Cathedral'.⁶³

One of the concerns of Wilson was for the formation of a new diocese for the North-Western Province with its centre at Agra. British control had been extended by the annexation of the Punjab. The number of European residents was increasing, and the missions of the CMS were well entrenched. But nothing came of the scheme, partly because the support of the CMS for the plan was languid. It was felt that the missions should be placed under 'a resident bishop who is familiar with the language and habits of the Native Christian Church, and who fully enjoys its confidence. But the question will then arise whether a *native* will not be the proper person.'⁶⁴ The CMS had underestimated the difficulties. The time had not yet come when it was thought possible for English missionaries ordained in England to work under an Indian bishop chosen and consecrated in India. So the proposal was allowed to drop, and for once Wilson did not get his way.⁶⁵

At the end of his long life Daniel Wilson could look back on many changes in India. Early in his episcopate he had taken the lead in planning the introduction of steam communication between England and India. When this came about, the gap between the sending of a letter and its reception was reduced from five or six months to two. The full implications of this revolution, both for government and for missionary operations, was not realised at the time.⁶⁶

On 5 February 1855 the East Indian Railway was inaugurated. The bishop was present, wearing episcopal robes, and offered prayer before the train set out; it safely accomplished its journey of sixty-seven miles to Burdwan in three hours.⁶⁷ Later in the same month, having occasion to summon the bishop of Madras for the consecration of the bishop of Labuan, he was able to communicate with him by telegraph. In earlier times, it would have taken at least fourteen days for a letter from Calcutta to reach Madras.

If great changes had taken place in outward things, equally important changes had taken place in the state of the church.

The number of ordained ministers had greatly increased. In 1838 there had been sixty-nine ordained clergymen in the diocese. By 1845 the total had increased to 106, of whom fifty-one were chaplains. In 1858 there were sixty-eight chaplains and the number of missionaries had correspondingly increased.⁶⁸

Largely as the result of the efforts of Bishop Wilson, the number of churches had greatly increased, so that there was now a good and well-built church in each of the main centres of administration, civil and military, and a good church for Indian Christians in each regular mission station.

Anglican missions were strongly entrenched in the south of India, in Bengal, in the Ganges valley, in the west and in the north-west of India. Numbers of converts were steadily increasing, and considerably more than half the Protestant Indian Christians were Anglicans.⁶⁹

Important as these developments were, one factor in the situation was more significant than any other for the future of the Indian church. For the first time a great Christian church had taken account of the fact that from now on India must be dealt with as a unity.⁷⁰ For this purpose episcopal organisation proved itself admirably suited. Dioceses were still far too few and far too large, but this was a defect that could be remedied in the future. The bishop of Calcutta took very seriously his position as metropolitan, and was setting himself to create a common outlook and a unity of purpose among the bishops.

The episcopate of the nineteenth century was far too closely connected with the imperial system in India and was financially dependent upon it. But this was only a temporary phenomenon arising out of circumstances, and did not affect the essential reality of the episcopal office. As the office and work of a bishop gradually evolved in action and reaction with the Indian situation, it so commended itself as in later times to become part of the organisation of the united churches of South and North India, of Pakistan and of Bangladesh; this was one of the great achievements of the Indian churches in the twentieth century.

13 · The Recovery of the Roman Catholic Missions

I THE AGE OF DEPRESSION

When the nineteenth century dawned, Roman Catholic missions in India had reached a point of weakness almost amounting to inanition.

The devastation wrought by the suppression of the Society of Jesus has been described elsewhere. The depredations of Tipu Sultan and his armies had spread terror far and wide. The number of forced conversions to Islam had been considerable. Then came the deluge of the French Revolution. As one disaster after another fell on the church in France, recruitment for the missions almost ceased, and the number of those who actually reached India was far less than adequate to fill the places of those who for one reason or another had fallen out of the race.

In 1801 Napoleon, as First Consul, had considerably changed the situation by his concordat with the religious bodies; he was even prepared to tolerate the existence of a number of missionaries, regarding them as possibly valuable sources of information as to what was going on in distant lands.¹ But the church of Napoleon was not the church of the ages; to him it was simply an instrument in the hands of government, useful insofar as it could serve purposes other than those for which it was called into being, but dependent at every point on the favour and goodwill of the authorities. It was hardly to be expected that spiritual renewal should come from such a church.

More of Christian substance had survived in the church than Napoleon had either foreseen or desired. In 1802, the year after the concordat, Chateaubriand published his *Génie du christianisme*, a work in which the Romantic spirit of Rousseau is turned to uses different from those which its originator would have approved. Literary critics are divided as to the merits of the work of Chateaubriand; in his day he was extraordinarily effective. Christians began to feel that they could again hold up their heads in the certainty that they had something of which they had a right to be proud.

The end of the Napoleonic age ushered in the restoration of the Bourbons. For the church this meant reaction rather than renewal. What the new rulers desired was a church of the *ancien régime*, with worldly and wealthy bishops drawn from the aristocracy, moving in the best circles and giving back to the

church some of the splendour it had enjoyed in the days of its power. From such a church little of spiritual value could be expected. The renewal of the French church and of its missionary outreach began only after the expulsion of the Bourbons in 1830.

From the period of desolation in India, one clear voice rings out, and that a voice of disillusionment amounting almost to despair. John Antony Dubois was ordained in 1792, and in the following year was sent to India in the service of the Paris Mission. Here he served for twenty-one years, first in the Tamil country and later in the area of Mysore. From the start of his work, he followed the example of Nobili, 'conforming myself to the usages of the country, embracing in many respects the prejudices of the natives, living like them, and being almost a Hindu myself; in short being made all things to all men that I might by all means save some'.²

The lasting fame of Dubois rests on his great work *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, the first full translation of which from French to English was published by H. K. Beauchamp in 1897.³ Dubois earned the reward of his manner of life by finding that 'I was able to ensure free and hearty welcome from people of all castes and conditions, and was often favoured of their own accord with the most curious and interesting particulars about themselves.'⁴ He was an excellent observer, listening intently, and then organising the vast mass of material available to him in such clear and orderly fashion that the book is a delight to read. He recognised that his experience was limited to South India and that even in that area there were groups and communities of which he knew nothing. After a century and a half some parts of the book are naturally out of date. But India changes slowly, and even today there is no other book which can be commended with equal confidence to those who want to know what life in India as lived by Indians is really like.

The Abbé Dubois is famous, or notorious, for another and less reputable reason. Wisely or unwisely he published a number of letters which he had written between 1815 and 1821 on the state of Christianity in India. As the title of his book indicates,⁵ he wrote in a mood of extreme pessimism. The great age of conversion was the seventeenth century, and the method followed by the Jesuits was full of promise. But now all is changed:

The Christian religion, which was formerly an object of indifference, or at most of contempt, is at present become I will venture to say, almost an object of horror . . . The very small number of proselytes who are still gained over from time to time, are found among the lowest tribes; so come individuals who, driven from their caste, on account of their vices, or from some scandalous transgression of their usages, are shunned afterwards by everybody as outlawed men, and have no other resources left them but that of turning Christian, in order to form new connexions in society, and you will easily fancy that such an assemblage of the offals and dregs of society only

tends to increase the contempt and aversion entertained by the Hindoos against Christianity.⁶

So it goes on through page after page. Caste is an insuperable obstacle to the spread of Christianity. It is impossible to persuade the Hindus to change any of their established practices. It is impossible for the Hindus to imagine a religion which offers to them only spiritual gratifications. Hindus may be divided into two classes – the impostors and the dupes. ‘I will declare it with shame and confusion, that I do not remember anyone who may be said to have embraced Christianity from conviction and through quite disinterested motives.’⁷

2 BEGINNINGS OF BETTER THINGS

By the time that Dubois published his letters a notable revival of missionary zeal had come about in the Roman Catholic Church; by the time of his death it was in full swing.

One of the first actions of Pope Pius VII was the reconstitution of the Society of Jesus. The Society had never been completely extinguished, and there had been no absolute breach of continuity. But so much had been destroyed that immediate recovery could not be expected, and in the early years after reconstitution an efflorescence of missionary energy was hardly possible. But by 1840 the Jesuits were back, though with diminished numbers, on the scene of their former triumphs in Mathurai and on the Fisher Coast.

In 1820 Pauline Jaricot (1799–1862) founded an ‘Association to Aid the Missions of Paris’, to be followed in 1822 by the ‘Society for the Propagation of the Faith’.⁸

In 1807 Mother Anne Mary Javouhey founded the order of the Sisters of St Joseph of Cluny, an order which was soon called to service far beyond the limits of France – in Réunion (Bourbon) in 1817, in West Africa, in French Guinea in 1828. Though she probably never knew it, Mother Javouhey was inaugurating one of the greatest of all revolutions in missionary history. In 1800 ‘foreign missions’ were almost exclusively an operation of the male sex; in 1900 the number of women engaged in missionary service both Roman Catholic and Protestant far exceeded the number of men.⁹

The sisters of St Joseph made their first appearance in India in 1827, when a party of them arrived in Pondichéri and settled down to the creation of two schools.¹⁰ At first the Superior, Mgr Hébert, was not sure whether he desired to have these religious women in his bailiwick, fearing that they might show a spirit of independence greater than he was prepared to tolerate. But Mother Javouhey was able by her tact and prudence to set at rest the anxieties of the authorities:

tell his lordship that my intention is that the sisters should be directed by the missionaries . . . we come to help them in their noble work, we hope that they will be our protectors and our guides; their experience should enlighten us. I rely greatly on their zeal, they may count on our perfect devotion.¹¹

It was not long before the sisters, and especially their chief, Sister Xavier, won golden opinions from clerics and lay-people alike. Their work for the 'Topazines' the girls of mixed origin, who were numerous in the French colony, was particularly excellent. Sister Rosalind, the sister of the founder, was able to write in 1829: 'This house is certainly one of the best conducted, and in a position to do more good than any other. We owe this to the indefatigable zeal and fine spirit of Sister Xavier; the more I study her the more I admire her . . . this results in religious progress in all directions.'¹²

On 2 February 1831 Bartholomew Cappellari (1765–1846) was elected pope, taking the name Gregory XVI. This able but unlikeable man has gone down in history as the greatest 'pope of missions' who has ever reigned at the Vatican.¹³ In the fifteen years of his pontificate Gregory created seventy dioceses and vicariates apostolic in mission lands, and appointed 195 missionary bishops. He left an indelible mark on the history of the Roman Catholic church in India.¹⁴

3 NEW VICARS APOSTOLIC

At the beginning of the nineteenth century it was reckoned that there were about three quarters of a million Roman Catholics in India.¹⁵ These were under the *padroado* bishoprics (Goa, Cochin, Cranganore and Mylapore) and the three vicariates apostolic (Pondichéri, the great Mogul, resident in Bombay, and Varāppoli for the Romo-Syrians). The situation was highly unsatisfactory. For long periods bishops were not appointed for the Portuguese sees. The boundaries of the vicariates were ill defined; in any case, they were far too extensive to be under the superintendence of a single prelate. Gregory XVI took judicious but rapid action to bring order out of chaos. He created four new vicariates apostolic – Madras (1832), Calcutta (1835), Pondichéri (1836), Mathurai (1846).¹⁶ It seems that the pope was not following a calculated policy of undermining the Portuguese *padroado*; in each individual case he acted as the situation seemed to demand. But the Portuguese were immediately aware of the significance of the papal actions; they responded with embittered hostility to the appointment of the vicars apostolic and refused to recognise their claims.

Pondichéri presented no special difficulties. On the death in 1791 of Mgr Brigot, who had come from Thailand and had had notable success in bringing together the old missionaries (the Jesuits) and the Paris mission, his coadjutor, Mgr Champenois, who had in effect governed everything since

1785, took over the succession, and ruled peacefully but without special distinction. The work suffered continually from shortage of priests, but in general it was maintained, and the oscillations of fortune between France and Britain in India caused no serious hindrance to the work of the church.

As early as 1805 it had become evident that Mgr Champenois should be provided with a coadjutor, for fear that, if the bishop were to die, no bishop might be found in India able and ready to consecrate a successor. Various names were put forward, including that of the Abbé J. A. Dubois, but eventually the choice fell on Fr Hébert. Bishop Champenois made many delays, but at length the date of the consecration was fixed as 1 May 1810. On 27 April, however, the bishop had a serious fall; he was prostrated for a long time, and when at length he rose from his bed was so feeble that he could neither say mass nor consecrate his successor. Just what had been feared had happened. When the bishop died, at the age of seventy-six, a coadjutor had been appointed but not consecrated.

There was, however, one bishop in South India, in the person of the discalced Carmelite Raymond of St Joseph, vicar apostolic of Varāppoli. Urged on by his colleagues, Fr Hébert posted across the mountains, was consecrated on 3 March 1811, and managed to reach Pondichéri on 4 April of that year. His title was bishop of Halicarnassus *i.p.i.*

Pondichéri seemed fated to have difficulty in getting bishops, though the difficulties were not always the same. When in 1828 Mgr Hébert submitted to the views of his colleagues and agreed to the consecration of a coadjutor, his choice fell upon Fr Paul Bonnand; this nomination met with universal approval. One difficulty remained – the extreme unwillingness of the one nominated to accept the heavy burden of the episcopate. Fr Bonnand made up his mind and then unmade it. When at last everything seemed to be settled, he again wished to withdraw. The historian of those days remarks that, though the modesty and humility of such persons is to be highly commended, the virtue of obedience, of submission to the will of the church, should sometimes take precedence over individual preference. At least the candidate was persuaded finally to withdraw his objections. On 8 November 1833 Fr Bonnand was consecrated as coadjutor of Pondichéri with the title of bishop of Drusipara. He was destined to hold the office of bishop for twenty-five years, to general admiration, and to win lustre as the first visitor apostolic for India.

For a variety of reasons the problems of Madras were different from those of Pondichéri. There was the permanent difficulty of the proximity of Mylapore to Madras. Even when there was no bishop resident, the authorities of the diocese made claims to jurisdiction which neither the Italian Capuchins nor the British authorities were prepared to admit as valid. A considerable number of the soldiers in the king's regiments were Roman

Catholics, many of them Irish. These were very ill satisfied with the ministrations of Frenchmen and Italians, who could neither preach to them nor understand their confessions; there was a ceaseless demand for the services of English-speaking priests.¹⁷ To all this was added the expectation of the arrival of an Anglican bishop of Madras, appointed from England and assured of the support of the government.

After various proposals had been put forward and rejected the question of Madras was discussed on 16 August 1831 in a full session of the cardinals of the Propaganda in the presence of the pope. Three conclusions were reached:

the Capuchins must give up the mission in Madras; a vicar apostolic must be appointed; the vicar apostolic in London must be asked to put forward the names of persons in the English-speaking community who might be suitable to take up the heavy burden of the work in Madras.

The English Roman Catholics were still a feeble folk, just beginning to profit from the benefits of the Act of Catholic Emancipation passed by Parliament in 1829. Ireland on the other hand was a mainly Roman Catholic country. Propaganda wisely accepted the advice of the future Cardinal Wiseman, then still in Rome, and wrote to Daniel Murray, the archbishop of Dublin, with the request that he would find for them a suitable candidate for the post of vicar apostolic and at least six priests. The archbishop wrote back on 25 February 1834 that the suitable man was Daniel O'Connor, forty-seven years of age, and a former vice-provincial of the Augustinians in Ireland. After the usual delays, O'Connor and his companions reached Madras on 20 August 1835. The Capuchins sorrowfully left the mission. Peter of Alcantara, vicar apostolic of Bombay, who had been temporarily in charge, went home. The British government in Madras had approved the appointment. The new vicariate apostolic was in existence.¹⁸ The vicar apostolic had nothing to complain of as to the warmth of the reception accorded to him by his flock and by the civil and military authorities.

Difficulties soon emerged. The administrator of the diocese of Mylapore refused to recognise O'Connor. O'Connor fell out with Mgr Bonnard of Pondichéri by ordaining students from his seminary who had failed to secure ordination from their own bishop.¹⁹ When the administrator of Mylapore died in 1836, O'Connor published a notice in the Madras papers to the effect that he alone was now the legal governor of the diocese and that all must recognise his authority. The situation was not improved when a new bishop of Mylapore, Teixeira, appointed by the crown of Portugal but not recognised by the pope, arrived in India, determined not to yield at a single point to O'Connor. It must have been a relief to all when the vicar apostolic resigned his office and went back to Ireland.

The new vicar apostolic was John Fennelly, who arrived in 1842. Thirty-six years old, he was active and pious, but during the twenty-six years during which he held office he was able to do little to heal the divisions. Most of the work of the Irish priests was done among the soldiers and the Europeans. Two-thirds of the Indian Christians remained loyal to the Portuguese tradition. In matters of property the legal authorities favoured Teixeira and not the bishop approved of by the pope. Division could hardly go further.²⁰

The situation in Calcutta was in many ways similar to that in Madras.

Bengal had formed part of the diocese of Mylapore – an arrangement which, in view of the distances involved, could hardly be regarded as practical. Among the various orders which had served in the area the Augustinians had pride of place; but by the beginning of the nineteenth century their reputation had declined. Few of the Augustinians learned Bengali, fewer still could speak English. With the rapid increase in the English-speaking population, discontent grew, and the demand for priests who could minister in English was heard as far away as Rome. This agitation received the support of no less a person than the governor-general, Lord William Bentinck, who would gladly have seen the appointment of one single head of the Roman Catholic church in India, with whom the government could deal on all matters of common interest.

The affairs of Bengal were discussed, on 8 July 1833, in a general congregation of the cardinals of the Propaganda; it was resolved that 'there [in Calcutta] a vicariate apostolic should be brought into being, and that, if this can be brought about, it should be in the hands of the fathers of the Society of Jesus, under the name of secular priests'.²¹

On 18 April 1834, through the brief *Latissimi Terrarum Tractatus* the vicariate apostolic of Calcutta was brought into being. The first vicar apostolic was to be Robert St Leger (1788–1865), who, born in Waterford, had been vice-provincial of the Jesuits in Ireland. He was to be accompanied by a number of priests, not all of whom would be Irish, and not all of whom would be Jesuits.²²

Most of the vicars apostolic were bishops *i.p.i.* St Leger, though the direct representative of the pope, was not a bishop and had only the title 'prefect apostolic'. This put him from the start at a disadvantage. There was at the time no bishop of Mylapore, but that diocese was represented in Calcutta by a vicar-general. St Leger pleaded again and again with Rome for an extension of his powers. Rome conceded to him a good deal of the pomp of prelacy without its authority; in the course of time he was authorised to do all the things that a bishop can do – except those things which only a bishop can do. The essential thing, episcopal consecration, was withheld.

Inevitably the priests of the old tradition refused to recognise the prefect apostolic. Even if his letters of appointment were genuine, which they

doubted, they could not accept these, unless he had been commended by the queen of Portugal, to whom in the first place their allegiance was due. The papal letters had named Fr St Leger prefect apostolic of Calcutta but had said nothing about the rest of Bengal.

St Leger was able to register a considerable number of successes. He was able to establish excellent relations with the British authorities. He was gratified to receive a letter from the secretary, H. T. Prinsep, which informed him of the satisfaction of the governor-general that the direction of the Roman Catholic congregations in Calcutta was now in the hands of a subject of the British crown. Two clauses of the utmost importance were added: the government recognised the right of the prefect apostolic to exercise the jurisdiction conferred on him by the pope, the head of the Roman Catholic church, and it rejected any claim by the Portuguese to interfere in any concern, spiritual or secular (in any area under British control).²³ Fortified by this powerful support St Leger proceeded to issue warnings to the recalcitrant priests. He was so far successful that he was able to report that, of the twenty-four priests in the area, eighteen had submitted to authority, only six Augustinians remaining in opposition.

In the meantime St Leger had become involved in a curious set of problems. General Claud Martin, at his death in 1800, had left a large sum of money for the education of European and Anglo-Indian boys and girls. For thirty years nothing had been done, but in 1832 it seemed likely that steps would be taken to open a school, to be called La Martinière, in accordance with the wishes of the founder. It is not clear to what church, if any, General Martin belonged. But it seemed evident to the bishop of Calcutta, the formidable Daniel Wilson, that the school should be an Anglican school and that the principal should be an Anglican clergyman. In April 1832 St Leger and the senior Presbyterian chaplain, Dr James Charles, were appointed to the board of governors. They combined in strenuous opposition to the idea of a purely denominational school. The prefect apostolic put forward a plan for common religious instruction. According to his own account, as the five bodies – Roman Catholic, Anglican, Presbyterian, Greek and Armenian – agreed on all the main points of Christian doctrine, there should be a course of instruction which should be common to all, but the clergy of each denomination should have access to the school to give whatever supplementary teaching might be necessary. The bishop, the prefect apostolic and the Presbyterian chaplain were entrusted with the task of drawing up the catechism which was to form the basis of the common instruction. The principal of the school should be a layman, not a clergyman.²⁴

For three years serious attempts were made to put the plan into execution, and the secular priest (later bishop) Olliffe went regularly to give instruction to the Roman Catholic pupils. But ecumenical thinking was less advanced in

Rome than in India. In September 1841 the authorities of Rome wrote to the vicar apostolic, who at that time was Mgr P. J. Carew:

You are quite right in thinking that it is necessary to condemn unconditionally the system of La Martinière. Do not involve yourself in any way in the direction of that establishment. We request you to do your utmost to withdraw the catholic pupils from it and to entrust them to catholic teachers for their education and instruction.²⁵

By 1843 all contact between Roman Catholics and others had come to an end.

Apart from ecumenical adventures, the relations between St Leger and his brethren were far from happy.²⁶ On 24 April 1838 the order of recall was issued to him, and he left India, without regret, never to return. On the day of his departure the brief *Multa Praeclare* was issued.²⁷

4 AN INTERLUDE

Through many of these troubled years the little principality of Sardhana had been an enclave of Roman Catholic prosperity.

There were many European villains in India in the eighteenth century. The chief of all villains was Walter Reinhardt, an Austrian who was generally known to the English as Sombre, or Somru. When Mir Kasim in 1763 ordered the cold-blooded assassination of fifty-one Englishmen in Patna,²⁸ it appears that Reinhardt personally carried out, or at least supervised, the operation. There were few among the English who would not have been prepared to eat Somru raw, if they could have caught him. The man proved a turncoat so many times that it is difficult to know whose side he was on at any one moment. To one person only he was continuously loyal – himself. It is certain, however, that in 1774 he received from the emperor Shāh ‘Ālam the *jagīr* of Sardhana, which was to be the centre of his fortunes for the remaining years of his life.

In 1765 Somru had taken into his establishment a Muslim girl named Farzana, who is stated to have been of noble birth, but who at the time of the encounter seems to have been a member of a dancing troupe. This beautiful and intelligent girl so worked her way into the affections of the hardened man that he selected her from among the inhabitants of his carefully chosen *zenana* to be his official wife. In 1778 he died. His wife succeeded in securing for herself the administration and possession of his estates, and the enormous wealth that went with them. She survived her husband by nearly sixty years.

It is not necessary to go into all the adventures – political, military and matrimonial of the *begum*. Shrewd and at times ruthless, generous and demanding, dexterous and patient, at all times irrepressibly daring, she had in a unique degree the art of survival. At one time the British thought of removing her from her principality. She was too much for them. Lord

Cornwallis, in India for the second time as governor-general, wrote to her in 1805:

I have great pleasure in apprising you that, reposing entire confidence in your disposition to maintain the obligations of attachment and fidelity to the British Government, I have resolved to leave you in unmolested possession of your *jaghire*, with all the rights and privileges you have hitherto enjoyed.

What brings the *begum* into this story is her conversion in 1782 to the Roman Catholic faith.²⁹ At the time this conversion may not have meant very much to her, but in the last twenty years of her life she manifested deep and apparently sincere piety. Being immensely rich she was also immensely generous. Her charity reached out to the needy of all religions, and to Christians without regard to denomination. In 1830 she built a chapel for Anglicans resident in her territories. She sent £5,000 to the archbishop of Canterbury, for the promotion of 'the most deserving Protestant institution in England', and to the Anglican bishop of Calcutta £15,000, in part for education, in part for the relief of distress.

Naturally her deepest love was for the church of which she was a member. In 1834 she sent £15,000 to the pope 'as a small token of her sincere love for the holy religion she professed'. Some years earlier she had built in her capital a beautiful church on the model of St Peter's in Rome. She felt that so beautiful a church should be a cathedral with a bishop of its own. In view of her splendid generosity the pope acceded to her request. In 1835 a priest with the agreeable name Julius Caesar Scotti, who had served as chaplain to the *begum*, was appointed as vicar apostolic of Sardhana and consecrated by the vicar apostolic of Tibet (or of Agra, as that vicariate was now more generally known). He did not, however, stay long. In 1835 he returned to Europe, and Sardhana was re-absorbed into the vicariate of Agra to which it had earlier belonged.

The *begum* died in 1836, full of years and having won the respect of many, if the affection of only a few. The territories of Sardhana passed to the British. The Christian congregation then diminished, and Sardhana became no more than a memory of a day that had passed away, the like of which was never again to be seen in India.

5 THE BRIEF *MULTA PRAECLARE* AND ITS CONSEQUENCES³⁰

The claims of the Portuguese crown and the endless reassertion of them had in course of time become an intolerable burden. After the death of Manuel de Galdino in 1835 no successor as archbishop of Goa had been appointed. Since 1800 no bishop had been seen in Mylapore or Cochin, none since 1823

in the diocese of Cranganore. The creation of the new vicariates apostolic stimulated Portugal to unwonted activity. Two new bishops were appointed and consecrated in Portugal – Antony of St Rita Carvalho for Goa, and Antony Vaz Teixeira for Mylapore; but, as since 1834 there had been no diplomatic relations between the Vatican and Portugal, these bishops could not obtain papal confirmation of their election and could lay no canonical claim to the obedience of their subjects, clerical or lay. In every part of India the church was riven by the division between those who accepted the authority of the vicars apostolic and those who maintained the Portuguese tradition. Something had to be done.

After long debates and consultations, Gregory issued on 29 April 1838 the apostolic letter *Multa Praeclare*. It was his intention to put an end to the Portuguese claims, to make plain the full jurisdiction of the holy see over all the churches in India, and to assert that, when vicariates had been created, the vicars apostolic appointed by the pope had full and perfect authority over all Christians of the Roman obedience in the territories assigned to them.

It is not the case, as is often stated, that the pope abolished the *padroado* dioceses; but he did declare that all territories within those dioceses which had not yet been assigned to a vicar apostolic were now so assigned, and that all jurisdiction and authority, ecclesiastical and spiritual, in those areas belonged to the vicar apostolic of Madras and to the vicar apostolic residing at Varāppōḷi. Moreover it was not open to the archbishop of Goa to exercise any jurisdiction, under any title whatsoever, in any of the areas thus assigned to the vicars apostolic.

It could easily have been foreseen that the letter *Multa Praeclare* would evoke intense hostility both in Portugal and in India. The opponents of papal policy had two powerful weapons in their hands.

There being no diplomatic relations between Portugal and the Vatican, Rome had omitted to send official copies of *Multa Praeclare* to the queen of Portugal, to those who claimed to be *padroado* bishops or to the vicars capitular of the *padroado* dioceses. This made it possible for the opposition to spread abroad the rumour that the letter was in fact a forgery.

A second argument was that, even if the letter was genuine, it must be without effect, since it lacked the royal *placet* without which documents could not be received in the Portuguese dominions in India.³¹

The 'Goanese schism' was now well and truly launched. Though this term has frequently been used, there are good grounds for questioning its appropriateness. The opponents of *Multa Praeclare* had no desire to question the authority of the pope or to separate themselves from the church of Rome. They regarded themselves as entitled to question some of the pope's actions, especially since they believed him to have been misled by certain designing persons for purposes of their own. There was nothing sinful in suggesting

that, if the pope had been properly informed of the state of the case, he would have reached conclusions very different from those set forth in the brief. In any case, the provisions of the brief had been described by the pope himself as provisional.

Justice must be done to the dissidents. Yet it cannot be denied that the result of their dissidence was to produce a deplorable state of affairs in almost every area of India where the Roman catholic church had been at work. A judicious authority summarises the results of the brief, favourable and unfavourable, in the following terms:

Instead of effecting the rescue of Catholic missions in India from almost complete collapse, its result was to inflict grave injury on the reputation of the church in the eyes of Protestants and non-Christians, to cause loss of the esteem in which bishops and priests had been held, to produce contest and conflict, and even blows, among Christians. And yet, all things taken into consideration, the Brief was far from being a failure. It aroused the *padroado* clergy from their lethargy, recalled to the Portuguese crown in the most urgent fashion its duties under the *padroado*, laid on it the duty at once and vigorously to concern itself for the well-being of its missions in India, and prepared the way for a new agreement.³²

The areas most seriously affected by dissidence were the vicariate of Varāppōli and that of Bombay.

In the area of Cranganore, Bishop Francis Xavier of St Anne had a fairly easy time of it. He had been able to remain on friendly terms with Fr Peixotto, the administrator of the diocese of Cranganore, who went so far as to advise his clergy that, if no validly appointed bishop from the *padroado* were to come to their area, they might accept the ministrations of the vicar apostolic. So Francis Xavier was able to report that of the seventy-four parishes in the area (seventy Syrian, four Latin), fifty three had been reunited to him, and only twenty-one were still separated.

Cochin presented a more difficult problem. The administrator, Fr Neves, was a *padroado* hard-liner. His case should have been strengthened when in 1840 the crown of Portugal appointed a bishop for the see, Joachim of St Rita Botelho. But Botelho waited in Goa for the papal confirmation of his election, confirmation which never came. In the meantime Francis Xavier had been given a young and extremely active coadjutor, Louis of St Teresa (1809–83).³³

The conflict was hard, and success was slow in coming. In July 1841 Louis was able to report 100 communities under the care of the vicar apostolic; but it was only the lay-people who had responded; not one of the *padroado* priests had come over. Attempts to secure the help of the British authorities had proved unavailing. The stalemate continued, until the arrival (in January 1844) of a new archbishop of Goa, of unquestioned legitimacy, brought about an entirely new situation.

The state of affairs in Bombay was worse than in any other part of India. For this there were several reasons. Bombay had at one time been a Portuguese possession. Many of the Christian inhabitants were Goanese, or had close connections with Goa. These naturally adhered to the *padroado* tradition. The archbishop of Goa had never recognised the existence of vicars apostolic. When the vicar apostolic of 'the Great Mogul' came to reside in Bombay, the tension naturally mounted, especially as some areas, such as Salsette in the near neighbourhood of Bombay, had not been transferred to the vicariate and were still part of the diocese of Goa.³⁴

6 DEVELOPMENTS IN BOMBAY AND GOA

In 1843, amicable relations having been re-established between Portugal and the holy see, the Portuguese crown bethought itself of its duties in relation to India and proceeded to the choice of a candidate for the archbishopric of Goa. There seemed to be nothing to object to in the one put forward for the post, Joseph da Silva Torres, a Benedictine. The pope, however, seems to have been a little anxious, and he took steps to ensure that the position was clearly explained to the new archbishop. Silva Torres wrote a letter to the pope, in which he gave what appeared to be a pledge of unconditional submission to the wishes and the instructions of the pontiff: 'Most Holy Father, I will invariably and in all submissiveness follow thee . . . to my dying day I will whole-heartedly conform to the discipline of the Roman church . . . If perchance I should give utterance to words in any way at variance with my feelings here expressed, I hereby wholly and solemnly withdraw them.'³⁵ The pope seems to have felt that this was sufficient assurance; only later did it become apparent that Silva Torres understood the bulls of his appointment in a sense very different from that intended by those who drew them up.

In January 1844 the new archbishop paused in Bombay on his way to Goa. Taking no notice of the existence of the vicar apostolic, he behaved as though he himself was the sole and unchallenged metropolitan of the area — preached, confirmed, conferred holy orders, made visitations of various churches, in a word did everything possible to inflame the situation instead of calming it down as had been expected of him. The supporters of the *padroado* were naturally jubilant at this great victory; the adherents of the new order were correspondingly dejected.

Having done in Bombay as much harm as was possible in a short time, the archbishop passed on to Goa, where he could legitimately feel at home. He proceeded to carry out ordinations on a large scale, and sent many of those ordained to various parts of India; these naturally fomented division wherever they went, hindering the reconciling work of the vicars apostolic.³⁶

Naturally complaints went in thick and fast to Rome. On 1 March 1845, Gregory XVI wrote to the archbishop in severe terms, ending the list of his delinquencies with the words, 'In a word, everything that could be done to produce schism has been done.'³⁷ Silva Torres seems to have taken no notice of this admonition.

Pius IX, who succeeded to the tiara in 1846, took up the matter again in an admonition dated 13 July 1847. Silva Torres, relying on his canonical status and resting on the rightness of his own judgement, seems once again to have taken no notice of the papal rebuke. Matters could not go on in this way. On 22 December Pius IX appointed Silva Torres as archbishop of Palmyra *i.p.i.* and recalled him to Rome. In 1851, yielding to the wishes of the queen of Portugal, he appointed him as bishop coadjutor of Braga, the premier bishopric of Portugal, with the right of succession. So for the moment ended this grievous and unedifying tale.

Dissension was not yet ended. Rome decided to send to Bombay a man whose incisive authority might, it was hoped, bring peace where it was so much needed. Anastasius Hartmann (1803–66) was born in a small village in the canton of Lucerne in Switzerland. From an early age he had had a strong desire to enter the service of the missions. His services in Europe were so valuable that his wish could not be fulfilled until 1844, when at last he was able to reach Agra and to start on a new phase of his life's work. His first appointment was as chaplain of Gwalior. First impressions of missionary work were far from favourable; he admitted that 'had any other purpose led me to India I would repent of it bitterly and wish every day to return to Europe'.³⁸

Hardly had Hartmann settled down to his work, when he received the news that he was to be a bishop. This was the age of the creation of new vicariates apostolic. It had been decided that the gigantic vicariate of Agra must be divided and that a new vicariate of Patna must be born. The task with which Hartmann was faced was formidable enough. The vicariate covered an area of about 124,000 square miles, with a population of perhaps ten millions. He had at his disposal the services of no more than four priests. This was the poor end of the vicariate, the greater part of the funds having been reserved for Agra. Ten years later, when his senior came to visit him, Hartmann was not displeased to be able to give him a demonstration of the manner in which vicars apostolic ought to live. This was the man whom the pope chose in 1850 to care for the welfare of distracted and unhappy Bombay.

Anastasius Hartmann must be reckoned as one of the few outstanding prelates in India in the nineteenth century. He was a man of considerable intellectual ability and a linguist of distinction. He combined deep devotion and humility with a rare gentleness in dealing with all kinds of people, and at

the same time with a firm and inflexible will and a capacity for getting things done. Perhaps no better man could have been found to tackle the most difficult job in India. He knew well that for him Bombay could be nothing other than a crown of thorns; he never ceased to long for permission to return to his beloved Patna.

Of the long series of troubles which followed only two need be related in any detail.

After the removal of Silva Torres the see of Goa was again left vacant under an administrator. Joachim of St Rita Botelho had been appointed bishop of Cochin ten years earlier but had never been consecrated, so no episcopal acts could take place. There was, however, one *padroado* bishop in Asia – Jerome de Mata, bishop of Macao. This bishop had to return to Europe for reasons of health. It was arranged that he might stop over in Goa in order to carry out ordinations and other episcopal functions. A royal writ was issued to him in August 1852 by the queen of Portugal. This was all perfectly in order, and no difficulty would have arisen if de Mata had kept to the limits of what he was authorised to do. He had no authority to act anywhere in India except in the territory of Goa.

The bishop of Macao arrived in Bombay on 1 February 1853 and was received by the *padroado* party with almost delirious glee. On the following Sunday he preached a fiery sermon in which he denounced the vicars apostolic in no measured terms, calling them thieves and robbers and forbidding the faithful to have anything to do with them. He administered confirmation in a number of churches, and conferred minor orders and the sub-diaconate on a number of candidates.³⁹ Hartmann naturally protested against this violation of all canonical propriety; no notice was taken of the protest.

At this point Rome bestirred itself to take vigorous action. On 29 June 1853 Pius IX sent out a document known as the *Probe Nostis*, in which he administered to the bishop of Macao a public rebuke of almost unexampled severity and mentioned by name four priests of the refractory party whom he held to blame for the irregular activities of which complaint was made. Even then the pope did not proceed to extreme measures, but warned the culprits that unless they returned (to their true allegiance) within two months they would incur the penalties of *suspensio a divinis* and would be regarded as schismatics and separated from the Catholic unity.⁴⁰ Even this decisive document did not restore unity, but it did make it unmistakably clear who alone had the authority over the church in Bombay.

The next episode in this history is a curious mixture of the heroic and the bizarre. One of the oldest churches in Bombay was that of St Michael, Upper Matim. This had been in the possession of the vicars apostolic for nearly sixty years when, in 1853, a discontented group planned to hand the church

over to the *padroado* party. In order to prevent this, Hartmann went to the church and refused to leave, declaring that he would rather die a martyr than surrender the church to the schismatics. His opponents blockaded the entrance; Hartmann and the members of the congregation who had managed to join him remained, and friends managed to pass in enough food and water to keep them alive. At last, on the fifteenth day of the siege, the civil authorities intervened and insisted on the opening of the doors; communication with the outside world was restored.⁴¹

The church remained in the hands of the *padroado* party. All that the bishop could do was to build a new church for those who remained faithful to him, and this he did. Our Lady of Victories came into being, and about 1,000 members of the parish of St Michael transferred themselves to the new centre.

It must not be supposed that the entire time of Bishop Hartmann was taken up with these wretched quarrels. His reputation had been steadily rising throughout India, and in a remarkable way he had won the confidence of government. This brought about his appointment in 1854 as the chief representative of the Roman Catholic community to the government of India. He was then led into a number of laborious tasks, which, though for the most part they belonged to a later stage of his career, may here be briefly referred to.

The British government in India professed even-handed justice as between the various Christian communities. But this impartiality was subject to limitations. The vast majority of *English-speaking* Christians in India were Anglicans. In such matters as the building of churches, allowances to chaplains, education and the care of orphan children, government had shown a marked predilection for members of the national church. But the majority of *Christians* in India were Roman Catholics, and a considerable number of the soldiers in the king's regiments were Irish Roman Catholics and therefore at that time British subjects. Government had naturally been influenced by the fact that almost all the Roman Catholic bishops in India were foreigners, as were most of the missionaries, and owed no allegiance to the British crown. But, on the basis of natural justice, no discrimination on such grounds could be defended.

At five points Hartmann intervened, and with the help of others, not all Roman Catholics, he was successful in bringing about a change in government policy.

Equal consideration should be accorded to Roman Catholic bishops with bishops of other Christian communions. Precedence in the hierarchically organised society of British India was a matter of great importance. The denial of equality had been felt by Roman Catholic bishops and their flocks as a slight on their dignity.

A number of Roman Catholic priests were employed as chaplains to troops. Their salaries and allowances were far less than those of chaplains belonging to other communions; this was an injustice which should be put right.

Orphanages maintained by government were almost exclusively Protestant in character. It was the duty of government to ensure that children of the Roman Catholic obedience should receive education in accordance with the precepts of their church.

There was one La Martinière in Calcutta and another in Lucknow. The Lucknow school had been opened in 1840 but had passed entirely under Protestant control. Hartmann protested that the special needs of Roman Catholic pupils should be cared for. Negotiations went on for a long time, and settlement was not reached until 1863.

Hartmann did not get all that he wanted, but all the same his success was considerable.

The last problem that engaged the attention of Hartmann concerned the Indian Marriage Acts of 1865 and 1866. The general principle of British rule in India was that every individual, in such personal matters as marriage, was under the law of his own community – Hindus under Hindu law, Muslims under Muslim law, and so on. English Christians were under English law in such matters. But the status of Indian Christian marriages gave rise to innumerable perplexities. The attempt to apply English law had led to grave injustices, particularly in the case of Indians who had become Christians and in consequence had been deserted by their spouses; such could not marry again without exposing themselves to a charge of bigamy. The rules of the churches on kindred and affinity (marriages which are and which are not permissible) varied, and this led to further difficulties. The proposals for an Indian Christian Marriage Act, and for an act known as the Native Converts' Marriage Dissolution Act, were an honest attempt to bring order out of chaos, to ensure that in law Indian Christian marriages were valid beyond the possibility of question, and that the special problems of converts should be equitably dealt with. The Roman Catholic authorities, however, felt that in the proposals sufficient attention had not been paid to the doctrine of their church regarding the sacramental character of marriage. Their chief supporter was as usual Anastasius Hartmann.

By Hartmann's own account, nothing could exceed the courtesy and consideration shown to him both by the viceroy and by the lieutenant-governor of Bengal. The authorities were anxious to meet all the requests made by the Roman Catholic bishops, provided that these accorded with general principles of justice. When the Native Converts' Marriage Dissolution Act reached the statute book in 1866, it included (section 34) the words: 'Nothing contained in this Act shall be taken to render invalid any marriage

of a native convert to Roman Catholicism, if celebrated in accordance with the rules, rites, ceremonies and customs of the Roman Catholic Church.⁴²

One of the major concerns of Hartmann was the training of a priesthood better equipped for the service of the church than that which he had found on his arrival in Bombay. Loyal as he was to his own order, the Capuchins, he soon became convinced that for theological education he should turn to the Jesuits. With the help of friends in Rome he secured the services of a notable and hard-headed Dutchman, Fr Walter Steins SJ (1810–81).⁴³ From the moment of their first meeting, on 5 January 1853, Hartmann and Steins took a great liking to one another; the friendship between them was at times imperilled but never destroyed by sharp differences of opinion. It seemed that everything was set fair for the fulfilment of the aims of Hartmann in the field of education.

There followed one of those dreary periods of contention of which we have already had to record too many. In 1854 it was decided that the vicariate of Bombay should be divided and a new vicariate of Poona erected. But no vicar apostolic was appointed for Poona, and Hartmann had to continue as administrator of that area as well as of Bombay. The Italian Carmelites were told that their services were no longer required; naturally they were displeased at being called to leave an area in which they had worked for so many years. The Jesuits were given Poona but were outraged to learn that Bombay would remain in the northern vicariate, which was to be served by the Capuchins. When it became known that a college (school for boys) was to be founded in Bombay and would be under the direction of the Jesuits, the Capuchins were displeased. When Hartmann remarked that Capuchins and Jesuits could not work together, he was reproved; he was, however, regrettably, stating neither more nor less than the truth. The one good thing which emerged from all the wrangles was that the Jesuit college was eventually founded in Bombay and launched on a notable career of educational usefulness.

At last, in 1856, Hartmann was able to leave Bombay and to return to Europe. He had never loved Bombay, his heart being always in Patna. Bombay had meant to him nothing but harassment and sorrow. Probably no man could in the circumstances have achieved more than he did. But he was far from reaching a peaceful solution of the disputes or a reconciliation between the parties. When he left India the situation was much as it had been when he came to Bombay. About half the churches were with the *padroado* party and half with the party of Rome and regularity. The troubles ground on for nearly a century after the time of Hartmann, and perhaps have left a groundswell even to the present day.

Much against his will Hartmann was kept in Europe for four years, occupied with the affairs of his order and with the wider service of the

church. At last in 1860 he was able to return to his beloved Patna. There, after six years of further service, he reached the end of his career, beloved and honoured of all. One periodical, not specially associated with the Roman Catholic church, wrote of him:

In the death of Bishop Hartmann the Church of Rome has lost one of its most amiable children. His kindness, genial spirit and intelligence, combined with a large and liberal mind, will long be missed, not only by his immediate flock but by all who enjoyed the pleasure of his acquaintance.

In 1858 Bishop Canoz of Mathurai was appointed administrator apostolic of the vicariate of Bombay *provisoria ratione*, and held the position until 1860. Hartmann was succeeded at Poona by Walter Steins SJ, a worthy successor to a great man.

7 THE OTHER VICARIATES

The period 1832–58 has been described by one good authority as the second spring of the Roman Catholic missions in India.

a. Mathurai

In December 1836 the pope assigned to the Jesuits the mission of Mathurai, which had won them so much renown in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Four priests, under the leadership of Fr Bertrand SJ, reached Pondichéri in March 1838. They wisely stayed there some months in order to profit by the experiences of the missionaries of the Paris Society. When, later in the year, they made their way to Mathurai they were accompanied by two of the Pondichéri Fathers, to whom they were much indebted as they took their first steps in the discovery of an unknown land.

The situation as it disclosed itself to them was for the most part deplorable. The congregations had been much neglected. The Paris missionaries had done what they could but had no forces adequate to deal with the needs of so vast an area. The few Syrian and Goanese priests had proved less than helpful. The story, as related by the Jesuits themselves, was one of conflict in four directions.

First, there was the inevitable and resolute opposition of the non-Christians; but under the firm and steady rule of the British, the Christians had much less to fear, even in the semi-independent areas, than in the days of the capricious and not infrequently oppressive *rājās*, when mob violence was an ever-present menace.

Then there were the Protestants. To the Jesuits the Protestants appeared as a swarm of locusts, numerous and with incalculable resources behind

them, ever ready to pounce on shivering and unprotected congregations and to seduce them by bribes, promises and deceits from the true faith. The coming of the Protestants in strength was something that the Jesuits had not foreseen. In the early days, when the Protestants had found groups of Roman Catholics entirely unshepherded, they had been inclined to take them in. But as their hands became increasingly full with the care of their own converts, and as they learnt by experience that bad Roman Catholics generally make worse Protestants, the tendency to gather in other men's gardens became steadily less. There were individual cases of mutual kindness as between the missions, but at that date no thought of ecumenical fellowship could be entertained.⁴⁴

Worse than the Protestants were the 'schismatics'. There were a few priests of the *padroado* party, a few Romo-Syrian priests from Kerala, a slightly larger number from Goa; but what they lacked in numbers they made up for by the vigour with which they maintained their claims. No doubt many of the Christians would have been glad to welcome the French missionaries. But they were divided among themselves, and their extreme ignorance hindered them in the effort to choose between the newcomers and those to whose presence they had become accustomed.

The Jesuits received far less help than they had hoped for from the British authorities. In Mathurai itself, while the Goanese priest was absent, they had taken possession of the church. Immediately on his return, vengeance fell on them. They were dragged before the chief magistrate of the place, and judgement was given against them as intruders. According to Fr Bertrand, they were ignominiously expelled from the church and parsonage by the police and led through the streets amid the howls of the populace to the bungalow which they had chosen as their place of refuge.⁴⁵ This sharp lesson led them to act with greater prudence in their subsequent proceedings.

The four Fathers at work in the mission decided to divide their forces. Fr Bertrand, the superior, made his way to the Marava country (Rāmnād); a second settled at Tiruchirāpaḷli; a third took Pālayankōṭṭai and the Tirunelveli area; the fourth settled at Tuticorin, in the hope of winning back the Fisher Coast. This separation was probably a mistake. Unmarried missionaries rarely have much idea of looking after themselves in an unfavourable climate. Loneliness in the midst of so much opposition proved a heavy burden. It is not surprising that, seven years after their arrival, not one of the original four was in the field. Three had died and the fourth had had to return to Europe for reasons of health.

There was, however, no thought of abandoning the mission. New recruits began to arrive in place of those who had fallen, and patient pastoral work was beginning to show its fruits.

A notable step forward was taken when in 1847 Mathurai was constituted

a separate vicariate. There is an apparent and misleading contradiction in the sources. It is stated in many places that the vicariate was created in 1837. It is the fact that in 1837 Fr Bertrand was told that he had been appointed as vicar apostolic of Mathurai; but in the following year he had to return to Europe. No further steps were taken, and the matter slept for ten years. It was in 1847 that the vicariate really came into being. The choice of the authorities fell upon Fr Alexis Canoz SJ, who had been in India for five years, during the last three of which he had exercised the office of superior. No better choice could possibly have been made. Fr Canoz had the confidence of his brethren. He had the privilege of holding the office of bishop for forty-one years. When a man remains for so long a period in one see, it can happen that his subjects grow a little weary of him. It was not so in this case: Mgr Canoz retained to the end the deepest respect and affection of those for whom he cared, and his death was felt by all as a personal loss.⁴⁶

Among many other distinctions Mgr Canoz may claim that of having opened a new period of Christian education in India. The Roman Catholics had done far less for education than the Protestants. Roman Catholic students were pouring into the great Protestant institutions to the great peril of their faith. It was no use telling them not to go; they would go where the best education was to be found. Fr Canoz saw that the only way to safeguard the future of the church was to provide education, secular and religious, on a level as high as that which was offered by government or by the Protestants. In 1844 the college of St Joseph came into existence at Nāgapattinam (Negapatam).

As with a number of other institutions at that time, the title 'college' was a little grandiose, unless it was taken as proleptic of a great future. Two fathers and fifteen pupils was a somewhat insignificant beginning for an institution bearing such a name. Moreover, the college had to pass through a series of grievous trials – the death from cholera of several fathers and pupils, a devastating fire and, not least, the criticisms of devout people who felt that what was needed was a seminary in the narrow sense of the term, or at least a college whose primary aim would be the preparation of the future priests of the church.⁴⁷ The authorities were able to stave off these criticisms. Within two years of the foundation of the college, two of its students had come forward as candidates for the priesthood. These students would undoubtedly benefit from a wider curriculum than would be offered by a seminary and from the companionship of other boys who had no vocation to the priesthood. Before many years had passed, it had become evident that Negapatam was not a suitable place for the main educational enterprise of the vicariate and that it should move to Tiruchirāpaḷḷi, which was coming to be recognised as the centre of the mission. In spite of some opposition from the SPG, which was already well installed in Tiruchirāpaḷḷi, the move was

approved by the government educational authorities. On 18 January 1983 St Joseph's College celebrated the centenary of the beginning of the new phase of its existence.

The southern part of the vicariate included the old missions of the Fisher Coast. Two Jesuits arrived in April 1838 and, accompanied by one of the Fathers of the Paris mission, visited as many parishes as they could. There were some Goanese priests on the Coast, but not many, and some of the parishioners reported that they had not seen a priest for three years. It was clear that, in the absence of true pastors, many grave disorders had entered in.

A warning of what might await them came at an early date in Vadakkankulam.⁴⁸ Fr Mousset, with the best intentions in the world, had gathered together the children for instruction; unaware of the offence that he was causing, he brought them all, high caste and low caste together, to sit in the area reserved for the Vellālas. At once the Vellālas withdrew, to avoid defilement by contact with those whom they regarded as their inferiors. Discipline was meted out to the dissidents and peace was outwardly restored. But dissensions between the castes continued in that place until well on in the twentieth century.⁴⁹

Grave difficulties awaited the Jesuits elsewhere. Each village on the Coast had a civil head, and the custom had grown up that these headmen should keep the accounts and control the administration of the churches. Naturally, when the missionaries arrived, they claimed the right to inspect the accounts. To this grave exception was taken, and revolt spread like wildfire along the Coast. A visit from Mgr Bonnard, the vicar apostolic of Pondichéri, was effective in checking the dissensions, and by 1840 order had been everywhere restored. In 1847 a pastoral tour carried out by the newly consecrated Mgr Canoz was a resounding success.

Beneath the ashes fires still smouldered. Temporary outbreaks occurred in a number of places. Much more serious were the happenings at Tuticorin in 1849. The headman of that large city and congregation was arranging for the marriage of his daughter. A Goanese priest had been invited to perform the ceremony. No fewer than five priests of that allegiance had assembled for the occasion. The supporters of the Jesuits should not have been present at the ceremony, but many yielded to fear or favour and were there. This defiance was taken as a signal for the renewal of the revolt; from Punnaikāyal to Manappādu the Jesuits were driven out; the churches were closed, and the Jesuits found it necessary to defend their rights in the law courts, often in the presence of magistrates who were not inclined to favour their cause.

The years that followed were marked by alternations of peace and conflict. Neither Jesuits nor Goans were able permanently to gain the upper hand.

But the Jesuits had the great virtues of patience and persistence. Their influence tended to grow stronger all the time, and in the end the greater part of the Coast came under their control.

b. Pondichéri

It had long been evident that the mission of Pondichéri was far too large; moreover, there were certain drawbacks involved in having the centre of such extensive work in a French colony. The Vatican wisely decided that the area should be divided into three. Various considerations lay behind this decision. There were, first, the facts of geography – in the great distances that had to be traversed when means of transport were still in many places primitive. The variety of languages made it difficult for equal attention to be given to groups of differing speech. The ravages of the Protestants are constantly mentioned as a ground for the strengthening of the organisation of the Roman Catholic Forces.

i. Mysore. The Protestants had long been established in Bangalore, Mysore city and other centres. When it was decided that Mysore should become a vicariate apostolic, the choice fell upon Stephen Louis Charbonnaux (1805–73), a devout priest of the Paris mission who had been in India since 1831. Since 1841 he had been coadjutor elect of Pondichéri but no consecration had taken place by reason of grave objections put forward by the candidate himself. He had serious doubts as to the suitability of Indians for holy orders and could not pledge himself to lay hands on those who might be brought before him for ordination. This was a period during which the slow wheels of the church were moving in the direction of the creation of a far stronger indigenous ministry, in India as elsewhere; such an objection was an insuperable obstacle in the way of the consecration of Charbonnaux as bishop. Very gradually he changed his mind, while still insisting that the caution of 1 Timothy 3: 6 ought to be observed, ‘in view of the inconstancy of heart and levity of spirit, and the lack of aptitude for the inner life, which is generally to be observed among these peoples’.⁵⁰ The objection having been withdrawn, and Fr Charbonnaux having in the meantime been nominated to Mysore, where he was already resident and in charge of ninety-two churches, the consecration could go forward. It took place on 29 June 1845.⁵¹

ii. Coimbatore. Here the choice fell on the young aristocrat Melchior de Marion Brésillac (1813–59), who at the time of his appointment was only thirty-two years old. Brésillac seems to have lacked the gift of making himself acceptable to others. Since his views were often markedly different from

theirs, it is perhaps not surprising that after ten years of a rather uncomfortable episcopate he resigned and returned to France.⁵² His successor was Fr Joseph Godelle.

iii. *Vishākhapaṭṇam* (Vizagapatam). The time had come to relieve Pondichéri to the northward by founding a vicariate for the work among the Telugu people. The plans for a vicariate of Vishākhapaṭṇam had been made; but the Paris mission simply had not the resources at hand, and it was hard to know from what source these new needs could be met. Just at this moment a letter was received from the pious bishop of Annecy in Savoy to the effect that he had under his hand a group of devout priests who were anxious to lend their services to the cause of missions overseas. He had available four priests who were ready to set out for India at an early date. The cardinals in Rome saw in this offer a ready solution to the problem of the Telugu field. If the Paris mission would provide a superior and two experienced missionaries to guide the newcomers through their necessary period of apprenticeship, all would be in train for the creation of the new vicariate, as soon as there was a member of the Annecy Society⁵³ qualified to hold the post of vicar apostolic.

The French missionaries arrived in Pondichéri. An experienced priest, Fr Gailhot, was appointed as superior of the mission on a purely temporary basis. Then an entirely unexpected difficulty arose. The new vicariate had not yet been created, and the area was technically in the vicariate of Madras. Mgr Fennelly was wholly unwilling to receive the new mission. Rome was adamant, and Fennelly had to yield; but Fr Gailhot, with admirable tact, wrote to the irate bishop:

I well understand how anxious your lordship is to preserve for the Irish soldiers the instructions of priests who are their compatriots. I therefore request you to be good enough to station two of these [Irish] missionaries in the stations where their presence will be most useful and most acceptable.

Authority and tact together prevailed; from that time onwards the attitude of Mgr Fennelly towards the new mission lacked nothing in complaisance.

Fr Gailhot's exile was not of long duration. The Frenchmen settled down very well to their new work. In March 1847 Fr Theophilus Neyret arrived to take over the duties of superior. On 24 February 1850 he was consecrated as bishop of Olema *i.p.i.*, and the vicariate was well and truly established. Not content with the work in the plains, the Salesians pressed forward into the hills, and made contact with the Khonds, who were now accessible to the Gospel. Already in 1852 they had founded a missionary station, which fifty years later was reported as being the centre of twenty-six Christian groups, with a Christian population of 3,200 members.

c. Hyderabad

A further alleviation of the burdens of Madras was the formation of a jurisdiction in Hyderabad, to promote work among the Telugus in areas where Protestant missions were already at work.

The ecclesiastical situation was a little complicated. The Irish missionary, Daniel Murphy, was consecrated bishop in 1846 and worked in almost complete independence of Madras; but Hyderabad was not formed into a separate vicariate at that time, and Murphy continued to be a bishop assistant to Bishop Fennelly in Madras.

Murphy had an exiguous staff of Irish priests, a number of whom served also as chaplains to the Irish Roman Catholics in the regiments. For the immense area for which he was responsible – the *nizām*'s dominions and a large area of British India with its centre at Masulipatam – the forces at his disposal were wholly inadequate. It is not surprising that, when help was offered to him from an unexpected quarter, he accepted it with avidity.

In 1850 the missionary seminary of Milan had been formed. By 1854 the first party of missionaries was ready to set out, two of them designated for Hyderabad. It is not always the case that Christian workers of different nationalities, even those of the same allegiance, find it easy to work together, but in this area no such difficulty arose. In the following year, Mgr Murphy was able to write to his colleague Mgr Carew in Calcutta: 'My two Italian priests have arrived, and I am very well content with them. They are extremely well prepared for the apostolate, and I expect great things from their labours and their zeal. I admire the method of this missionary college in Milan . . . they send them out to the missions only after an apprenticeship of at least two years.'⁵⁴ As long as Mgr Murphy remained as their head, the Italians could always count on a considerate and affectionate friend.⁵⁵ Nor did affectionate friendships with missionaries of other societies fail.

In the early days, when numbers were so restricted, little could be done in the way of direct evangelism, and the plans for a mission to the high-caste Hindus on the old Mathurai model had to be given up. Greater success had to await an increase in numbers and more settled methods of working.⁵⁶

d. Bengal again

In the 1840s Mgr Carew was successful in reducing considerably the area for which he was responsible. In 1845 plans were made for a vicariate of Eastern Bengal, and this came into formal existence in 1850, relieving the vicar apostolic of Calcutta of the region stretching eastwards to Chittagong. Carew had received permission from Propaganda to transfer to the vicariate of Pegu and Ava in Burma the long stretch of the Arakan hills, which belong

naturally to Burma and had in fact been politically separated from Bengal in 1847. Assam was too far away to be satisfactorily cared for from Calcutta. By a division of the old vicariate of Tibet-Hindustan, the eastern part of it had become on 27 March 1846 the vicariate of Lhasa and had been handed over to the Paris mission. It had become clear that no access to Tibet was possible from the west; it was therefore arranged to hand over Assam to the Paris mission in the hope that a door to Tibet might open in this quarter. This did not come about, but Fathers of the Paris mission established their headquarters at Gauhati on the Brahmaputra river.

Mgr Carew was successful in considerably extending the range of those who took part in the work of his vicariate.

Bengal was assigned to the English province of the Jesuits. At that time England was still in Roman Catholic eyes a mission field; the assignment to English Jesuits of so important a field as Bengal was a clear sign of renewal of self-confidence. The first team that arrived was, however, international and included Irish and continentals as well as English. For a time all went well. The reputation of the Jesuits came to stand high, and St Xavier's College could stand comparison with other institutions of higher education in the capital. But Mgr Carew took a highly exalted view of his authority as bishop and believed that all in his area should be entirely subject to his will. It seemed to the Jesuits that some of his requirements ran contrary to the principles of their society. Reconciliation having proved impossible, the entire English contingent was withdrawn. The loss to the work was considerable, and was repaired only when the Belgian province took over in 1859.

The Ladies of Loretto came to help the vicar apostolic in his educational work for girls. This distinguished order had spread from England to Ireland, and it was to the Irish house at Rathfarnham that the bishop looked for help. Once again the aristocratic temper of the bishop led to difficulties. The work of the Ladies was educational. The bishop wished them to undertake in addition visitation of hospitals, in place of the sisters of charity whose help he had vainly sought. When he tried to lay this as a duty on the Ladies of Loretto, he was going beyond what he had a right to require. It was made plain to him by higher authority that he must learn to keep within the limits of the authority that had really been committed to him.

At that time Darjeeling was being developed as a refuge in the hills for those exhausted by the steamy heat of Bengal. Mgr Carew was quick to note the new opportunities which the as yet undeveloped station offered. He arranged for four of the Ladies and one priest to go and settle there, overlooking the fact that Sikkim, and Darjeeling with it, lay unmistakably in the areas assigned to the vicariate apostolic of Patna. Anastasius Hartmann was not the man to suffer gladly vicars apostolic aggressive; for a time the relations between the two prelates were less than cordial.

In one area Mgr Carew had good success: he was able to persuade the Christian brothers of Ireland to help him in the work of schools for boys, an area in which up to that time the Protestants had had everything pretty much their own way.⁵⁷ The Irish Brothers proved to be diligent, modest and competent. Their contribution was more valuable than their comparatively small numbers might suggest.

When Mgr Carew died in 1848, the vicariate was in many ways in a far better state than when he had taken it over. It is sad to have to record that the death of a prelate whose one great defect was that his prudence was not equal to his devotion brought a sense of relief to many of those over whom he had ruled.

8 TOWARDS THE ORGANISATION OF A CHURCH

Of the Roman Catholic church in India, it could be said, as was said of the church in France, that it had bishops but no episcopate. The *padroado* bishoprics were controlled under the decrees of the Council of Trent. There was a primate, to whom the other bishops were suffragans. In the sixteenth century councils were held, so that the bishops and other leading clergy could meet one another from time to time; but these had ceased to be held. The archdiocese of Goa was frequently without an archbishop, and there was little cohesion. When the vicariates apostolic were formed, each was directly related to the pope; no vicar had any authority over any other; there were no arrangements for meetings between bishops, and some continued to work for a number of years without ever seeing another bishop. Some of the vicars were members of religious orders; these retained much loyalty to the order to which they belonged, and were closely linked to centres in Rome. Vicars apostolic are a little like spokes of a wheel, all running in to the hub but not necessarily having much connection with one another around the rim. In India itself there was no central point of reference, and, except for the fragments of order which remained in the *padroado* dioceses, nothing corresponding to the regular organisation of the church in provinces and dioceses.

Formal organisation had to wait for the great work of Leo XIII and the establishment of the hierarchy in 1886. But, before the middle of the century, there were signs that the need was being felt for closer links between the various regions, jurisdictions and orders, and for stricter regulation of life within the vicariates and dioceses themselves. The synod of Pondichéri, held in 1845, was a turning-point in the history of the church in India, not because in itself it achieved very much but just because it was the first meeting of the kind in India and pointed the way forward to much that was to take place before the end of the century.

Mgr Bonnand had at first no more than the idea of calling together the priests of his vicariate for purposes of consultation and spiritual renewal; but, as the plans developed in his mind, he decided to provide the meeting with a more formal constitution, and to give it the title of synod.⁵⁸ All too often in the past priests had been brought together for no other purpose than to listen with suitable docility to decisions in the making of which they had had no share. Bonnand made it clear that he wanted real consultation, with freedom of speech for all. In a long series of documents, in a style which can best be described by the admirable French word *ampoulé*, he is careful always to address a colleague as 'Monsieur et très cher Confrère', and stresses the value of the contribution which each can make.

The synod opened on 18 January 1845 with a lengthy discourse by the vicar apostolic. Twenty-seven priests were present; it is typical of the state of the church at that time that twenty-four of these were foreigners, and only three were Indians. It was agreed that the subjects for discussion should be, in order of importance, the development of an indigenous ministry; the care of Christians; the evangelisation of non-Christians.

Under the first heading some progress had been made. A minor seminary was in existence; but this was under the care of a single priest who was often distracted from his work in the seminary by other cares. It was agreed that attention must be paid to four languages – Latin, Tamil, French and English – and that the level of instruction must be brought to a much higher level than that which had obtained in the past.

The creation of a major seminary was an urgent need. Here, on the European model, philosophy, theology and sacred Scripture must be taught; but this could not become effective without an adequate supply of teachers.

It was agreed by all that the care of Christians could not be raised to the desired level without a great increase in the number of Indian priests. In the meantime the missionary in India must remember that, more than priests elsewhere, he is called to be the father, the judge and the spiritual healer of his people; as far as he is able he must enter into their sorrows and share their joys.

All agreed in expressing regret that, burdened as they were with the care of all the churches, they had been able to give much less time than they desired to direct evangelistic work among the non-Christians. It would be good if some missionary with special gifts in this direction could be set apart to prepare himself for effective work among those outside the limits of the church.⁵⁹

The synod came to an end on 13 February 1845. Propaganda was naturally greatly interested in the synod and its work. The task of reporting on it in full was entrusted to a young missionary, Fr Felix Luquet, who had spent no more than two years in India, and who carried out his duties with such

enthusiasm as to produce a report 110 pages long under the title *Eclaircissement sur le Synode de Pondichéri*. In this he not merely gave a vivid account of the state of affairs in the various missions but expatiated at length on the problem of more rapid development of the indigenous ministry. This report served as the basis for the Instruction sent out by Propaganda to all vicars apostolic and other superiors of missions on 23 November 1845; once again their attention was drawn to the obligations resting on them to give to Indian priests such a training as would prepare them to be leaders and not merely subordinates in the work of the missions. This instruction received the approval of the pope himself.⁶⁰

It might have been thought that all the outstanding problems in relation to the organisation of the church in India had at last been settled. But events showed that this was far from being the case. Always over-sensitive to the claims of Portugal, the Vatican once more engaged in negotiations with the Portuguese government.⁶¹ The result was an extraordinary document, the concordat between Rome and the crown of Portugal of 21 February 1857.⁶²

In the concordat the full rights of Portugal under the *padroado* agreement are recognised. The old *padroado* dioceses which has been suppressed may be reconstituted. A commission will be appointed to determine the exact boundaries of the dioceses; when this has been done, the vicars apostolic will withdraw from the *padroado* dioceses, but will continue to exercise jurisdiction in areas not included in those dioceses. In the meantime adherents of *padroado* and of Propaganda will continue in occupation of the churches which were in their possession at the time of the agreement being reached. Portugal has the right under the *padroado* agreement of creating new dioceses in the area assigned to it. The archbishop of Goa will retain the ordinary jurisdiction which he has previously exercised, but for six years he will be in possession of extraordinary jurisdiction over the other *padroado* dioceses. Under this arrangement all the priests of the *padroado* allegiance recovered the right to minister the sacraments, from which they had been suspended by the vicars apostolic. This was the so-called double jurisdiction, which endured for about thirty years.

The *padroado* party naturally proclaimed this as a tremendous victory for their cause, and this view is generally maintained by Portuguese writers up to the present day.⁶³ Supporters of the Propaganda tend to minimise the magnitude of the rebuff which they had endured, but it can hardly be denied that it was severe.

The concordat, however, as any intelligent observer could have foreseen, was a dead letter from the date of its promulgation.⁶⁴ Portugal was in no position to create new dioceses, and the only effect of the concordat was to reintroduce chaos where a measure of order had been brought about.⁶⁵

One great step forward was, however, taken. Up till that time no one had

been in a position to survey India as a whole or to consider the state of the church in the entire sub-continent. In 1858 the decision was taken to appoint a visitor apostolic, whose task would be precisely that – to survey the Christian situation as a whole and to report to Rome. The choice fell upon Clement Bonnand, bishop of Drusipara *i.p.i.* and vicar apostolic of Pondichéri, who in that year celebrated his episcopal silver jubilee.⁶⁶ The choice met with universal acclaim. Few men knew India as well as Mgr Bonnand. He was widely known and universally respected. His gracious and courteous approach made him acceptable to all kinds of people.

It is important to note what Bonnand could and could not do. He had great authority but no power to act or to decide. He had the right of access to every diocese and vicariate apostolic in India, as well as the right to enquire into every aspect of the work of the church and to demand the fullest information on every subject to which he might direct his attention. Jesuit visitors had been known in the past. A visitor who came directly from the pope, invested by him with full authority, was a novelty, welcome to many but not to all. The results of the appointment lay in the future; but historians may judge that the year 1858 marked the dividing-point not only in the political life of India but also in its ecclesiastical organisation.⁶⁷

9 POSTSCRIPT

There is good ground for calling the period between 1830 and 1858 the second birth of the Roman Catholic church in India, but some consideration must be given to the question in what sense the term can be appropriately used.

Much had certainly been gained or regained. The church had entered into friendly relationships with the ruling power and had achieved a measure of recognition such as would have been unthinkable in the early days of British rule. Most of the old centres of work had been provided with diligent and faithful priests. Order had been restored where chaos had prevailed. The arrival of nuns and sisters was a new factor in the missionary situation, though the small beginnings gave no indication of the immense developments that were to follow. Geographically something like a rational organisation of the work was beginning to appear. There were great areas in which the Roman Catholic church simply did not exist; but, like the Protestants, the Roman Catholic forces were steadily reaching out into new territories, in such a way that the military term 'occupation' had begun to seem appropriate. The first beginnings of a unified organisation for the whole of India were beginning to appear.

There was much to be said on the other side. The whole picture is still depressingly European. The continuing slowness of communications meant

that bishops and missionaries had to exercise a considerable measure of independence; yet supervision and control from Europe were detailed and harassing, and could be harmful to the work. It was impossible that those in Rome and Paris should understand fully the situations with which they claimed the right to deal. The burden of 1744 and the bull *Omnium Sollicitudinum* still weighed heavily on the Roman mission. Hardly anything was left of the grand imagination of Robert Nobili, or even of the minute acquaintance with the Indian mind and Indian customs manifest in the writings of the Abbé Dubois. Everything had to be carried out in the Roman fashion, without departure or experiment at any point. The impression left on the mind of the historian is of a spirit of restoration – everything must be put back to the point at which it was before the disasters of the late eighteenth century fell on the church.

There was great faithfulness, and self-sacrifice without limit; missionaries took it for granted that they might be called upon at any time to lay down their lives in the service of Christ. There was, however, a lack of eminence and of originality. To only one of the leaders of this time could the epithet 'great' be applied. Anastasius Hartmann alone stood out head and shoulders above his colleagues in all the fields of service. The Roman mission had no scholars to compare with Robert Caldwell and John Wilson; no translators in the same rank as Henry Martyn,⁶⁸ no appreciation of the excellences of the higher Hinduism such as is found in the writings of G. U. Pope, no evangelist of the intellectual powers of T. V. French, no educator equal in stature to Alexander Duff and his colleagues.

It is on the Indian side that the disparity is most evident. In the period under review it is not possible to name one Indian Roman Catholic of eminence. The idea that Indians might be fit for the episcopate seems entirely to have vanished from sight. High-caste converts to the Protestant way were already beginning to stand up to their European masters and to claim equality with them with no small prospect of success. On the Roman Catholic side, the European dominance was oppressive in its calm assumption that this was according to nature, and could not be changed in any near future.

Fifty years were to pass before the Roman Catholics could claim equality with the Protestants in achievement, and an even longer period before they could lay reasonable claim to that superiority which they believed naturally to belong to them as the first comers in the field.

14 · Education and the Christian Mission

I MISSIONARY BEGINNINGS

Scotland came late into the missionary enterprise in India. The man who more than any other changed the outlook of the Scottish church was the notable Thomas Chalmers (1780–1847), one of the great preachers of the day, who combined with a strong evangelical faith views on social reform which might be considered advanced even in the twentieth century. A somewhat exuberant listener has recorded the impression left on the minds of the hearers by Chalmers' inaugural lecture as professor at St Andrews in November 1823, when 'the eloquence of the mighty enchanter, breaking through all conventional trammels, shone forth in all the splendour of its overpowering glories'.¹

In 1824 Dr James Bryce, the first Scottish chaplain in Calcutta, drew the attention of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to the possibilities of India as a field for missionary endeavour. His plan was for a college 'under the ecclesiastical superintendence of the Kirk Session of St Andrew's Church, for the training of those who might in due course be employed to preach from the pulpit of St Andrew's to such native congregations as might attend their ministry'.²

Soon after the arrival of Dr Chalmers in St Andrews, his attention was directed to a student who had arrived two years earlier at the age of fifteen and had earned the highest honours in Greek, Latin, logic and natural philosophy.³ Alexander Duff came from a pious family on the borders of the highlands, in which both English and Gaelic were spoken. He grew up in a home filled with the spirit of a profound evangelical piety, with that peculiar combination of solidity and fervour which seems to be the special gift of highland folk.

On 12 March 1829 Duff made known to Dr Chalmers his willingness to proceed to India as a missionary of the Church of Scotland. Two months later his offer of service was accepted, and on 12 August of the same year he was ordained to the ministry of the church. It was understood that he was to go out as an educational missionary, but he was left free to work out his plans as he judged best in view of the situation in Calcutta. Only one condition was laid down – that he should not settle in Calcutta, but in some rural area of

Bengal. It is characteristic of Duff that, having studied the situation in Bengal, he had no hesitation in disregarding the one instruction which had been given him.

Duff and his wife left Britain on 14 October 1829. After a fearful journey marked by shipwreck and all manner of perils in the deep, they arrived at last in Calcutta on 27 May 1830, to be warmly welcomed by friends, and to make at an early date the acquaintance of the governor-general, Lord William Bentinck. Duff arrived in Calcutta at the height of the controversy on education in India. Orientalists and Anglicists were still in full cry. But, although Macaulay's minute still lay in the future, it was already clear in which direction thought was moving. The importance of English was universally recognised. It was education in English that would win the day. There can be little doubt that on this all-important issue the mind of Duff had been made up before he ever set foot in India.

He did not, however, rush into the fray, but spent two months in consultation with those who best deserved to be consulted. The majority of missionaries were still sceptical of the value of higher education as an evangelistic method. What they had seen of English education at the Hindu College led them to think that the result of Duff's labours might be only to replace ignorant unbelievers by well-educated and aggressive unbelievers.

There were two exceptions to the general chorus of disapproval.

Duff made his way to Serampore, and found himself in the presence of a little yellow old man in a white jacket.⁴ Carey was near the end of his days. His ways had led him in directions very different from those which Duff was sounding out for himself, but he found himself able to approve of all that Duff expounded of his plans.

Rāmmohun Roy was at this time fifty-six years old, and about to set out on the journey to England which would bring his days to an end. Roy was convinced that all education must have a religious basis. Placing the Bible, as he did, far ahead of any other religious work, he was prepared for it to be included in the curriculum of the proposed college; nor had he any objection to the work of each day being opened with prayer.

At the end of two months Duff had reached certain convictions from which he never swerved:⁵

1. While the Indian languages should not be neglected, the basis of education must be English. Before the rational order of Western philosophy and science, the irrationalities of Indian thought would fade away. The Gospel and Western science together would prove an invincible tool.⁶

2. The school, unlike Serampore and Bishop's Colleges, must be founded in the very heart of Calcutta, near to the homes of its most prominent citizens.

3. Christian teaching must be uncompromisingly included in the curriculum of the college.

4. Conversions must be expected; but this must not be taken as a limiting factor in the usefulness of the college.

He went on:

While you engage in directly separating as many precious atoms from the mass as the stubborn resistance to ordinary appliances can admit, *we shall, with the blessing of God, devote our time and strength to the preparing of a mine, and the setting of a train, which shall one day explode and tear up the whole from its lowest depths.*⁷

On 13 July 1830 the new school opened. Rāmmohun Roy came in person during the opening days to smooth the path of the teachers and to clear away the deep suspicions which lurked in the minds of many of the pupils.⁸ As the first act of the new school, while all stood, Duff slowly repeated the Lord's Prayer in Bengali. The next hurdle was reached when a copy of the New Testament in English was placed in the hands of each of the pupils. This naturally produced an indignant reaction in the minds of some of those present; one young Brāhman cried out, 'I do not want to be *forced* to become Christian.' This was the moment for Rāmmohun Roy to intervene, as one who had read the whole bible and yet remained a Hindu: 'Read and judge for yourself. Not compulsion, but enlightened persuasion, which you may resist if you choose. Constitute you yourselves judges of the contents of the book.'⁹

Duff intended that the teaching in his school should be on what he called the 'intellectual method' (but what would perhaps more commonly be called the Socratic method), of question and answer. Up till that time Indian education had worked almost exclusively on the principle of memorisation; the faculty of reflection on what had been learnt lagged far behind. Duff found that the boys were not able to answer the simplest question on what they had read. But soon all that was changed; the quick-witted Bengali boys soon discovered what was required of them, and what had been a burden became a delight. Duff himself gives an almost lyrical account of the way in which 'passive indolence of mind was roused into activity'.¹⁰

Lāl Behāri Day, who became a pupil in 1834 and whose recollections of his schooldays have been reprinted in a volume published in Calcutta in 1969,¹¹ tells us that Dr Duff's teaching was 'thoroughly intellectual, and as lively as it was intellectual. The ideas of the pupils were greatly encouraged . . . and as learning was made pleasant to them, their affection was drawn towards the acquisition of knowledge.'¹²

Day adds valuable remarks on the maintenance of discipline in the school. Duff was of the opinion that 'a teacher who was unable to maintain order in the class without the application of the rod was better fitted to be entrusted with the care of cows in the field than with the education of youth'. So corporal punishment was hardly ever inflicted. Recourse could, however, be had to it in the case of grave moral offence. Day gives a rather gruesome account of the castigation and expulsion of a big boy, who had stolen a book

from a fellow-student, sold it in the bazaar and lied about his offence. The more civilised methods of maintaining discipline could not be required of the Indian language teachers, who had grown up in the old ways and could not be expected easily to change them. Day himself was rescued from violence at the hands of one of these pundits by the accidental entrance of one of the Scottish teachers at the moment of peril.¹³

2 CONVERSION AND CONFLICT

Duff had been confident that there would be some conversions; they came perhaps earlier than he had expected. The teachings of the Hindu College and other secular agencies had created a vacuum rather than satisfied the new needs which were beginning to be felt. A message of hope was what the young men felt that they needed and had failed to find.

In 1832 a student of the Hindu College, Mohesh Chunder Ghose, wrote to Duff: 'I am travelling step to step, and Christianity, I think, will be the last place where I shall rest; for every time I think, its evidence becomes too overpowering.' On 28 August of that year he was baptised in the Old Mission church.¹⁴ Of his conversion Mohesh wrote that 'my progress was not that of earnest enquiry, but of earnest opposition. And to the last my heart was opposed. *In spite of myself I became a Christian . . .* Surely this must be what the Bible calls "grace", free grace, sovereign grace, and if ever there was an election of grace, surely I am one.'¹⁵

Three months later the Kulin Brāhman Krishna Mohun Banerjea was admitted to the church by baptism. He had been a leader in the reforming party, and, as the editor of the *Enquirer*, had launched out week by week on a series of attacks on the superstition and corruption of Hinduism as it existed in Calcutta at that time. In August 1831 Calcutta was convulsed by the news that a group of young rebels had not merely eaten beef, to the Hindus an unpardonable sin, but had thrown the remains of their feast into the adjacent compound of a Brāhman. Banerjea had not been present on that occasion, but his connection with the group was well-known; he was compelled to withdraw from his home and family, and had great difficulty in finding anywhere to stay.

At this point Duff entered into contact with him, and showed friendship just when it was most needed. One thing led to another. Banerjea for the time was inclined to regard the Socinian (Unitarian) form of Christian teaching as more reasonable than the Trinitarian view ably defended by Duff and his colleagues. Gradually he came to see that 'Socinianism was insignificant as a professed revelation', and understood the 'suitableness of the great salvation, which centred on the atoning death of a *Divine Redeemer*'.¹⁶

Banerjea explained his desire not to be baptised in a church:

If I go to the Church, my native acquaintance will not go, because their doing so would seem to their friends as making themselves one with the Christians. But they will come to the Lecture Room, as they have been accustomed to do. And my fervent wish is, that those who knew me as an idolator, an atheist, a deist, and unbeliever . . . may now be the witnesses of my public repudiation of all error, and public embracing of the truth, the whole truth, as revealed in the Bible.¹⁷

Banerjea lived to be the Reverend K. M. Banerjea LL.D., the most distinguished Indian Christian in Bengal, deeply respected by all classes, and the pioneer in the attempt to make Christianity genuinely Indian by drawing on the resources of the ancient Hindu culture.

The third convert was very different from the other two – less intellectually able, morally more awakened, and hindered in the way of faith not by intellectual difficulties but by a profound sense of personal unworthiness. In December 1832 Gopinath Nandi entered Duff's study, sat for a full quarter of an hour in silence, and then burst into tears and said, 'Can I be saved? Shall I have the privilege of being called a son of God, and a servant of Jesus Christ? Shall I be admitted to his holy family?' In a single talk with Duff he received the assurance of a forgiving God, and not long after joyfully entered the church through baptism.¹⁸

To the historian these records of conversion are of the utmost value. At last Indian Christianity begins to make itself known to us from the Indian side. These young men are intelligent, well versed in the English language, articulate. In what they wrote we can trace the process of conversion as it took place in the thoughtful Hindu mind. What strikes the reader is the measure of intellectual conviction reached before confession of faith in Christ became possible. Duff's appeal was always to the reasonableness of Christianity as contrasted with the irrationality of much in the non-Christian religions, as he saw them around him. Like most highlanders he had within him a highly emotional strain, and this emotion he must sometimes have communicated to his hearers. In these records of conversion, there are references to the distress of the divided mind and to the tranquillity that came with the acceptance of Christ. But the centre of interest in most cases is the intellectual progress from unbelief to faith. Some students stopped short in the theism of the Brāhmo Samāj. For those who went further, it was in almost every case the preaching of the Cross that was the final catalyst; this brought them what they felt to be deliverance from the past, and entrance into a new world.

In nothing is the greatness of Duff more clearly seen than in the ability of the institution which he had founded to continue running without the inspiration of his presence. In 1834, worn out by endless labours, he nearly died of dysentery. Unwillingly he returned to Scotland and recovery, and to equally endless labours of another kind; he was not to see his beloved college

again until 1840. That the college was able to go on from strength to strength was due to the zeal of the Church of Scotland in sending to India men of varying gifts, but all worthy to stand by the side of Alexander Duff.

William Sinclair Mackay was the polymath among them. He was an astronomer of considerable talent, and among other things introduced his students to the mysteries of the steam-engine and its working. All this did not prevent his lecturing three times a week, from deep sources of knowledge, on the evidences of Christianity.

David Ewart had deep sympathy for the less able boys. But the range of subjects that it was thought that young Bengalis could master is shown by the fact that he read with them Bacon's *Essays*, Butler's *Analogy*, Herschel's *Introduction to the Study of Natural Philosophy*, and some of the works of John Locke and Robert Boyle.

Thomas Smith was the best mathematician of the group; but he also had considerable skill in introducing his pupils into the niceties of the art of English composition. Bengalis have a natural partiality for rhetoric and for an ornate style: all the more important that Dr Smith should have advised them 'Strike out the sentences that you think the finest.'

One new feature in the life of the college was the Sunday evening lecture, instituted during Duff's absence but continued after his return. There was unity of aim, but considerable variety in the presentation of Christian truth. These lectures were open to the general public as well as to students, and after each lecture the opportunity for comment and discussion was given.

Lāl Behāri Day's career is interesting in that, more than any of the other converts, he was slow to make up his mind, and would not act until he was sure of all the consequences of what he was doing. He had studied and pondered the Bible. He spent long hours with two friends, Mahendra Lāl Basak and Kailas Chunder Mukerjea, both of whom had been baptised in 1839.¹⁹ In 1842 he won a prize for the best essay on 'The Falsity of the Hindu Religion', so well constructed that readers could not believe that it had been written by one who was still in name at least a Hindu. At last in July 1843, not without severe struggles, he made up his mind and applied for baptism.

The exact number of converts won to the Christian faith through the institution cannot be established with certainty. Lāl Behāri Day puts the number above 200: 'The Institution has communicated sound and useful knowledge to many thousands of the youth of Bengal; it has imparted the inestimable blessing of Christianity to upwards of two hundred intelligent converts.'²⁰ This is the highest figure given by any authority. It is unlikely that Day had any accurate statistics before him when he was writing; he probably included all those who had been converted in the first forty years of the life of the institution and members of their families.²¹ George Smith gives the names of only twelve 'principal converts' up to the year 1843, not

including those who had died. In a later work he gives the total number for the period of Duff's ministry in India as thirty-six.

Two criticisms may be made of the methods and results of Duff's work. The converts tended to become isolated from the main channels of Indian life. For this the missionaries could not be blamed. As the converts were expelled from their homes and from Hindu society, it became inevitable that the missionaries should provide them with a place to live in and food and clothes, until such time as they could provide for themselves. In spite of this, the converts seem to have escaped the worst effects of Europeanisation. They remained self-consciously and aggressively Indian, and in a number of cases managed to regain the respect and even affection of their non-Christian fellow-countrymen.

3 BEYOND BENGAL

Bombay had always been the stepchild of British rule in India. This was as true in the field of missions as in other areas of human life. That by the middle of the century this situation had been entirely changed was largely due to the action of the Scottish Missionary Society in sending John Wilson (1804-75) to western India in 1828.²² Wilson served the church in India for forty-seven years. During that period he grew to be the patriarch of the missionary cause in the area, revered alike by churchmen and civilians, by soldiers and sailors, and by the adherents of all the non-Christian religions to be found in Bombay.

Wilson soon gave evidence of a notable gift for the acquisition of languages. He acquired Marāthi and Gujarāti, both in their pure forms and in a number of dialectical variations. To these he added Sanskrit, Hindustani and Persian, and was then drawn into the mysterious Zend or Avestan, the language in which the ancient scripture of the Parsis is written.

His attention was early drawn to the considerable community of Parsis in Bombay – that group of refugees from persecution in Persia, who had found asylum in western India and over the centuries had retained their Zoroastrian faith and their separateness from other sections of the Indian population. In this study Wilson had some predecessors; but almost certainly he was the first Westerner to study the religion of the Parsis in the original language, and the first scholar to write in English on that religion. Of his work (published in 1843), *The Parsi religion; as Contained in the Zend-Avesta . . . Unfolded, Refuted, and Contrasted with Christianity*, the great authority Professor N. Haug writes: 'The first work in English which shows any acquaintance with the original Avestan texts was the Rev Dr Wilson's book on the Parsi religion, which . . . contains frequent indications of independent investigation.'²³

A happy chance led Wilson into contact with one of the most sensational discoveries in the history of Indological research. During a visit to the principality of Junagadh, he had descended rapidly from the peak of Girna, in order to see before night fell a rock inscription which had attracted a good deal of attention but had never been deciphered: 'After examining the block for a little, and comparing the letters with several ancient Sanskrit alphabets in my possession, I felt myself able, to my great joy, and that of the Brahmans who were with me, to make out several words, and to decide on the probable possibility of making out the whole.'²⁴ The honour of deciphering this, the first of the Asoka rock inscriptions to be made known to the learned world, fell to James Prinsep and his colleagues; the first steps were undoubtedly taken by John Wilson.

When Wilson came to Bombay education was in a deplorable state. The government had done hardly anything. The work of the various missions had not gone beyond the rudimentary level. Wilson attached greater value than did Duff to the direct preaching of the Gospel in the Indian languages, and himself practised it extensively as time permitted.²⁵ But inevitably he was led to consider education seriously as a means for the advancement of the Christian cause. It was the aim of Wilson to introduce Western knowledge and Western methods, but in the languages of India. He was a far better technical scholar than Duff, and far better placed than he to assess the riches of the Indian languages and their potential value as an instrument for the advancement of knowledge. Yet he was led on insensibly to the realisation that English was destined to be the 'second vernacular' of India, and that its usefulness as the principal instrument of education could not be denied.

In a report on one of his early controversies with the Parsis in Bombay (1853) Wilson quotes one of the Parsi champions as stating: 'With regard to the conversion of a Parsi, you cannot even dream of the event, because even a Parsi babe, crying in the cradle, is fairly confident in the venerable Zarthusht.'²⁶ Again 'The conversion of a Parsee is a work too difficult for *me* to accomplish . . . It is not too difficult, however, for the Spirit of God.' It was true that there was not, up to that date, any record of the conversion of a single Parsi to the Christian faith, but Wilson was not prepared to admit that such an event was impossible.

Parsis have always been distinguished by their desire for knowledge. As soon as the Bombay College of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland was opened in 1835, Parsi students began to come in considerable numbers; in 1839 they numbered 109. In that year three Parsi boys presented themselves to the missionaries with a request for baptism. Dhanjibhai Naoroji, the youngest of the three, was sixteen and a half, sixteen being at that time recognised as the age of discretion.²⁷ Hormasdjji Pestonji was nineteen years old, married and had a child. Framji Bahmanji was also nineteen.

Wilson was well aware of the commotion that would arise, when this purpose of defection became known to the community. He sympathised with their feelings: 'We fully appreciate and allow for the natural feelings of anger which his countrymen must feel at his renunciation of their ancient faith, and the still bitterer regrets which his relations must suffer from a step which in their view estranges for ever a once beloved youth from their society.'²⁸ But, being assured after careful trial of the sincerity of the young men in their profession of Christian faith, he did not feel that he could withhold baptism from them. Dhanjibhai was baptised on 1 May 1839 and Hormasdjì the following Sunday in the mission house.²⁹

Everything that Dr Wilson had foreseen came about. Legal proceedings were instituted against the missionaries. But the highest legal authorities decided that no case could be sustained against them; the great care with which they had acted thus earned its reward. Plans were made to establish a rival school from which all religious teaching was to be excluded. As in Calcutta, the plan proved abortive because of the lack of qualified teachers to serve in such a school. Orders were issued that all Parsi pupils in the college were to be withdrawn. This decision having been carried into effect, numbers in the school fell in a single day from 285 to 75; every single one of the Parsi pupils was withdrawn. This collapse was, however, only temporary; before long the numbers exceeded those recorded on the day before the withdrawal of nearly three-quarters of the pupils. Plans were put in hand for a petition to the British Parliament, requesting that no more missionaries should be sent to India, or that, if they were, all attempts at proselytisation should be strictly prohibited. The government of India refused to take action contrary to regulation 7 of 1832, in which that government under Lord William Bentinck had defined the code of civil and personal liberty as that was to obtain in British India.³⁰

The two converts lived long in the service of the Christian churches. Dhanjibhai was the first Indian sent to the West by any of the Protestant missions for the study of theology. He was accepted for ordination by the Free Church of Scotland. Pestonji continued his studies in Bombay. Converts from the higher castes continued to come in, but not in any large numbers. The Brāhman Narāyan Seshādri we have encountered elsewhere.³¹ In 1854 Wilson reported that the ablest student in the college, Baba Padmanji, had given in his name for baptism. In 1856 a Parsi student of Elphinstone College, the government institution, was baptised, and in the same year a Hindu student of the same college, a Sikh from the Punjab and a Muslim munshi.

As in Calcutta, provision for the care and welfare of these young converts presented great difficulties. Wilson solved the problem by inviting a number of them to live in his own house and treating them in every way as his own sons. This was doubtless good for their spiritual and moral development, but

such an upbringing could hardly help them in their preparation for the work of living and witnessing among their own people.

The Scottish Presbyterians were the first in the field of education in Bombay, but they did not stand alone.

Among the closest friends of Wilson in the European community in the early days had been Robert Money, secretary to the government and a devout Anglican layman. When he died in 1835, the respect felt for him by all classes was such that it was decided to found a school in his memory – the Church of England Institution, more commonly known as the Robert Money school. The school never prospered as did the General Assembly's institution; it did, however, produce one of the most notable converts of the era. Sorābji Kharshedji was the only son of a wealthy Parsi family and at the age of fourteen was sent to the Money school. When it became known to the family that he planned to become a Christian, extreme measures were resorted to. The family planned to send him away to an uncle in China. Sorābji, however, managed to slip away to the house of the missionary. He was baptised in October 1841, and like all the other converts faced the loss of all things. His young wife was separated from him and after some years was married to another man.

Sorābji, as a young man, lived for some years in the household of Bishop Carr of Bombay and accompanied him on his travels.³² This drew the attention of the bishop to the hardships endured by converts from other religions to the Christian faith. On 11 January he wrote a long letter to the governor of Bombay, Sir George Arthur, in which he detailed a number of cases known to himself, including that of Sorābji, in which converts had not merely lost all their property but had been separated from wife and children without hope of redress. The Bengal regulation of 1833, giving protection to those who became Christians, had not been extended to the rest of India; Carr suggested to the governor that Bombay should be included. No notice of this request was taken at the time; but in 1850 the government of India took action, and the regulation was extended to the whole of India.

Sorābji was in due course of time ordained to the Anglican ministry. He lived until 1894, greatly honoured and esteemed, and left behind a distinguished family through whom his name was perpetuated until well on in the twentieth century.³³

4 IN CENTRAL INDIA

John Wilson showed his usual sagacity in insisting that the work of the Scottish mission must be extended to Central India. Nothing at the time could seem less promising. The area had not come under British control; it was ruled by the *rājā* of Nāgpur, Raghoji Bhonsla III, a man who had

disappointed the high hope placed in him in his youth and for years had ruled his territories with a mixture of idleness, inefficiency and corruption. British and Company's regiments were stationed in the area, and British officials managed to exercise a measure of control; but the influence of the Brāhmins was extremely strong. A less promising field for the establishment of a Christian mission could hardly be imagined. But Wilson was right. Nāgpur is geographically almost in the centre of the Indian continent. From the point of view of Christian strategy, it was ideally suited to become the centre of pioneer work.³⁴

Stephen Hislop (1817–63) had been appointed as the first missionary to take charge of the pioneer effort,³⁵ and was ordained to that office by the Free Church of Scotland. John Wilson, in his ordination charge, had stressed as essential the creation of seminaries 'of a vastly higher character', and the provision of 'such an education as will be prized by the rich and middle classes of society'.

Hislop, on his way to Nāgpur, had seen the work of Wilson in Bombay, and had also visited the Americans in Ahmednagar. Here he had become convinced that the lack of an institution for the higher education of Christian converts had gravely prejudiced the success of their work. He was determined that the same mistake should not be made in the mission of Central India.

Little more than a year had passed since the date of his arrival, when 'on the 2nd of May [1846] with much fear and trembling, but looking to the Head of the Church, who disposeth all things for the furtherance of His cause, I opened a school in the native city of Nagpoor . . . I commenced operations with about thirty boys. They have increased to seventy.'³⁶ Hislop had nothing on which to build. Some of his pupils were young men who had come in the hope of learning English, but with the majority he had to start with the alphabet. From the start, however, it was his intention that this should be a place of higher learning.

Like his colleagues elsewhere, Hislop recognised that the results of such work in terms of actual conversions might be very small – 'but I am persuaded that they are preparing the way for a great moral revolution in a future age, and that no distant one'.³⁷

In the last year of Hislop's life his institution had to face a problem by which apparently the institutions in Calcutta and Bombay had been untroubled. Such places of higher learning had naturally been directed towards the well-to-do, the care of the poor and downtrodden being left to the village and primary schools. From the start Hislop had laid down the principle that there were to be no social distinctions in the provision of education in his school. Nevertheless he was a little taken aback when some of the *chambhars*, the leather workers who are regarded by Hindus as the lowest of all the

communities, brought their boys for admission to the mission school. The result was exactly as could have been foreseen – numbers in the school dropped immediately from 420 to 240. This was a risk which Christian schools always had to take. In Nāgpur, as in so many other places, in the end efficiency prevailed; the drop in numbers was only temporary, and success was re-established.

Like a number of Scottish missionaries of his time, Hislop combined with profound piety an enquiring mind, ever open to new forms of knowledge, all of which he recognised as coming from God, the source of all truth. His enquiries, however, led him into paths which few missionaries up to that time had trodden.

Well-trained in science, he was an indefatigable and accurate observer. The special joy of his heart was botany, but he did not neglect zoology and entomology. He also entertained an interest in geology, a science which in the India of his day hardly advanced beyond the rudimentary stage. He was the first to draw attention to the extensive deposits of coal to be found in Central India. His skill as an observer was commemorated when the name 'Hislopite' was conferred on 'a very remarkable mineral – a combination of calc-spar and glauconite, of a brilliant grass-green'.³⁸

Hislop was also a pioneer in the then almost unexplored field of what today would be called social anthropology. He had become aware that many of the inhabitants of the area in which he worked were not Hindus, and were distinguished from them by physical type, language, religion and customs. The largest group were the Gonds, among whom there was general similarity, though differences of dialect and customs were also to be found. For ten years, in the cold season of each year, Hislop toured among these people accompanied by educated Indians, some among them catechists in the mission, who recorded and transmitted facts to him. It had been his intention to publish the results of these labours, but his sudden death in 1863 brought his own participation in the work to an end. His papers, however, were regarded as so valuable that they were committed to the skilled hands of Richard (later Sir Richard) Temple (1826–1902) who edited and published them in 1866.³⁹ The writer is described by Temple as 'a gentleman distinguished by all the virtues and qualities becoming his sacred profession, and for attainments in scholarship and in practical science . . . His memory . . . is cherished by the natives, for whose moral and lasting welfare he laboured so long'.⁴⁰

Hislop added to all his other labours considerable services as chaplain to the regiment, in which there were many Scots. But his deep concern for his fellow-countrymen never distracted him from the primary object of his coming to India, the proclamation of the Gospel to the non-Christians around him. He was convinced that educational work and the direct

preaching of the gospel must go hand in hand. In so fierce a Hindu centre as Nāgpur, such work was bound to win few friends and many enemies.

In 1855 it was reported that there were already 675 pupils in the various schools. But the Free Church of Scotland did not rise to the height of its opportunity. For much of the time Hislop was left to carry on almost single-handed the work which almost single-handed he had called into being. Long life was not granted to him. To the deep and lasting sorrow of his friends he was accidentally drowned in 1863. The great college in Nāgpur is still called by his name.

5 THE SOUTH FOLLOWS SUIT

Calcutta had led the way in Christian higher education; but before long the attention of the Scots was directed to the older British settlement of Madras.

Too much weight must not be attached to the remark of Sir John Kaye that 'education was in a more depressed condition in Madras than in any other part of the Company's territories'.⁴¹ In 1835 two Scottish chaplains had opened St Andrew's School in Madras; but, observing that the school had not risen to the level of the hopes that they had placed in it, they asked the Church of Scotland to send them a missionary, with a view to the creation of an institution like that founded by Duff in Calcutta. The authorities sent them John Anderson.

Anderson was thirty-two years old at the time of his arrival in Madras. He had passed through deep waters of affliction, and had reached a higher level of maturity than had Duff and Wilson when they set out on their great work. He was at least their equal in energy and devotion, but he had also a shaft of Scottish humour, such as was not shared by all great missionaries. His character has been remarkably well sketched by Duff's colleague, Dr Ewart:

Mr Anderson had a strong vein of rich and original humour and he could promptly and severely wield the weapons of sarcasm when he chose to do so. He could make himself a most agreeable companion, and he could make it immediately felt if he was in society he disliked.⁴²

Anderson had hardly arrived in Madras when he sent out a prospectus setting forth his aims:

the object is simply to convey through the channel of a good education, as great an amount of truth as possible to the native mind, especially of Bible truth . . . the following branches will be taught – English, including reading, grammar and composition; writing and accounts; history, geography, arithmetic, mathematics and algebra; the elements of astronomy and political economy; the evidences and doctrines of Christianity etc. Moonshes will be employed to teach Tamil and Telugu.⁴³

The school was opened on 3 April 1837. Within three months Anderson was able to write to the committee in Scotland that he already had 180 pupils, and that the number was still increasing. The behaviour of the pupils was all that could be desired, and no objection seemed to be taken to the teaching of the Bible in every class. At the start Anderson had only local helpers to rely upon; but before long he had two excellent Scottish colleagues, Robert Johnston and John Braidwood, each of them the equal of Anderson in devotion to the cause, each with his own special gifts, but neither with the dynamic scintillating quality of the leader.

During the second year of the institution's life it was forced into the first of a series of crises. Three Pariah boys had entered the school, well-dressed and wearing Hindu caste-marks to which they were not entitled. At first the deception was not detected; but very soon it became known that there were 'outcastes' in the school. A number of boys of respectable family were withdrawn, and ten of these, to Anderson's intense indignation, were admitted to the Native Education Society's School.⁴⁴ Anderson stuck to his point; he would not refuse admission to any boys who were competent to enter the school, from whatever community they might come. He thought that he might lose 100 pupils from 272 on the rolls. But the Pariahs stayed and the school survived.

Anderson believed that the careful teaching of the Bible, and the inculcation of the principles of sincere enquiry would lead to conversions. But conversions were slow in coming. Anderson refused to be discouraged, and after about four years' work the tide began to turn. Two boys – Rājagopāl, a Mudaliār (of the weaver community), and Venkatarāmiah, the grandson of an Indian in the employ of the government – requested baptism. These were among the best and most intelligent boys in the school, especially in mathematics. Venkatarāmiah, by his own account, had never had any idea of enquiring into the credentials, the doctrines and precepts of the Bible. But one day, while still under the domination and in the practice of his sins, he heard an affectionate and penetrating address by Anderson on the text 'Consider this, ye that forget God, lest I tear you in pieces and there be none to deliver' (Psalm 50: 22). This rather formidable text entered into his soul, and set him on the way that was to lead to a new life in God.⁴⁵ Anderson was still not in a hurry, and did all in his power to assure himself of the sincerity of the young men and of their awareness of what would follow upon baptism. When there seemed to be no further obstacle, on 20 June 1841 he baptised the two of them in the mission house. That same day they joined the missionaries at their evening meal, and so decisively repudiated caste.

Then followed the familiar scenes with the family and the community. Rājagopāl describes it:

Next day followed the fiery ordeal. We dreaded from the morning facing our mothers, whose looks, tears, and bereaved expostulations, have more in them to melt and carry away converts, than all the arguments that can be stated in favour of heathenism, than all the shame and bitter contempt of the community.

The families went to the police, and complained that the young men were being detained against their will. Sitting on the bench with the European magistrate was a wise and Gamaliel-like Indian judge, Rāghava Āchāriar, who said to the complainants: 'Mr Anderson is an honest man. He told you from the beginning that his object was conversion; and *I warned you about it*, but you did not listen to me and sent your children to him.'⁴⁶ A few weeks later, on 3 August, a third convert was added to the list – Ethirājulu, who had been withdrawn from the school by his relatives and flogged by his father-in-law because of his desire to become a Christian, but had managed to make his way back to the mission house.

From this time on Anderson regularly referred to the three as 'our dear sons', 'our three sons'. As there was nowhere else for them to go, the missionary took them into his home and did for them all that a father could do for his own sons. As has been pointed out elsewhere, this had grave drawbacks; the young men learned European ways, and as it seems, adopted European habits of dress.⁴⁷ This would not seem to be conducive to the development of a genuinely Indian church. On the other hand this westernisation does not seem to have impeded the access of these Christians to their non-Christian friends and contemporaries.

All these three remained in the service of the mission. They were the first to be licensed as preachers of the Gospel by the Free Church Presbytery of Madras (25 March 1846). The same three were ordained (26 November 1851) as the first three Indian ministers of the Free Church in South India.

One feature of the work in Madras which distinguished it from the other Scottish enterprises was the extraordinary success of the work for girls. This was largely in the hands of Mrs Braidwood, who showed herself admirably fitted for this work. The girls attracted to the school belonged to good castes, but not to the highest in the land. It was unlikely that Brāhman girls would be allowed to attend a school of this kind and to mix with girls of lower caste. Most of the girls were very young, some of them of kindergarten age; this was inevitable, since at that time child marriage was common, and most girls would be withdrawn into seclusion at latest at the age of twelve.

The work started in 1843. By the end of 1844, no fewer than 253 girls from two schools presented themselves for examination. The tests were elementary, but it was recorded that twelve girls could read Telugu and could answer questions on the first three chapters of Luke's Gospel. From the start Bible teaching formed part of the curriculum. The missionaries were

well aware of the problems that would face them if any of the girls was led to profess personal faith in Christ. A boy of good family who decided to follow Christ in baptism was bound to be confronted by formidable difficulties; for a girl to take such a step was something up till that time almost unknown.

The first to be baptised was a young woman, the wife of a convert, Rāmānjulu, who had been regarded as full of promise but had apostatised and withdrawn from the mission for two years. When he returned, he brought with him his wife, Alimalammāh, who was a non-Christian. She was placed under instruction; within five months she had made much progress in both Telugu and English, and was beginning to help with the younger girls. Before the end of the year 1844 she asked for baptism. As she seemed to be sincere, and as her husband approved, she was baptised on 29 December of that year.⁴⁸

The baptism of a married woman with the approval of her husband was not an event to cause a great commotion. It was very different when in April 1847 five girls in the Madras schools asked for baptism. These girls were twelve or thirteen years old. The question immediately arose, and was naturally raised at the time by both Europeans and Indians, whether the missionaries were right to expect a decision from girls at such an early and impressionable age, especially when it was known that, if they were baptised, they would have to leave their homes. For the missionaries the answer lay in the circumstances of Indian society. Once these girls reached the age of puberty, it was probable that they would be married to non-Christian husbands, possibly at a great distance from their homes; it was unlikely that they would be able to remain in contact with their Christian friends, or in the married state to live according to the faith which they had adopted.⁴⁹

The coming in of girl converts pointed the way to the solution of one problem that had haunted the minds of the missionaries. Where were the young men who had become Christians to find wives? Hindus of good family would in no circumstances allow their daughters to marry Christians. The general level of education in the Christian community was still low. In order to find a well-educated bride, Lāl Behāri Day had found it desirable to cross the entire sub-continent and to take to wife the daughter of one of the Parsi converts from Wilson's institution in Bombay.⁵⁰ Now, with both boys and girls growing up in the missionary households, the hope could be entertained (and was in many cases realised) that from among these adopted children would grow up educated Christian families, able to show to Indian society what it means for a family to be both Indian and Christian.

The graceful partnership of Anderson, Johnston and Braidwood was not destined to last as long as that of Carey, Marshman and Ward. In 1851 Johnston's health completely failed, and to save his life it was necessary to send him back to Scotland at the first opportunity. He was eager to return to

India, but medical opinion regarded this as quite impossible. He died in March 1853. Anderson survived him by just two years. The ceaseless labours of nearly twenty years, and the carrying of burdens too heavy for the strength of any one man, had gradually worn him down. When he fell ill in 1855, he simply had not the strength to recover; on 24 March he died quietly, to the great grief of countless friends and of all those whom he had baptised.

The great college which Anderson had founded was not allowed to die away. In a later chapter there will be much to be said about the work of the greatest of all his successors, William Miller.

6 ANGLICANS JOIN IN

Though the Church of England in India had engaged in many educational enterprises, from Bishop's College, Calcutta down to small primary schools in the villages, it had been slow to follow up the challenge set by Duff and his followers. When at length the CMS did enter the field of higher education, this came about almost by chance, and through the initiative of one outstanding missionary. The chosen field was Āndhra Pradesh; the missionary was Robert Turlington Noble.

Noble had been deeply influenced by the ideas and practice of Alexander Duff, and had become convinced that the approach to educated Hindus through the work of education was the way that lay before him. But, like Duff and Wilson, he was convinced that a good knowledge of Indian languages was a necessary prerequisite for a missionary career; two whole years were spent acquiring a knowledge of Telugu. On 20 November 1843 he was ready to open his school in Masulipatam (Machilipatnam).

From the start the originality and independence of Noble were manifest:

Our first lesson is to be in the New Testament, our second in the Bhagavad Gita, their most venerated book of morals. I propose, whenever its morality agrees with that of the Bible, showing the different foundations of the two; when they disagree, endeavouring to show the superiority of the New Testament; and to bring them thus dispassionately to weigh and compare.⁵¹

John Wilson in Bombay had stressed the importance of bringing the students to the point of weighing evidence and thinking for themselves. He had himself a great knowledge of the non-Christian classics. But there appears to be no record of any Christian teacher up to this point venturing to bring non-Christian books into his classroom and to encourage the pupils to study them. Noble acted from a profound conviction as to the reliability of truth; he was convinced that, if a comparison is made between the Bible and any other religious book, its truth will shine and will carry conviction to the mind of the enquirer.⁵²

Six months after the opening of the school Noble had forty pupils, a number of them being Brāhmins, and, as elsewhere, a number of grown men who came because they wanted to improve their knowledge of English. They listened with respect to the Bible lessons and were full of questions and objections. But four years were to pass before a single boy expressed a desire for baptism. When this desire became known, the boy's relations carried him off to a distant place and he was never seen again. Even the rumour of these happenings caused no small commotion and resulted in the withdrawal of most of the pupils from the school; but, as had happened in other places, in the end efficiency won the day, and before too long all or almost all were back in their places.

Five more years passed. On 29 July 1852 three boys in one class boasted to their teacher that, however long he might preach to them, he would never win to the Christian faith a single non-Christian in Masulipatam. Hearing of this, Noble assembled all the pupils, and informed them that two of their number had expressed their intention of becoming Christians. He then asked them if there were any among them who had accepted Christ as Saviour and were prepared to confess him openly. Immediately Venkataratnam, a Brāhman, and Nāgabhūshanam, a Velama, stepped forward and identified themselves as those two who had asked for baptism.

The two were eighteen years of age, and both were married men. In July 1852, fearing that they might be spirited away by their relatives and placed beyond reach of the missionaries, the two left their homes and came to the house of Noble, again asking for baptism. On 1 August they were baptised in the mission house. The families made appeal to the collector, the senior British official in the place; but he replied that 'he could not interfere further than to secure peace, as evidently the young men were of full age, in their right minds and voluntary agents'. Both the converts stood firm in their new faith. Six months later Noble was able to write: 'The two dear young men have been growing in every way satisfactorily. They are delightful young characters, full of humility, patience and faith.' Both were ordained to the diaconate by Bishop Gell of Madras in 1864. Their subsequent careers belong to a later stage in the history of the church in India.⁵³

Robert Noble was a man of courage and independence, and of intense devotion to the cause of Christ. But he was also a man of strong opinions, and, like many such men, he did not find it easy to suffer patiently those who disagreed with him. As a result he became involved in disputes and controversies with fellow-Christians, and these could not but be harmful to his work and to the cause of Christ.⁵⁴ On one important point of policy he did not agree with the course that had been followed by others: he refused to admit to his school pupils from the lowest castes, the so-called 'outcastes'. He pointed out that there was a school in the compound, where the education

was geared to the needs of those who did not require a strictly academic training. Feelings in the missionary community rose so high that in 1859 Noble was prepared to resign and return to England. Fortunately the committee in Madras was wise enough to give way, and Noble, who really was irreplaceable, was able to continue in service for another six years. When he died in 1865, he had worked continuously in India for twenty-four years without once returning to Europe.

Converts from the college in Masulipatam were never numerous. But in 1853 three students, all aged seventeen – Mulaya and Krishnayya who were Brāhmans, and Jani Ali, a Muslim – were baptised. In 1860 four Brāhmans, all pupils in the school, were admitted to the church. Once again higher education on an unmistakably Christian basis seemed to be justifying itself by the results.

The church in Tirunelveli had been growing rapidly, and had a considerable educational apparatus. Village schools were numerous, and there were seminaries for those who were to serve the mission as teachers or catechists. But nothing systematic had been done for the education of boys of the higher Hindu castes.⁵⁵ The idea of such schools was in the air, but no one could be spared for such work. Then suddenly an admirable solution was found. William Cruickshanks was an Anglo-Indian, a teacher of considerable ability, and a Christian of more than ordinary devotion. He had been blind from the age of ten; but his blindness seemed to make little difference to his capacity as a teacher, and a young man named Browne, also an Anglo-Indian, was willing to help with the administrative tasks with which Cruickshanks could not deal.

The school opened on 4 March 1844 with twenty-five pupils, in a rented house in Pālayankottai. Cruickshanks held the office of principal for twenty-five years; during that time thirty-six of the pupils professed faith in Christ in baptism. But the principal was convinced that the influence of the school went far beyond the limits of those who had actually become Christians. Even those who continued to be Hindus or Muslims

cease to be, in many respects, what they were before – they are no longer of the same people; they are a new generation whose views and feelings, if not Christian, are not Hindoo. In fine, if they are not converted, they are enlightened, and henceforth they have consciences as well as understanding.⁵⁶

One of the first pupils admitted to the school was a Naidu boy named Tiruvengadam, fourteen years old.⁵⁷ Cruickshanks seemed able to draw lessons from any and every verse of the Bible; but one day the boys thought and hoped that he had reached a passage which would defeat him.⁵⁸ The passage to be read was the fifth chapter of Genesis, which seems to consist of

nothing but a list of patriarchs, with the years of their lives and a note of their deaths. When the chapter had been read, the teacher placed his hands on his knees, and repeated with solemn emphasis the words 'and he died': that is the one thing certain in human life – and after that the judgement. That night, for the first time, Tiruvengadam prayed to the unknown God.

Two years passed, with slowly growing conviction in the young man's mind; gradually the figure of the unknown God was replaced by a living Jesus Christ. What induced the crisis was the arrangement made for the marriage of Tiruvengadam to a Hindu girl. As he himself related in later years, he twice heard a celestial voice say to him, 'Leave this house.' Believing this to be the voice of God, he fled by night to the house of his teacher, and by him and missionary friends was sent to John Thomas at Megnānapuram.

Naturally the sensation was immense. This was the first case in the area of any member of the higher castes becoming a Christian. Tiruvengadam was brought into court, and questioned by the European magistrate. His reply was 'Christ died for me, and I am going to follow Christ at all costs. My parents and friends will not give me the liberty to do that, and I break away from them.' As the young man had clearly more than reached the age required as evidence of the capacity for rational choice, the magistrate could not take any action to restrain him; with a kindly admonition that he should care for his parents when they were old, he sent him on his way.

Not long after (1847) Tiruvengadam was baptised by John Thomas. He took the names William Thomas Sattianāadhan – William for his teacher, Thomas for the great missionary who baptised him, Sattianāadhan ('lord of truth') for the Lord who, as he believed, had personally called him to himself. In 1861 Sattianāadhan was ordained a priest of the Anglican church, and served as such for just over thirty years. He was for many years the leading Christian minister in South India. When proposals were first put forward for an Indian bishop to be appointed for the work in Tirunelveli, it was natural that the first name put forward should be that of W. T. Sattianāadhan.⁵⁹

Other baptisms followed. A specially notable one took place in 1857, when three young men of the Vellāla caste were admitted to the church.⁶⁰ Of the three, Edward Muthiah, a Tamil scholar, was later appointed member of the committee for the revision of the Tamil bible; Edward Mānickavalaperumal entered business, and was the founder of a firm which greatly prospered and still exists; Dhanakoti *rājā* became widely known throughout South India as a doctor and later as a business man. An earlier convert, W. E. Ganapathi, rose high in government service, reaching the rank of collector and assistant commissioner of salt. Some of the converts entered the service of the mission and were ordained; many, with the warm approval of the missionaries, found their place of Christian service in other avocations. The church in India could become self-supporting only through membership in it of men of

substance who by degrees would lift from the shoulders of the missionaries the heavy burden of finance.

7 CHRISTIAN EDUCATION AND THE INDIAN RENAISSANCE

The Scottish educational missionaries arrived in India at, from their point of view, the most propitious of all possible times.

The mutual penetration of the European and the Asian cultures came about very slowly. For three centuries the number of Europeans in India had been steadily increasing; by 1800 Europeans in considerable numbers were to be found in all the great cities of India. But contacts had remained to a large extent at the commercial level. Missionaries had been the pioneers in discovering the philosophical and religious depths of Hindu culture, but their work had attracted only limited attention in Europe, and much of it remained unknown. Few Indians had travelled in the West. Very few, even among Christians, knew English, though a fair number knew Portuguese. Missionaries had been so busy in inculcating Christian truth that little advantage had been taken of opportunities for introducing India to the wealth of the European traditions in literature and art.

In the first quarter of the nineteenth century conditions changed with great rapidity. Indians became aware of the importance of the English language, not only as a means to securing remunerative employment under government, but as a key of liberty – liberty to enter a vast world of thought and knowledge to which previously they had had no access. Minds which had begun to be trained in the thought of Newton, Locke and Burke could no longer remain contentedly in the world of the *Purāṇas* and the ancient mythologies. But the possibilities of acquiring English knowledge were in most places non-existent, or gravely limited, or elementary, in some cases hindered by gross incompetence.

It was precisely at this moment that the Scottish missionaries arrived on the scene. They were almost immediately successful, in part at least because they knew what they wanted to achieve and set themselves with undeviating energy to attain it. Their aim was intellectual, moral and spiritual enlightenment; they believed in God as the source of all knowledge, but they found in Jesus Christ the very centre of truth, the source of moral regeneration, and the direct path to fellowship with God.

The Scots succeeded because what they offered was so much better than what was being offered by others. At the time there was little effective competition. As a consequence, though the Christian schools were emptied from time to time as a result of conversions, they always filled up again; students, frustrated in their search elsewhere for what the Scots provided, in the end came back to the original source.⁶¹

The methods of the Christian colleges were no doubt by modern stan-

dards highly authoritarian. But the teachers never claimed more than the legitimate authority of teacher in relation to pupil; indeed their claims were probably less exacting than those of Hindu and Muslim teachers at that time. They had a strong sense of personal dignity, believing themselves to be the accredited witnesses to the truth; but this meant that they were under an obligation to treat their pupils with respect. They seem to have been singularly free from any sense of racial superiority. When converts found themselves separated from home and family, the missionaries felt no difficulty about welcoming them into their homes and treating them in every way as sons. Perhaps unconsciously they worked out in a new and Christian form the traditional Indian relationship between *guru* and *chela*, which is so beautifully expressed in the ancient Hindu classics. At the same time, the teachers desired that their pupils should remain genuinely Indian; they did not feel it necessary to change the names of their converts at baptism, even when these included the names of such Indian gods as Krishna.

The early missionaries had three advantages which were denied to those who followed them.

Few of those who tried to rival them in the educational field were their intellectual equals. Effusions based on the writings of Tom Paine and the like were superficial, and proved convincing only to those who desired to be convinced. Indian nationalism was still in an embryo stage, and those who were influenced by the Christian teachers were intelligent enough to recognise that Christianity was in no sense a European religion – it had been in India a great deal longer than Islam, and was Asian in its origins.

In the second place, the numbers with which the missionaries had to deal were limited. This meant that the teachers were able to get to know their pupils personally and to exercise direct influence upon them. Letter after letter gives evidence of the intense affection which the teachers felt for the taught, especially perhaps, but not exclusively, for those who showed some inclination to become Christians. In a great many cases this was reciprocated. The number of those who accepted the Christian faith was always small; but many of those who continued in their ancestral faith retained a deep respect for their mentors, and absorbed from them ideas and principles which in one way or another they managed to combine with the ancient faith. Towards the end of the period the missionaries were beginning to yield to the lure of numbers and to the pressure constantly brought to bear upon them to open their doors more widely, but in the pioneer days it was possible to keep all the teaching, except for that of the Indian languages, in the hands of Christians; theirs was the single influence which permeated the entire life of the school or college. John Anderson did, indeed, employ a number of Hindu monitors, but in most cases these were boys who had come up through the school and had shown some interest in spiritual things. In any case, they were employed only on the lower levels of teaching. Not all of these became

Christians, but they could be relied on to be in general sympathy with the aims of the school.

Thirdly, Christian schools and colleges were free from any kind of supervision and control by government agencies. This meant that they could themselves work out the syllabus according to which they intended to teach, following the methods that seemed to them to be good, and making sure that the Christian character of the education given could be safeguarded against the pressure of purely educational demands. If the Scripture lesson proved to be so interesting as to be prolonged far beyond its prescribed limits and to take up the whole of the period assigned to the next lesson, there was no one to protest. Equally, the excellence of the religious element was not allowed to impair the standard demanded in the other departments.

Times, however, were changing. The government's policy of non-interference was being eroded by utilitarian arguments; the view that it was the business of government to educate its subjects was coming to be more and more widely held. The great turning-point came in 1854. On 19 July of that year Sir Charles Wood, president of the board of control, sent to India the famous despatch No. 49, which laid upon the government in India the task of 'creating a properly articulated scheme of education from the primary school to the university'. Education provided by the government must be exclusively secular; but the all-important proviso was added:

every honest educational agency, whether religious or not, should be encouraged to the utmost, under the inspection and direction of a government department, and with the encouragement and assistance of the local officers of government.⁶²

It was laid down that universities should come into existence in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, if a sufficient number of colleges could be found to co-operate. The universities would be examining bodies, on the model of the University of London, and not teaching or residential institutions. These other functions should be left to the colleges, which would be affiliated to the University for purposes of examination and the granting of degrees. In 1857 the three universities came into existence on the model prescribed.

Approaches were made to the missionary institutions with a view to their affiliation. These approaches were politely rebuffed by the Christian educators. There were obvious advantages in a common syllabus, and in the prospect held out before students of obtaining degrees. But the primary concern of the missionaries was for the educational independence and the spiritual efficiency of their work. They felt that some advantages could be purchased at too high a price. Only at a later date did the missionary bodies, to the regret of a good many in their ranks, succumb to the temptation to accept government money and the measure of control that inevitably went with it.

What the missionary educators achieved must not be exaggerated. There

were others in the field, and the numbers with which they were dealing were still very small. But in three respects they left a deep impress on the future of the church in India. They made Christianity intellectually respectable in the main cultural and administrative centres of Indian life. They provided the growing church with almost all the highly educated Indian ministers who were destined increasingly to take over from the missionaries leadership in the church. They took hold of what was in danger of becoming a proletarian church, drawing almost exclusively on the poorest and least-educated groups in Indian society, and set it on the road which it has ever since followed, of establishing a respected position in the social scale, of being one of the best-educated communities in India, and of being able to draw on increasing resources in the educated professional class, the rapid increase of which was one of the most significant developments in the Indian renaissance between 1850 and 1950. Direct work among the poor and socially disregarded was not neglected; but, without the aid of the prosperous middle-class element, the Indian church could not so rapidly have become self-governing and self-supporting. This was not the primary aim of the educators, but it was an inevitable and valuable result of their labours.

15 · Protestant Expansion in India

I GEOGRAPHY AND MISSION

In the year 1858 the Christian map of India was very different from what it had been in 1800. In the earlier year, apart from the European settlements strung out along the coast, the Christian presence in India was scattered, thin, and for the most part ineffective. By 1858 the 'Christian occupation' of India was beginning to take shape. The number of missionaries, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, had greatly increased, though it was still very small in relation to the size of the country and the many millions of its inhabitants. From small beginnings the Christian forces had spread themselves out and taken the first steps towards making their presence felt over the country as a whole.

Before the development of the modern network of roads and railways, communication in northern India was mainly by water. The great cities of the Gangetic plain were connected by the Ganges and its tributaries. Early in the century the Baptists had become aware of the opportunities that lay before them in this direction, but their work had been spasmodic rather than systematic. The Anglican CMS, both methodical and adventurous, opened up work in one city after another; other British, and later American, societies were not far behind.

A watershed in more senses than one was crossed when missionaries advanced from the Gangetic plain into the vast area watered by the Indus and the tributaries which flow down from the ranges of the Himalaya. In some areas of the Punjab the pioneers were the American Presbyterians, who founded their station at Sialkot (1855) within sight of the great mountains to the north. The CMS, adventurous as always, pressed forward to Peshawar (1854), at the extreme north-western point of British occupation, and almost on the borders of Afghanistan.

Many societies found ample occupation in filling in the gaps between the various centres of Christian activity along the coast or not far inland.

Baptists, British and American, moved southwards from Bengal into Orissa, an area which included both Hindus and mountain peoples which had never been incorporated into the Hindu system. The language of the

plains was Indo-European; the mountain peoples were distinct in language, religion and social organisation.

At the southern end of Orissa, Āryan and Dravidian overlap. The wide lands of what is now Āndhra Pradesh, in many areas very fertile, were inhabited by a Dravidian people speaking Telugu, a language related to Tamil, though the two great languages are not so close as to be mutually intelligible. In 1800 there was no Protestant Christian presence among this gifted and intelligent people; by 1858 Anglicans, Lutherans and Congregationalists had established themselves in a number of centres.

On the west coast the gap between the flourishing churches in Kerala and the newer churches in Bombay was filled by the arrival of the Basel mission. This brought into the field the Christian forces of the Reformed tradition from Switzerland and southern Germany. No Christian mission was more strongly marked by the patient efficiency so characteristic of the Germanic races.

From the coastal areas of the Tamil country a number of missions made their way inland and in the end climbed the rough ways up to the central plateau. American Congregationalists settled in Mathurai (1834), once famous as the home of Robert Nobili, opened up the Palni hills, and created the famous hill-station of Kodaikānal. The Methodists were first in the field in Mysore, created by the British as a semi-independent state ruled over by Indian princes but under rather strict British control. The English Congregationalists reached out further with their station at Bellāry in the heart of the Kanarese-speaking country.

In western India Bombay was by far the strongest centre of Christian influence. Various societies were at work, the strongest among them being the Scottish Presbyterians (1823). Under Scottish guidance, Irish Presbyterians moved northwards and opened up work in Kathiāwar (1841), where the prevailing language is Gujarāṭi. With strange prescience the great Scottish missionary John Wilson saw that the time had come in which missionaries ought to advance into the very heart of India. The station at Nāgpur (1846), as near the centre of India as it is possible to get, looks rather lonely on the Christian map of India; but, despite its comparative inaccessibility, Wilson was right in recognising its strategic significance.

This was the period of the rapid expansion of British control in India. In almost all the centres in which the missionaries settled, they found the British armies, European and Indian, ahead of them. Bangalore was, and continued to be for a century, a notable cantonment. In a number of centres, notably Peshāwar and Nāgpur, missionaries were encouraged to take up work in response to warm invitations from committed Christians in the British administration or in military service. In a great many cases the officials regarded the missionaries as friends, and warmly approved of what

they were trying to do in the educational and social fields, though with reservations as to the advisability of their evangelistic efforts. Such support from outside their own ranks smoothed the way of the missionaries; at that date the complications that could arise from the close association between government and Christian activity could hardly be foreseen.

2 HOW MISSIONARIES SET TO WORK

The Roman Catholic understanding of the nature of the missionary task differed at many points from that of the great majority of Protestant and Anglican societies; yet there were certain basic similarities which should not be overlooked; Protestants were in many cases willing to learn from Roman Catholic successes and failures.

It had come to be taken for granted that the first task that faced the missionary was the acquisition of the language spoken by those among whom he intended to work. Only in the three presidency centres – Calcutta, Madras and Bombay – was it possible to carry on extensive Christian work in English; and even those engaged in higher educational work in English in most cases felt it desirable to acquire a reasonable competence in the local language.

Only a minority of missionaries became notable experts in the languages in which they carried on their daily work. Indians have many tales to tell of the blunders made by their missionary friends. Those who failed to excel must not be too harshly blamed. The difficulty of learning a wholly unfamiliar language under unfavourable conditions is much greater than can be imagined by those who have never made the attempt. For a small number of languages – Bengali, Hindustani, Tamil – grammars written from the European point of view were available. But a language can be learned only from those who speak it as their own. Pundits were available, but few of them had a grammatical understanding of their own language, fewer had any understanding of the kind of difficulties that Europeans faced in trying to learn an Asian language, and fewest of all had the patience to make sure that their pupils learnt to pronounce sounds correctly, and still more difficult, grasped the rhythm and intonation of a language still only imperfectly known. British officials were at the same time engaged in similar studies, some of them with much better philological training than the missionaries. Some, like C. P. Brown, who had been born in India and was a perfect master of Telugu, became great scholars in the language of their adoption. But the labour was immense; it is not surprising that some gave up the struggle in despair. Only a minority ever succeeded in becoming perfectly at home with Indian friends who could not speak English.

Alongside the concern for the language was the intense desire of the

missionaries that the Bible should become available in their own languages to all Indians who could read. The men of Serampore had made a noble start, but time increasingly revealed the imperfection of much of their work; a great deal of it had to be done over again.

The full extent of the difficulties involved was not immediately realised. In none of the Indian languages was there a standard prose literature which could serve as an example to the translators; a literary translation might prove unintelligible to ordinary readers, a more popular version could call out the contempt of the better educated. Naturally the help of Indian scholars was called in. Most of these, however, were Hindus or Muslims who, having no inner understanding of the texts they were dealing with, were not well qualified to suggest suitable renderings for terms which they had only in part understood. Some of the translators were far too dependent on versions of the Scriptures in European languages and could not bring their minds round to an understanding of the way in which Indians would naturally express themselves.

Too gloomy a picture should not be drawn. Some of the translators were fortunate in securing the aid of Indians who understood the Christian faith and were eager to lend their services. This was the good fortune of those engaged in the preparation of a version of the Scriptures in Telugu.

Subbarāyan, a Brāhman, had been an accountant in the Mysore army, and later in British employ. A chance meeting with a Roman Catholic believer directed his attention to the Christian faith; some time later he was baptised as a Roman Catholic and took the name Anandarāyer. He made his way to Pondichéri, and from there to Tranquebar. At that time he had never seen a Bible; but he found himself much attracted by the Lutheran way of doing things, and especially by the absence of images from the churches – the images found in Roman Catholic churches reminded him too closely of the Hindu idolatry from which he had emancipated himself when he became a Christian. Having heard of the work on which the LMS missionaries were engaged in Vishākhapatnam, he felt led to offer them his services; as he knew Tamil and Marāthi, as well as being able to write elegantly in Telugu, no offer could have been more acceptable. With his help the four Gospels were completed in 1810, and were printed at Serampore under his supervision. The New Testament was completed in 1818.

This was only the beginning of the story. On 7 January 1890 John Hay celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of his arrival in India. Known as the best Telugu scholar in the ranks of the missionaries, he gave a great deal of his time to the revision of both the New Testament and the Old in Telugu. One who knew him well wrote of him that ‘among the apostles of India there has risen none greater than John Hay’.¹

The work of revision in many languages went on ceaselessly, scholars of

different denominational allegiances finding little difficulty in co-operating in this all-important work. By 1858 the entire Bible was available in ten of the languages most widely spoken in India, with the New Testament available in four others.² None of these translations was entirely satisfactory, and all were subjected to further extensive revision in the light of increasing knowledge. The deeply disillusioned Fr J. A. Dubois was pleased to spread himself in scathing criticism of the attempt of Protestants to render the Scriptures in Kanarese – better to have no Bible at all than to have such unsuccessful attempts to translate it. But it would be unseemly to be over-critical of the well-intentioned efforts of these pioneers. In India information came in from every quarter, making clear that even these very imperfect versions had been effective in conveying a measure of Christian truth to those who were seeking it.³

In spite of a certain number of denominational differences and variations, Protestant missions in the period under review tended to take on a remarkably uniform appearance.

Following the example of St Paul, who set himself to bring into existence churches in all the main centres of population of the Roman empire, the missionaries almost without exception settled in the cities, believing that from those centres of wealth and education the Christian faith would radiate out to the rural areas beyond. In point of fact the situation in India was very different from that in the Roman empire. The Indian village carried on an almost self-subsistent existence of its own, with its own institutions and self-government, singularly little influenced by the larger centres of population. City populations showed themselves on the whole highly resistant to the Gospel. Where there was movement, it was for the most part from the villages into the cities; where there are today strong Christian centres in the cities, in the majority of cases it is found that most of the Christians are village-dwellers who have migrated and prospered. Tied down by expensive buildings and institutions the missionaries lost the mobility that made of the apostle Paul the great missionary that he was.

Wars, famines and disease had kept the population stable, and in some cases had reduced it. Land was easily available. In many cases, with the help of government, missionaries were able to acquire considerable estates, often on the fringe of the cities. This spacious accommodation was good for the health of the foreigners, and also made it possible for them in case of need to provide living-space for would-be Christians who had found it impossible to remain in their own homes. A visitor to Salem⁴ in Tamilnādu can obtain even today a vivid impression of what a mission compound looked like in the palmy days of the growing Protestant mission.

At the start the attention of the missionaries was directed almost exclusively to the prosperous and educated classes, in the expectation that, if these were

converted, they would give a lead to the population as a whole, and that where the educated had led the way the less educated would follow. Many were, indeed, diligent in bazaar preaching, usually with the help of Indian assistants; this made many aware of the presence of the foreigners and of the proclamation of an unfamiliar religion. But the direct results tended to be few. Personal discussion with individuals or with small groups was usually found to be more effective. Much patience was needed. Many were interested and came to admit the superiority of Christianity as a religious system, but the structure of Indian society and the terrible penalties inflicted on those who desired to exchange one religion for another kept many back. They remained as enquirers or as secret believers, not taking the decisive step of coming forward for baptism. Yet the records show that wherever missionaries worked for a long period, patiently and modestly and with a good knowledge of the language, some did come forward and openly confess their faith in Christ. The result was in many cases that, having lost all earthly possessions, the converts found themselves in a state of undesirable dependence on their missionary friends. An Indian church was beginning to come into being; it was not yet clear whether it had the inner resources to stand on its own feet and to grow. What had begun as an emergency solution came gradually to be accepted as sound missionary policy.

3 VARIETIES OF MISSIONARY EXPERIENCE

Within the similarities that have been outlined in the previous section, each area and each mission had some special features which distinguished it from the others. These, carefully recorded in periodicals and local histories, make at times compulsive reading. Even a summary of the varied experiences would fill several volumes. All that can be done in this chapter is to make a limited selection from various sources and areas, in an attempt to show the flexibility of missionary methods, and the variety of ways in which Indians were led to the knowledge of Christ and to faith in him.

a. Bengal: a village movement

In the extreme south of India a considerable village movement towards Christianity had taken place, and had survived under rather unfavourable circumstances.⁵ All over India missionaries were buoyed up by the hope that similar movements would come into being in the rural areas, which they visited as regularly as other duties permitted. Just a year before the death of William Carey, it seemed as though a movement of this kind was about to take place in the villages of Bengal not far from Calcutta.

In 1832 a German missionary of the CMS, the Reverend J. W. Deerr, settled in Krishnagar, the headquarters of the district of Nadiya. Not long after, baptisms began to occur in considerable numbers. The work of the missionaries was probably helped by the presence in the district of a number of adherents of the sect called the Karta Bhojas, a reform movement which included both Hindus and Muslims. Of the Hindu group it was said that 'they do not believe in Hinduism, but like various other sects in India, they comply externally with many of its ceremonies for the sake of peace'. Some years passed before the members of this sect began to manifest an interest in Christianity; but in 1838 the head men of ten villages presented themselves as candidates for baptism, having reached the conclusion that what they had sought in the sect to which they had given allegiance was now being more fully offered in the Christian Gospel.

In the following year a delegation, consisting of two missionaries, a high-caste convert from Hinduism, and Archdeacon Dealtry of Calcutta, visited the area. They found that enquiries concerning the faith were going on in fifty-five villages. During the visit 140 candidates were baptised, the majority of them being from among the Muslims. In 1844 the number of Christians was found to be 3,000; in addition there were 1,000 catechumens and enquirers.

These unwonted happenings aroused great interest and perhaps exaggerated expectations. Bishop Daniel Wilson's words expressed the thoughts and hopes of many Christians at that time: 'What is all this? What is God about to do for us in India? Thousands of souls seem to be making their way up from the shadow of death to the fair light of Christ; or, as we hope, are about to be translated from the kingdom of darkness into the kingdom of God's dear Son.'⁶

The movement continued for a time and then came to a standstill. It is not easy to account for partial failure after so promising a beginning. The usual cry of 'rice-Christians' has been raised. But, in reply to a question put to him by the archdeacon, Deerr replied that, though at the time of questioning many of the people were in distress, *they were not so when they first offered themselves for baptism.*⁷ When crops had been destroyed by a terrible flood, the missionary had drawn on the meagre funds at his disposal to help Christians who had been reduced to destitution. This had deeply impressed Hindus, who were inclined to say, 'See how these Christians love one another.'

High hopes had been placed on this apparently promising movement, but to a large extent the hopes proved to be illusory. Once the initial impetus had died away, it was not regained. The church in Nadiya survived and slowly grew, but it seemed to lack that creative power for the regeneration of society which has been manifest in a number of churches in other parts of India.

b. The Gospel among the snows

For a complete contrast to activity in the steamy humidity of the plains of Bengal, we may look at a remote and courageous venture, a mission founded under the shadow of the everlasting snows of the Himalayas.

The Jesuits had long been interested in Tibet, partly because they regarded it as one of the gates through which closed China might be entered. Similar hopes, and in part for the same reason, came to birth in the minds of devout Protestants. Major Latter, a pious officer in the East India Company's army, and political agent at Rangpur on the borders of Bhutan and Sikkim, had become deeply interested in Tibet. When he heard that a CMS missionary, C. F. G. Schroeter, had been appointed to work in the region, he secured from Paris a number of books on China and Tibet, and also made a collection of Tibetan manuscripts which he later presented to Bishop's College, Calcutta. In 1819 Schroeter, with the help of the government, was hard at work on Tibetan, 'the cultivation of which was considered subservient to the public interest'; but he died in the following year, and this first enterprise was not followed up. The next approach to Tibet was to be made far away in the western Himalayas.

A number of Christian officers in the European settlement at Simla had become concerned about the welfare of the hill peoples and desired that Christian work should be undertaken among them. In 1843 the Himalayan Church Missionary Society was formed, and the services of the Reverend H. Prochnow, later superintendent of the Gossner Mission, were secured. Prochnow settled at Kotghur, forty miles from Simla. The choice was excellent. There was much coming and going of travellers. Moreover the valley had much connection with the study of Tibetan, since it was in a monastery near by that the great Hungarian scholar Csoma de Körös had settled for five years (1826-31), and 'there with the thermometer below zero for four months . . . collected and arranged 40,000 words of the language of Tibet, and nearly completed his dictionary and grammar'.⁸

It has been almost a settled policy of the Moravian brethren to seek out for their missionary work the remotest places in the world and some of the most disagreeable of inhabited regions. Frustrated in their attempts to penetrate China from the sea, they decided to explore the southern approaches and to find out whether China might be accessible through Tibet rather than from the other direction.

In 1856 two adventurous brethren reached Kotghur and were warmly welcomed by the pioneer Prochnow. He strongly supported their desire to make a more direct approach to Tibet than he had been able himself to achieve. The first step was to make a journey to Leh, the chief city of Ladakh,

situated on the Indus river at a height of 11,000 feet. Ladakh, though politically attached to India, is in almost every respect Tibetan. As far as the Zoji la pass, the people are Kashmiris and Muslims; beyond, the Ladakhis, in physical appearance, in language and in religion, are Tibetan and Buddhist. Leh lies on a trade-route, and Tibetans are constantly passing through in both directions to dispose of their goods in India and to acquire what is not available to them at home. But this excellent centre proved to be unavailable. In 1856 xenophobia prevailed, and the local ruler was not prepared to permit the residence of foreigners in his territory. The missionaries therefore settled in Kyelang, a small village in the area called Lahoul, and set to work to make the acquaintance of the people, their language and their ways.

In the following year, the pioneers were joined by Henry Augustus Jaeschke, than whom few greater linguists have served the Christian mission in any part of the world. Before coming to India he was at home in such languages as Polish and Hungarian as well as having a good knowledge of Greek and at least some acquaintance with Arabic and Sanskrit. While the two laymen engaged in extensive itineration in the villages, Jaeschke settled down to perfect his knowledge of Tibetan, to prepare a grammar and dictionary, and to lay the foundations for the translation of the New Testament into that language. His achievements in this field have won universal acclaim; it is agreed by the experts that no foreigner has rendered greater services than Jaeschke to the world's knowledge of Tibetan language, philology and literature.

Jaeschke belonged to the generation of the pioneers. In 1868 he had to leave the mission owing to ill-health, but he lived long enough to learn in Germany something of the progress made by others on the foundations that he had laid.⁹

c. Where Islam prevailed and prevails

A special interest attaches to that remote outpost of the CMS to which Sir Herbert Edwardes had so enthusiastically given his support – Peshāwar.

C. G. Pfander, one of the few Christian experts in Islamic studies, was in Peshāwar from 1854 to 1858. Of him Edwardes wrote:

Who that has ever met him can forget that burly Saxon figure, and genial open face, beaming with intellect, simplicity and benevolence? He had great natural gifts for a missionary; a large heart, a powerful mind, high courage and an indomitable good humour, and to that in a life of labour he had added great learning, practical wisdom in the conduct of missions, and knowledge of Asiatics, especially Mohammedans.¹⁰

Pfander was warned of the danger of preaching in public in a city where there were so many fanatical Muslims. He decided to disregard these

warnings. Even in the disturbed days of the great uprising, he continued to walk through the streets with his Bible in his hand and to proclaim to all who would listen the glories of the Christian faith.¹¹

Not surprisingly, converts in the Peshawar mission have never been numerous. One was Hāji Yāhya Bākīr, who had made the pilgrimage to Mecca but as a result of a dream decided that he was called to follow Christ. Having heard of Pfander, he set out to seek him, and eventually ran him to earth in Peshawar. After a suitable period of probation and instruction, he was baptised (January 1856); a few days later he was found covered in blood at the foot of the garden of the mission house. He recovered from his wounds and spent the rest of his life as a kind of wandering missionary and purveyor of medicines. He turned up from time to time to renew contact with his missionary friends; but the date and place of his death are unknown.

d. Three types of Christian approach

Agra, in what is now known as Uttar Pradesh, has come before us as the home for ten years of the great Christian administrator James Thomason. In his day one of the furthest outposts of British control in India, it can provide, better perhaps than any other centre in North India, a general view of the variety and flexibility of the Christian approach to the adherents of the various forms of Indian religion.

One of the oldest centres of the CMS in that part of India, it owed its foundations not to a missionary, but to a chaplain in the service of the East India Company, Daniel Corrie, many years later to become known as the first bishop of Madras. Corrie, in every station to which he was appointed, took every legitimate step towards encouraging the preaching of the Gospel to non-Christians. What gave special interest to his work in Agra was that, when he reached that city on 18 March 1813, he was accompanied by Abdul Masih (c. 1765–1827), one of the first of the witnesses through whom we hear the authentic voice of Indian Christianity.¹²

Sheikh Salih was so convinced a Muslim that he had determined to have nothing whatever to do with Christians. First interested in the Gospel, almost against his will, through the preaching of Henry Martyn,¹³ he had made his way to Calcutta, and after the required period of testing was baptised on Whitsunday 1811, receiving the baptismal name of Abdul Masih. Devoted as a Muslim, highly gifted as a follower of Christ, he was probably the leading Indian Christian of his day. In 1821 he was ordained by Lutheran missionaries in the service of the CMS. In 1825 he was admitted to Anglican orders by Bishop Heber, thus becoming the first Indian to reach the rank of priest in the Church of England tradition.¹⁴

The extensive journals of Abdul Masih, as translated by Corrie, were

published in successive numbers of the *Missionary Register*. These are a document of the greatest importance, not only because of the many interesting details they reveal of the way in which an intelligent Indian evangelist set himself to make the Gospel known to his own people, but because through them, almost for the first time, English-speaking readers were able to hear the authentic accents of Indian Christianity. This is not a missionary who is speaking, but an intelligent Indian who through strict intellectual processes had come to an acceptance of the Christian faith.

Corrie's own accounts of Christian witness in Agra are full of interesting details. The opinions of the local community as to the nature of the Christian religion are amusingly revealed in a letter of 26 December 1815:

Today after Divine Service in the Fort, the Lord's Supper was administered in the city to the Native congregation . . . A report having gone abroad that, on a former occasion of administering the Lord's Supper, a piece of beef had been given to the Hindoo Converts and a piece of pork to the Muslim Converts, it was judged expedient to allow all who chose to remain during the celebration. A great number of both Mahometans and Hindoos were spectators, and behaved very orderly.

One of the most interesting features in these accounts is the constant evidence that Abdul Masih, though by Muslim standards a renegade, was so far able to win the respect of both Hindus and Muslims that he could approach all kinds of people with the message of the Gospel. The records also show that both Corrie and Abdul Masih, following the usual practice of missionaries in those days, approached for the most part those of superior station, while not excluding those of inferior caste, believing that as those of higher status were won for Christ the Gospel would from them percolate through to those who stood lower according to the Indian reckoning of social status.

The number of baptisms recorded during this period is surprising. Before leaving Agra on 18 August 1814, Corrie wrote that 'during the preceding sixteen months, seventy-one natives have received baptism, of whom fifty are adults, about half of them Mahometans, the other half Hindoos'. The majority, though not all, had remained faithful to their profession.¹⁵ Unfortunately, Corrie does not give full details as to the manner in which Christians managed to maintain themselves within non-Christian society; there is no suggestion that they became economically dependent on the mission.

Abdul Masih, in the early days of his Christian profession, had had to endure a good deal of reproach, though not of actual persecution, at the hands of those whose faith he had deserted. His fiery temperament having been much subdued by the Gospel, he had endured all this with such meekness and courtesy that by degrees he had won the respect and consider-

ation of all. Near the end of his life (1825), he reports that he has received a friendly invitation from a Muslim in a good position in the service of the Company to visit his home:

In the evening after worship I went to his house; they had prepared a separate apartment, where several persons learned in religion and wealthy were collected, all of whom received me with respect; and we continued to converse on religious subjects in a very friendly manner until midnight.¹⁶

Abdul Masih was held in great respect by all who knew him, but it was felt that he was most effective when working in close co-operation with a missionary friend.

In 1838 the Christian community in Agra was faced by a challenge to Christian service of a very different kind. A terrible famine had devastated the land. Money was raised for the care of destitute orphans, and two hundred boys and fifty girls were committed to the care of the CMS. Next to Christian instruction, the first care of the missionaries was to see to it that these young people were trained to be independent and to earn their own living. The measures taken were admirable. In 1846 it was reported that, of the boys still in the orphanage, thirteen were engaged as printers, five as compositors, three as bookbinders, eleven as carpet-makers, five as carpenters, eight as blacksmiths, five as tailors.¹⁷ It was assumed that in many cases orphans would marry orphans and settle in the Christian village, where they would grow up 'separated from the pernicious influences of heathen example . . . their tender minds guarded from the easy entrance of elements of superstition, and false notions of moral truth'.¹⁸

The missionaries were mistaken. Their chosen Eden was sterile. Having no roots in society, it remained an exotic. Those who had grown up in its segregated atmosphere had no easy access to the people around them and could not be expected to take much interest in the spread of the Gospel beyond their own borders. Nor could such a village be counted on to produce stalwart and sturdy Christian characters. What appeared at the start as favourable conditions in the end proved to constitute a hindrance to the natural growth of a genuinely Indian church.¹⁹

The situation in Agra was changed by the arrival in February 1851 of one of the ablest of the missionaries who served in India in the nineteenth century. Thomas Valpy French (1825–89) had been at Rugby School under the famous Dr Arnold and, after the usual course of studies carried out with great brilliance at the University of Oxford, had become a fellow of University College. Here he could have looked forward to a distinguished and comfortable career in the academic world; it was no easy exchange to

abandon all this in favour of the task of pioneer education in Agra. With vigorous, and at times almost intemperate, resolution, French set himself to learn the intricacies of his new task and also to make himself master of the local languages.

He already had a good knowledge of English and French, Latin, Greek and Hebrew; to these he added Hindi and Urdu and a good deal of Persian and Arabic. He earned the title by which he was known, the *haft-zaban padri*, 'the priest of seven tongues'. All this he mastered without great effort; perhaps he was inclined to expect a little too much of younger colleagues:

You must of course commence with Urdu or Hindustani . . . You had better give some six or eight hours to that, and also spend two or three hours at Punjabi, to be able to talk to villagers. You should also try and give two or three hours to the study of Persian, which you will find invaluable in the schools, and all your spare time to Arabic, so as to be able to read the Quran.²⁰

French does not seem to have taken into calculation the amount of time that the victim of his good advice might be expected to spend in sleep.

As a scholar, French was naturally concerned for the presentation of the Gospel to Indian scholars on a high level of academic confrontation. For this task he found the ideal colleague in C. G. Pfander (1803–65). Pfander had already spent eleven years in missionary service in southern Russia and Iran, and while there had written his famous work *Mizan-ul-Haqq*, 'The Balance of Truth',²¹ a comparison of Christian with Muslim claims, which the Muslim reader has always found it difficult to answer.

Pfander had often been engaged in controversy with Muslim leaders in Agra. As long as the debate followed the usual lines of Islamic scholasticism, Pfander, with his wide acquaintance with Persian and Arabic writings, was well able to hold his own in discussion with them. In 1854 they were successful in shifting the area of debate. India had for years been flooded with rationalistic and anti-Christian writings. Many educated Muslims had become acquainted with the writings of Tom Payne and of such writers as D. F. Strauss, who in his *Life of Christ* had seemed to them successfully to undermine the Christian claims for the authority of the Bible. A number of them felt that the time had come to take the initiative in presenting a challenge to the Christian Gospel as the missionaries were in the habit of presenting it. So an able young *moulvie*, Rahmat Allah, of Delhi, was engaged to put all these anti-Christian arguments together in written form. This scholar wrote two books, the *Azalat-al-Auham*, 'The Destroyer of Imagination', and the *Ibtal-i-Tathlith*, 'Refutation of the Trinity'. Early in 1854 he challenged Pfander to a public discussion. Though little inclined for controversy of this kind, Pfander felt that he must accept the challenge; French agreed to act as his supporter.

French had a high opinion of Pfander. Much later he wrote of him (1889): 'The late Dr Pfander, though not equal to the late Henry Martyn in acuteness and subtlety, far out-topped all the missionaries of his day as the Christian champion against Islam . . . It was no small privilege I had in being the disciple of Pfander in my youth, a worthy successor of the heroic Martyn.'²²

The confrontation took place on two successive days. It proved to be a case of 'ignorant armies clash by night', and there was no real meeting of minds; the terms of debate had not been defined with sufficient accuracy. Pfander held a view of the inspiration of the Christian Scriptures not altogether dissimilar from the view of the Qur'ān held by Muslim scholars. But the new opponent was prepared to question precisely this view of the Bible, and brought forward arguments which Pfander was not well qualified to meet. The *moulvie* was much concerned to uphold the view, held by many Muslims, that the Christian scriptures have been extensively corrupted by Christians. In 1854 the science of the textual criticism of the New Testament was still in its infancy, but French had no difficulty in showing that the text of the New Testament as it existed in the days of the Prophet Muhammad was within very narrow limits exactly the text which he could bring forward in Greek in 1854. Failing to produce evidence, the *moulvie* fell back on mere affirmation. Pfander demanded that he should produce a copy of the alleged uncorrupted Scripture on which he relied. When, naturally enough, the *moulvie* was unable to do so, since no such copies exist, Pfander, perhaps unwisely, called off the discussion.

Both sides naturally claimed victory in the debate; an impartial verdict can hardly be reached. As Pfander foresaw, the encounter tended rather to inflame differences than to promote understanding. Yet one of the assistant champions on the Muslim side, Safdar Alī, later became a devout and consistent Christian; and it seems likely that these debates sowed in the mind of Imad-ud-dīn those doubts about the validity of the Muslim faith which led to his baptism a good many years later.²³

e. The problem of conversion

Much of the time of missionaries in the cities was spent in long personal talks with small groups of interested people or with individuals. By no means, however, were all of these genuinely interested enquirers after the truth. Missionaries had to fight against the temptation to become cynical as they tried to sort out the wheat from the tares, and to distinguish between a genuine and a simulated interest. As British power and authority grew, even the missionaries who were not of British origin found themselves credited with far more influence in government circles than they possessed or than

they would have cared to use had they possessed it. And, where they compared their comparative indigence with the wealth of their more prosperous Indian neighbours, they could not but ponder ruefully the enormous sums of money of which it was supposed by many that they were in control, and of the part that material interests played in the minds of many of those who came forward to present themselves as would-be converts. Yet genuine enquirers did come in, the majority of them poor and not too well educated, but a not inconsiderable number belonging to the more affluent sections of society and proving the genuineness of their conversion by their willingness to make sacrifices of position and possessions and by many years of devoted service in the mission or in other avocations in the world.

Until 1858 Delhi was the centre and capital of the Mughul dynasty, very far fallen from the days of its great power, yet still a focus of attraction for millions of Muslims. Benares was for Hindus one of the holiest of cities and a centre of pilgrimage for uncounted devotees. Yet each of these fortresses of the non-Christian faiths was destined to yield up, in response to the long and patient witness of the missionaries, a number of converts of exceptional ability and distinction.

The Anglican representative in Delhi was a chaplain who combined conscientious devotion to his official duties with an intense concern for the evangelisation of the non-Christian world. Midgely John Jennings was a fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, who had come to India in 1832 as one of the Company's chaplains. In 1852 he was appointed to serve in Delhi. In 1857 he wrote to his wife that he had come to Delhi 'with a single object in view, to get missionaries for the city'. He had not been long settled when a most unusual event revealed to him the great possibilities that lay ahead of the mission.

Rām Chandra was born in 1821 at Panīpat, in a family of respectable means. But when he was ten years old his father died, leaving an impoverished widow with six sons. Rām Chandra was fortunate enough to receive a scholarship to the Government's English school in Delhi, and so was able to continue his education up to college standard. In 1844 he was appointed as a teacher in the school, which in 1841 had been reorganised as a college. In 1850 he astonished the learned world by the publication of his treatise *The Problem of Maxima and Minima Solved by Algebra*.²⁴

For years Rām Chandra had held the opinion that 'not only Christianity, but also Mohammedanism, and all bookish religions [are] absurd and false'. An almost accidental attendance at a Christian service in Delhi gave him a different idea of the religion and inspired in him a desire to read the Bible for himself. Very gradually conviction dawned, and he 'was persuaded that what is required for man's salvation was in Christianity and nowhere else'. But the final step of baptism, involving the loss of caste and of all family connections,

was difficult to take: 'I wished to believe that baptism and public profession were not necessary to becoming a Christian.' More than a year was to pass before he reached the conviction that faith and baptism are obverse and reverse of a coin. On 11 May 1852, together with the sub-assistant surgeon Chimman Lāl, he presented himself to Jennings for baptism.²⁵

To the credit of the Church of England it must be recorded that it never yielded to the mania of hatred and ill will by which the minds of so many were obsessed during the dark days of the great uprising. Already in December 1857, before the flames had died down, the SPG had declared its intention:

1. To double the number of European missionaries in Delhi, and to promote the education, training and ordination of a native ministry.
2. To establish missions of a superior kind in the principal cities, with a view to the conversion of the higher and more educated class of natives.

By this time Thomas Skelton, Fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge, who became principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta, in 1863, was already on his way to Delhi. In Calcutta he found Sarfaraz 'Alī, a pupil of Rām Chandra and an earnest enquirer into the Christian way. A little later he encountered Tāra Chand, who had come under the influence of T. V. French in Agra, and was now ready for baptism. Of him at a later time the bishop of Calcutta was to remark that he united 'to general knowledge and a special mathematical ability, a really remarkable knowledge of St Paul's Epistles, far better than I have seen in many candidates for orders, whom I have examined, whether at home or in India'.²⁶

Benares presented an interesting variation on the usual development of missionary enterprise. Jay Narain, a wealthy Hindu, had become friendly with the admirable Jonathan Duncan (1756–1811),²⁷ and also with a merchant named Wheatly, from whom he had received a New Testament. It was on the advice of Wheatly that he decided to 'consider the benefit of my countrymen, and with this view to found a school for education in English, Bengali, Persian and Hindi'. The school was opened in 1818. Some years later, after consultation with Corrie, he decided upon making 'the Calcutta Committee [of the CMS] the trustees of my school, and assigning to them the property which I had appropriated for the endowment of it'.²⁸ Jay Narain died in 1822, but his heirs loyally carried out his intentions. Thus in the very heart of Hinduism there came into being a school in which Christian instruction was given without any restriction. More than a century later the school was carrying out, to a high level of academic excellence, the intentions of its founder.

Two long-term missionaries in Benares, William Smith (1832–73) and C. P. Leupolt (1833–73), maintained a whole variety of activities outside the field of education.

In 1844, Smith was visited by a young Brāhman scholar, Nīlakaṇṭha Goreh, at that time about nineteen years old, who, as he later admitted, had come to visit the missionary in the hope of disabusing him of his Christian presuppositions and showing him the superiority of the wisdom of India. Gradually, and against his will, Goreh found his dissatisfaction with the Hindu system, and especially with its Purānic geography and astronomy, steadily increasing, and the attraction of the Christian Gospel growing stronger. Never was an enquirer less open to any emotional appeal. Goreh was of a sceptical disposition, which he retained to the end of his life, and was determined to consider every objection that could be raised to the Christian system before giving in to its demands. At last he was ready. Gradually the news leaked out that, not in Benares but in Jaunpur, on 14 March 1848, this doughty opponent of the Christian faith had been received by baptism into the Christian church. Nīlakaṇṭha Goreh has already appeared in these pages in another connection; he will reappear from time to time as the Reverend Nehemiah Goreh, as earnest in his attempts to convince Hindus of the truth of Christianity as he had been in earlier days to convince Christians of the superior merits of Hinduism as a system of truth and knowledge.²⁹

f. From missionary to Indian pastor

Scottish missionaries in western India were never very numerous, but they made up in distinction for what they lacked in numerical strength. The Scottish universities had sent outstanding missionaries to Calcutta; to Bombay also they sent some of their most gifted students.

Of James Nesbet, 'a shy and retiring man',³⁰ an Indian convert remarked that 'I myself a Brahman do not remember a single word that he mispronounced. It was just the other day the pundit of our institution told me that, if Mr Nesbit spoke Marāthi from within a screen, even Brahmans from without would not be able to detect that a foreigner was speaking.' John Wilson was so expert both in the Marāthī language and in the intricacies of Hinduism that he was able to engage Hindu scholars in public debate.

Perhaps the greatest of all the contributions of these Scottish scholars was their determination that Indian ordained ministers, if of satisfactory educational qualifications, must be treated as equals of the missionaries, and must be trusted with positions of independent authority. This all-important matter may be illustrated by one early example, which set the pattern for many others.

Narāyan Seshādri, born in the *nizām*'s dominions, had moved north in 1833 and had secured admission to the Scottish mission school in Poona, from which he later moved to the school in Bombay. When the whole city was in an uproar by reason of a number of conversions, it was suggested to Seshādri that it might be wiser for him to withdraw from the school. He

repudiated the suggestion that there was any danger of his becoming a Christian: 'I am determined to live and die a Hindu.' So, like many others, Seshādri became a believer almost against his will. His baptism on 13 September 1843 was the occasion of a considerable anti-Christian demonstration; every Brāhman pupil was withdrawn from the school, and the vernacular schools for boys and for girls almost ceased to exist.

One notable feature of this conversion was that Seshādri was able without long delay to win his way back into fellowship with the high-caste Hindu community. When he returned to Bombay as a teacher in his old school, Hindu friends came to visit him in his room, scorning the danger of pollution through contact with one who through baptism had made himself an outcaste. Before long he was recognised as one of the leading members of the now slowly growing Christian community in Bombay. Of him Robert Nesbit wrote: 'It was touching to think that we could not recall to mind a blot of backsliding in any part of his course.'³¹

On 23 September 1851 Seshādri was licensed as a Presbyterian minister; on 11 October 1854 he was ordained to the full status of a missionary. Recognition of this status was given when he was placed in charge of the work at Indapur and Jalna, more than 200 miles to the north-east of Bombay. Some rather desultory work had been carried out at Jalna in 1835, but this had gradually been allowed to die away. Seshādri's appointment was made in response to the feeling on the part of some among the missionaries that too much attention had been paid to developing the work in the cities and that there were notable opportunities in the villages which were being neglected. So, when Seshādri was sent inland in 1862, he was in reality going to new work, for which he had to accept full responsibility. This was a position which he held until his death in 1891. He believed in a Gospel for the whole man, and included in the scope of the mission medical care, social and industrial uplift, and instruction in useful crafts and trades.

Seshādri was not working under the direction or control of any foreign missionary. He was the director, indeed it might almost be said the dictator, of the whole work. He was dealing for the most part with converts from the poorer classes with little educational background – during his tenure of office the church over which he presided grew from 2 to 1,062 communicants – and it was felt by some of his colleagues that his authoritarian methods of work were carried a little too far. An admiring colleague wrote that 'an abundant kindness of heart combined with a lack of business habits produced in matters of discipline and in questions of property a crop of difficulties which his successors have had to reap'. But it does not appear that the Scottish missionaries ever felt that they had reason to regret the experiment of trusting an Indian colleague with full responsibility for so important a part of the work of the church.³²

We have now reached the period in which the Indian church was becoming fully self-conscious and vocal, and in which the Western sources can be supplemented from many papers and autobiographies written by Indian Christians themselves.

Bāba Padmanji was baptised in the year in which Narāyan Seshādri was ordained to the ministry. He was born in a high-caste but not Brāhman family in Belgaum in the year 1831. In 1887 he wrote in Marāthī a work entitled *Once Hindu, now Christian* (translated into English by Dr J. Murray Mitchell). This is a sensitive autobiography, showing the slow and gradual steps by which an intelligent Hindu boy was led to see that he could no longer live in the past but must move forward into a future which for a long time he was by no means willing to embrace. At length Bāba Padmanji decided that he must follow the light that he had seen, and, as already noted, he was baptised in August 1854. In the first few months after this event, the new convert wrote in Marāthī, at the request of his father, an account of his reasons for adopting the Christian faith. This, 'A comparison of Hinduism and Christianity', was the first of a series of books and tracts and essays, which include no fewer than seventy-five items.³³ Not being a Brāhman, Bāba Padmanji was able to remain in closer contact with his family than was possible for many other converts. He was at his father's death-bed in 1874: 'He allowed me to pray while he was passing away, and showed by outward signs that he departed in faith.'³⁴

g. Eccentricity in the service of the mission

In 1834 the Basel Missionary Society, drawing its resources from Switzerland and southern Germany, entered the districts of British Malabar and North and South Kanara, between the territory of the Thomas Christians and the Marāthī-speaking area of which Bombay was the metropolis.

The missionaries who entered the service of this mission were for the most part pietists – individualists to a man, strong-willed and convinced of the rightness of their opinions. Such Christians never find it easy to work together. A number of them had come under the influence of Anthony Norris Groves of the Plymouth Brethren, who had urged the mission to send out 'free missionaries', conforming to his concept of what missionaries ought to be. But gradually the mission gained in cohesion, and in course of time, under strong leadership at the centre in Basel, became one of the best organised and effective pieces of Christian service in India. What distinguished it from other missions was the long-continued and intense effort to enable converts to earn their own living, if conversion had led to the disruption of caste and family ties.

As soon as converts began to come in, this problem had to be faced. The

first attempt centred on the development of agriculture. Land was acquired, and the attempt was made to create a class of industrious peasants. But here as elsewhere the experiment was not successful. The missionaries were the landlords and the converts were the tenants. Tensions grew up between the interests of one group and those of the other. In the end these became so wearisome, and absorbed so much time and energy, that the experiment was given up. Other remedies had to be tried.

In 1851 a professional printer, George Plebst, was brought out from Württemberg to create a printing press and book-bindery. From the start the venture was successful; before many years had passed, the Basel mission press was known throughout South India as one of the best and most efficient presses in the area. But this was an enterprise which could give employment to only a limited number of hands. It was clear that further experiments were needed.

In the same year, 1851, John Haller, a master-weaver, was sent to take charge of what up to that time had been the rather amateurish beginnings of a textile industry. Five years after his arrival, Basel won second prize for weaving at an industrial fair held in Madras. Great attention was paid to the use of local materials and to the development of a genuinely Indian market for what was produced. The main purpose of the enterprise was to provide an honourable means of livelihood for Christians; but non-Christians could also be taken on as workers, if they were willing to accept the special disciplines imposed on what was intended to be a Christian enterprise.

The success of the Basel mission in a field in which so many other missions had failed was due in the main to the use of professional skills, but also to the separation of industrial concerns from the other activities of the mission. The gifted mission-inspector Josenhans saw that the amateurish methods of the early days could not command success. On his insistence a separate commission for industry was formed, with a view not merely to providing subsistence for converts, but also to giving a demonstration of Christian diligence, integrity and solidity. This was followed at a later date by the establishment of the Basel mission trading company. It has to be admitted that in this arrangement there were from the beginning the seeds of tension. The workers were the employees of the mission, and at the same time, if they were Christians, its parishioners. The combination of the two relationships has never been easy; it is greatly to the credit of both parties that a reasonably satisfactory solution of the problem was achieved and maintained for fifty years.

The best known of the Basel missionaries in the early period was one whom eccentricity led into strange paths; in consequence he was extravagantly praised by some, and by others attacked with a less than Christian venom.

Samuel Hebich (1803–68) was a man who never found it easy to work with others. An ardent and impetuous evangelist, he was almost a caricature of what the West imagines a missionary to be. He had little sympathy with the forms of non-Christian religion by which he was surrounded. Too impatient to learn an Indian language well, he was throughout dependent on interpreters. It must have been a relief to his colleagues when he moved to Cannanore, where one English and two Indian regiments of the Company's army were located. It was not long before Hebich turned his attention to the officers and non-commissioned officers of these regiments, and it was among them that he won his most notable success. Although it was calculated that his vocabulary in English never exceeded 550 words, he was amazingly effective in making his rather simple understanding of the Gospel intelligible to those who were willing to listen to him. Few found themselves able to resist the direct and at times almost brutal methods employed by Hebich. Such was his influence that one of the British regiments came to be known as Hebich's Own, a distinction usually reserved for members of the royal family. One of the officers who came to living faith in Christ at this time was Lieutenant R. S. Dobbie, whose grandson, General Sir William Dobbie (1874–1964), won fame as governor of Malta during the Second World War; the Christian tradition has been carried forward into the fifth generation of this family.

h. Outreach in unknown fields

Most of the enterprises dealt with so far in this chapter were built up in the main centres of population, among peoples who could be described in general terms as Muslims, Hindus or Sikhs. But India is a land of many races, religions and languages. In almost every part of India there were to be found peoples whose languages did not fit into the categories arrived at earlier by the philologist, peoples whose customs and traditions were very different from those of their neighbours in the plains and who up to this point had resisted all attempts to draw them into the all-embracing net of the Hindu caste system.

Missionaries, like servants of the government, had from time to time been brought into contact with representatives of these races. But, concerned as they were for the most part with the adherents of the main religions, and especially with the educated class from which it was hoped that the leaders of the Indian church would be produced, missionaries were not inclined to regard these aborigines as an immediate field for evangelistic work. The immense extension of the work among them which was to take place, together with the pioneer work of missionaries in many unwritten languages and their rather amateurish attempts at exploration in the unknown world of

anthropology, belong for the most part to a later period in the history of the Indian churches. In this chapter attention will be drawn to three areas in which, almost without preparation, missionaries were led to engage in the proclamation of the Gospel to these simpler peoples.

i. The Welsh mission in the Khāsi hills. In 1840 the first missionaries of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church arrived in India. While they were looking round for a sphere of work, their attention was drawn to the Khāsi and Jaintia hills, an area slightly less in size than Wales, in what is now the province of Assam. At Shillong the hills rise to a height of 6,449 feet, which the historian of the mission sadly compares with the 3,560 feet to which Snowdon, the highest mountain in his country, rises. The greater part of the countryside consists of undulating downs.³⁵

No one knows where the Khāsis came from, or how they got to be where they now are. One view is that they made their way in from China, but others support the claims of Burma. Their language is classed by the experts as belonging to the Mon-Khmer family; but, there being no other language of this group anywhere near, language gives no clue to the origin or affiliation of the Khāsis. At the time at which the mission arrived, part of the hills had come under British control; wider areas remained under the dominion of local rulers.

The religion of the Khāsis was on the level of what used to be called animism – belief in the existence of a number of unseen powers, only a small number of which were beneficent, the others needing to be frequently propitiated by blood-sacrifices. Like all peoples on that level of culture, the Khāsis had a number of ingenious and fascinating folk-tales. One particularly charming story tells how God, in his kindness to men, sent through a cow as messenger a number of instructions as to how they were to behave. Unfortunately the cow went to sleep, and when she woke up found that she had entirely forgotten the lesson that she was to convey. The crow, passing by, assured her that he had been listening to the conversation and that, as he had the lesson by heart, he would pass it on to her. What God had said was that the Khāsis were to wash twice a day, and only to eat twice a day. The crow's version of this was that the Khāsis were to eat three times a day, and to wash themselves only once a month. It is said that the Khāsis were scrupulous in the observance of the second of these commandments.³⁶

The first missionaries of the Welsh society, Thomas Jones and his wife, reached Cherrapunji, which has the distinction of having the highest rainfall of any place upon earth, on 22 June 1841, and were warmly welcomed by the few Europeans resident in the station. The first task, naturally, was that of acquiring the language; in this Jones had the help of two young men who had had contact with a lay missionary from Serampore and had some acquaint-

ance with English. But, even when some progress had been made in the learning of the language, the difficulty of conveying any Christian knowledge to the Khāsis was such that Jones concluded that the next step must be the introduction of elementary education, gradually to train up teachers, and so to teach both adults and young people to read, as an indispensable accompaniment of Christian teaching.

At this point Jones made the momentous decision to make use of the Roman script rather than the Devanāgarī script of Hindi, or the modification of it used for Bengali. The science of phonetics was at that date in its infancy, and the transcription of Khāsi was a good deal less than satisfactory; but it was found that the pupils experienced far less difficulty in mastering the Roman script than they had had earlier on in attempting to read either of the local Indian scripts. The precedent set in Khāsi has been followed in reducing to writing the speech of many of the peoples first encountered in the pre-literate stage of their being.

Progress was slow. Some of the pupils showed interest, but no more, in the Christian teaching that they were receiving. The first sign of a radical change came when five boys decided to cut their hair. This required immense courage, since the Khāsis believed that, if the bloodthirsty spirit U Tlem obtained possession of a knot of a man's hair, the man and his whole family were bound to perish by a terrible death. Everyone expected the boys to die. When they continued to go about their business, apparently in perfect health, perturbation was considerable.

In the fifth year of the mission, four Khāsis, among them a man and his wife, presented themselves as candidates for baptism. The missionaries wisely kept them waiting for nine months to test their resolution. The baptism took place. Then, as for many years after, the new Christians had to face the fiercest opposition from their families and from the community as a whole, being regarded as traitors bent on the disintegration of the close-knit fabric of Khāsi society.

It is hardly right to use the word 'persecution' of this reaction. Among the Khāsis, as among many peoples on the same level of culture, at certain ceremonies the presence of the entire family was essential; the absence of a single member might render the whole ceremony of no avail. The Khāsis naturally regarded themselves as fully justified in taking all possible steps to prevent the disruption of the community. Professions by Christians of continuing loyalty to the welfare of the community were not easily understood.

In 1854 the mission received unexpected encouragement through government approval of its educational work. The council in Calcutta took the view that 'the spread of education among the Khasis and other hill tribes in those parts could be most effectively secured by extending help to the Missionary

Institution'. A small amount of money was allocated to this cause, with the note that 'the Governor had no objection to the use of Missionary books in the schools thus assisted'.³⁷ This appears to have been the first occasion on which government money was made available to extend education carried on by a missionary body. No objection seems to have been raised in any quarter to the recommendation of the council.

The number of Christians continued to grow slowly. This was bound to be the case as long as it was felt by the community as a whole that those who became Christians had separated themselves from a society in which all the members were organically connected one with another. Figures for the year 1857 show that the number of the baptised was 174, with 24 candidates for baptism. Rapid growth followed considerably later. In 1891 communicant members numbered 2,147 and the baptised 6,162. By 1901 this had risen to 6,180 communicants, with 17,800 in the churches. This rapid growth can be accounted for only if Christians had come to be accepted as a distinct and permanent element of the Khāsi world, but still as within the limits of Khāsi society and with no desire to be separated from it.

ii. The Gossner mission among the Kols. The essentially German character of all the German missions in India was established by the Roman Catholic priest turned Protestant, John Evangelist Gossner (1773–1858). Gossner's piety was Lutheran with a strong dash of Moravian pietism. His manner and outlook were patriarchal; he was the patriarch as well as the founder of the mission.

Gossner's first attempt at missionary work was disastrous. In 1841 he sent out a party of six to work among the Gonds, a numerous aboriginal people in Central India. In the first year four of the six were carried off by cholera. The remaining two, with the full approval of Gossner, were absorbed into the newly founded mission of the Free Church of Scotland in Nāgpur.

The second attempt was to prove more fruitful. On 14 December 1844 four young missionaries, only one of whom had studied theology, arrived in Calcutta. No destination had been assigned to them; but, other possibilities having been excluded by circumstances, they found what seemed to them the right answer: 'It is decided we go to the Kols, the poor neglected mountain-dwellers, 40 to 50 German miles from Calcutta.' Not all their friends approved of the idea of starting a mission among such people; they shared the common opinion that it would be better to go to the higher ranks of society, and to more advanced peoples.

There were, however, British officers in the service of the government at work in what is now Bihar who had heard of the presence of German missionaries in Calcutta; contact was made with the admirable Dr Häberlein of the CMS, who warmly welcomed the plan and constituted himself the friend and guide of the young Germans in the first halting steps in the

direction of the place in which they were to work. On 15 October 1845, they packed their goods and chattels in bullock-carts, departed from Bankura and, eighteen days later, arrived in Ranchi, the headquarters of the area known as Chota Nagpur, destined to be the Christian centre of the whole district.

The work proved to be from the start extremely difficult. The Kols were illiterate, and, though they seem to have had some idea of a supreme God, they knew nothing of classical Hinduism. They were cruelly oppressed by the Hindu and Muslim landowners who had settled among them, and this made them somewhat impervious to any outside influence. The multiplicity of languages was daunting. Hindi was the official language of the area and was used by the missionaries in their early preaching. But it soon became clear that the minds of the people could not really be reached until they were approached in the languages which they spoke at home. The two main groups, the Mundas and the Orāons, had languages of their own differing from one another in structure and type of expression; these had to be mastered, studied and written down, before permanent progress could be made or expected.³⁸

For five years nothing seemed to happen. The missionaries became so much discouraged that they seriously considered moving to some other field where they could work with greater hopes of success. But the answer they received from Berlin was 'Go on quietly praying and preaching, and we here will pray more than we have been doing.'

Then suddenly everything changed. Four Orāons, less impoverished and better educated than most of their kind, came to seek out the missionaries. Not having found satisfaction in the traditional beliefs of the Kols, they had joined the sect of the Kabīrpanthīs. There too they failed to find peace of mind, and so they turned to the missionaries. After instruction, they were prepared to admit their need of salvation and to confess their faith in Jesus. But they said repeatedly, 'We believe in Jesus, but we wish to see him.' This seemed to present an insuperable obstacle to further progress. Then one day they asked for permission to attend the English service in Rānchi. This occasioned some surprise, as they did not know English, but permission was readily granted. Then the mystery was cleared up. The enquirers had believed that the missionaries were keeping back from them, because they were black, the actual vision of Jesus, which was granted only to the white people. When in the English service they experienced nothing but singing and praying and preaching, they realised that no distinction was being made, and that the white people also had to be content with only the spiritual vision of Jesus. They were then ready to be baptised. This took place on 9 June 1850, a day which has always been commemorated as the birthday of the Gossner Church in Chota Nāgpur.

From that time on progress was very rapid. By 1856 the congregation

numbered 500, the great majority of these having been brought in by the Kols themselves; the first indigenous catechist had been installed. On 18 November of that year the foundation was laid for a church to seat 800; when, at Christmastide 1858, it was opened for worship, it proved already too small for those who wished to attend. This rapid growth did not mean, however, that baptism was given in haste: candidates were usually kept waiting for years rather than for months, and only those were baptised who had given evidence of a change of heart.

Candidates for baptism are rarely actuated solely by religious motives; the presence of other ideas and aims has generally to be allowed for. The parlous economic situation of the Kols has already been mentioned: they were no match for the Hindus who were steadily infiltrating their area. From their point of view the government had done far less than it should have done to protect their interests – a view with which the missionaries were probably in agreement. The Kols made no secret of the fact that they desired to have the help of the missionaries in securing deliverance from the unjust oppression from which they suffered and in recovering the lands which had been illegally taken from them. These less than directly spiritual concerns played a great part in the subsequent history of Christianity among the Kols; but this is not to say that these converts were simply ‘rice-Christians’. The measured words, from a later period of the history, of a British official specially well qualified to judge of the realities of the situation, state accurately both sides of the case:

Keenly attached to their land and having few interests outside it, they believe that the missionary will stand by them in their agrarian disputes and act as their adviser. It must not be imagined that the missionaries hold out such efforts as an inducement to the aborigines to enrol themselves in the Christian ranks, but the knowledge that the missionaries do not regard their duties as confined to their care of souls, but also see to the welfare of their flocks, has undoubtedly led to many conversions.³⁹

iii. The Blue Mountains and the Gospel. The Nilgiri hills in South India rise to a height of more than 8,000 feet, and from 1815 onwards were developed as a health resort for tired Europeans. When in 1846 the Basel mission rather unwillingly agreed to undertake work among the tribal people of this area, the initiative came not from the church, but from a distinguished member of the civil service under the British government.

George Casamajor had come to India in 1810 and had held a series of important judicial posts under the government of Madras. An earnest Christian, he had decided that the work of his retirement should be Christian witness among the Badagas, at that time the most numerous of the tribes who inhabit the hills. He bought at Ketti a large house, which had been built as a private residence by an even more eminent servant of the government, and

during the last three years of his life he did much for the benefit of the Badaga people. It was his desire that the Basel mission should take over the work and provide for continuity after his death.

It has already been noted that, among all these minor races of India, society is held together in an intensely communal form of life, regulated by a complex of rites, customs and habits which are extremely resistant to change and from which it is very difficult for the individual to separate himself. If this is true of all such peoples, it is specially true of the Badagas. Most Indian villagers live in separate houses, or in compounds where three or four related families live together. Most Badaga villages are built in the form of serried lines of houses, which seem almost a symbol of a steadfast refusal to change and of a firm resolution to stand in the old ways. The life and work of the Badagas were so strictly under the control of the elders that personal decision was rare and individual action almost unthinkable. It was certain that missionaries sent to this area would be faced by a hard task in the attempt to understand the mind and thoughts of these people and eventually to change them.

Within three years the mission was staffed by three particularly well-qualified workers; one of them, Gottfried Weigle, distinguished himself not only in evangelistic work, but also by vaccinating 700 Badagas within the space of two months.

Casamajor died in May 1849. It was found that he had left a large part of his fortune to the mission, on the understanding that the income should be used only for the development of Christian work among the Badagas. No other purchaser having been found for the splendid house that he had acquired at Ketti, it was decided to purchase it to serve as headquarters for the mission. From this time on work was developed more systematically; preaching in the villages was carried on so effectively that it was reckoned that within ten years of the foundation of the mission almost all the Badagas had heard the Gospel proclaimed.

But results were slow in coming. In 1857, for the first time, a Badaga was found ready to confess faith in Christ and ask for baptism. But converts were few in number, and, though in the course of years a considerable congregation grew up in Ketti, there has never been anything like an extensive movement into the church on the part of this self-contained and well-integrated people.⁴⁰

i. Zeal untempered by prudence.

Missionaries on the whole were extremely careful to avoid anything that could cause offence to the non-Christians by whom they were surrounded. From time to time the language they used was unguarded, though it is clear from the records that recent converts to Christianity were more inclined than

the foreigners to indulge in strong denunciation of what they had now come to regard as superstition and slavery. But, however strongly they might disapprove of idolatry – and on this there was little difference of opinion as between foreigners and Indian Christians – most missionaries were careful to observe respect for the outward manifestations of religion, whether Hindu or Muslim, and to avoid anything which could present any appearance of sacrilege.

There were, however, a few exceptions to this rule, and for the sake of completeness one of these ought to be recorded.

In more than a century of mission work none of the Protestant forces had established itself in Mathurai, the second largest city in South India, famous as a centre of Tamil culture, famous also as the home for more than two centuries of the Jesuit mission. The American Congregationalists were the first to look with favour on this great city, and to make plans for a mission of which the city of Mathurai would serve as the centre. The first party of missionaries arrived on 3 August 1834. One of the group was Levi Spaulding, who had given fifteen years of service to the Jaffna mission in Ceylon. He came to Mathurai to introduce the inexperienced missionaries to their new home; but after a few weeks he returned to Ceylon, and the pioneers were left to make their own way as best they could.

Early in its history the mission suffered a severe setback through an act of extraordinary imprudence on the part of one of the young Americans, J. J. Lawrence. Seeing a group of villagers prostrating themselves before roughly made images of terracotta, the missionary pointed the worshippers away from these lifeless images to the one true and living God. 'If I strike these images with my stick, what will happen? Will these images have any power to protect themselves, much less to injure you and your children?' Action followed upon speech, and some of the images were broken. The onlookers were seized with a mixture of fear and fury. The news spread through the city like wildfire. The offender was brought by the Brāhmans before the city magistrate, and an immense sum of money was demanded as compensation. The English officials intervened and succeeded in pacifying the inhabitants; a fine of no more than Rs. 50 was imposed as compensation for the damage done. But for two months no missionary work could be carried out, and it seemed hardly likely that confidence could be restored.

In point of fact, the harm done to the Christian cause was less than might have been expected. The imprudent missionary was transferred to another centre; the more considerate remained to win back the confidence and respect of the populace and to make the Mathurai mission a respected centre of teaching and of friendly contact between Indians and Americans.

In a very different field this mission rendered a great service to the missionary cause and to the white inhabitants by developing Kodaikānal, 7,000 feet up in the Palni hills, as a place of rest and refreshment. This place

of quiet beauty made it possible for missionaries of many different allegiances to meet under conditions which made for friendship, and perhaps did more than official meetings to prepare the way for what was later to be known as the ecumenical spirit. Whereas British missionaries were still inclined to send their quite young children to England to be brought up by relatives and friends, the Americans believed that it should be possible to hold families together by creating good schools in the hills in India, so that children could spend two of the cool months in the plains with their parents and the parents could rejoin their children in the hills for two of the hot months. This plan was so successful that many of the children and grandchildren of the pioneers, after completing their education in America, came back to give lifelong service to the country in which they had grown up and which in many cases they had come to love.

4 A SURVEY AND AN ESTIMATE

By 1858 the Protestant 'occupation' of India had spread out in many directions, and at least in outline might have been said to be complete. There had been no coherent or scientific planning. Missions entered in as the spirit moved them. But the new arrivals in many cases took advice; one mission helped another; the spirit was that of co-operation rather than of rivalry, and so gradually something like a pattern began to emerge.

All the missions, whether British in origin or not, found themselves driven to seek the help of the local British authorities, civil and military. Since the act of 1833, formal permission to reside was no longer necessary, except in the territories of semi-independent rulers. But in such matters as the purchase of land, and in mastering the intricacies of Indian administration, the help of the authorities was indispensable. The records ring with the gratified surprise of the missionaries at the readiness with which this help was given and even volunteered. The number of committed Christians, both in the armed forces and on the civil side, was now considerable; with Christian conviction came a deep sense of responsibility for the well-being of the peoples over whom they had been called to exercise authority. Even where there was no deep religious conviction, the servants of the crown found in the work of the missionaries – especially in the fields of education, medical and social service – much that they could admire and much that fitted in with their own ideas of what needed to be done to help the Indian peoples. Even those who were inclined to regard the attempt to convert the 'heathen' as nonsensical in many cases came to recognise the sincerity and the integrity of the majority of the missionaries with whom they had to do.

In spite of denominational differences, and certain variations in practice, the records of the missionaries in every part of India show a certain sameness.

As soon as the initial difficulties had been mastered, the missionaries set to work to approach the people with the Gospel. The records are full of detailed accounts of endless discussions in street and shop, in field and wood, in fact wherever people showed themselves approachable. Sometimes the message was couched in negative terms, with undue stress on the folly and vanity of idol-worship. But the emphasis was in most cases on the fact that God had provided in Jesus Christ that remedy for sin, and that peace of mind, which many Hindus had sought, and in some cases had failed to find, in the religious systems in which they had been brought up. In the period now under survey there are comparatively few records from the Indian side. But, as appears from some recorded cases, when converts were asked what had led them to forsake an old religion and to seek a new, the answer would be 'to find the forgiveness of my sins'.

Each mission was faced with a long period in which nothing seemed to happen, when the witnesses wondered what had gone wrong and why their earnest efforts to make the Gospel known seemed to have had no effect at all. Might it not be more sensible to move elsewhere? The records suggest that in no case was the period of waiting less than six years; it was more likely to last for ten years or more, and in most cases twenty years would elapse before anything like a church came into being. Yet there were conversions, in a number of cases tested by the willingness of the would-be believer to endure hardship and even persecution. In these years every main religious group in India – the Brāhmans, the other high castes among the Hindus, the Muslims, the Sikhs, the Parsis – yielded a number of converts to the Christian church. Many who had shown interest held back when faced with the question of baptism and with the certainty of obloquy and ostracism if the fatal step was taken. Some certainly maintained their inner faith in Christ, without ever submitting to this outward expression of it. The most earnest among them seem to have come independently to the conclusion that what they were inwardly they must also become outwardly, and themselves asked for baptism.

At times the missionaries in their eagerness exerted an undesirable measure of pressure on the minds of enquirers; usually it was the other way about – the enquirer desiring baptism, the missionaries urging caution and wishing to assure themselves of sincerity and conviction, and also of capacity for endurance, on the part of one who desired to confess faith in Christ. It is not by accident that reference in this paragraph is made almost exclusively to men; the possibility of women being baptised independently of husbands and family had as yet hardly arisen.

It was almost impossible for a high-caste convert to remain in his family, though some were able gradually to recover the respect and goodwill of their relations. It helped very much if converts were known to observe the

traditions of their community in such matters as eating and drinking – the vegetarian was more likely to be tolerated than the one who had taken to the eating of meat. Those of lower rank found it difficult to live in their villages, exposed as they were to constant harassment, the denial of social equality, and even persecution. The missionaries tended to make a virtue out of necessity, and to believe that the formation of Christian villages would serve two purposes – the provision of safety for the believers, and the development of a more intensive Christian life than would be possible in a city or village in which the majority of the inhabitants were still Hindus. So when the Anglo-Indian merchant Sawyer in Pālayankottai offered a considerable area of land for Christian settlement, it seemed the most natural thing in the world to accept the offer and to settle Christians in the village which came to be known as Sawyerpuram, the name which it still bears.

It has often been stated that, in reporting on their work, missionaries exaggerated their successes and minimised their failures. If only printed reports are studied, there may seem to be grounds for this criticism. No such grounds will be found in their private letters, their journals and the confidential reports to the societies which supported them. In such documents the whole panorama is inexorably set out: the promising enquirer who after a time disappeared, the candidates for baptism who were spirited away by their relations, those who after baptism apostatised, those who, yielding to surrounding temptations, brought dishonour on the cause which they had embraced, those who did run well but failed to stay the course. When, as did occasionally occur, missionaries themselves were the delinquents, judgement was quick to begin at the house of God. Action which might be no worse than questionable could lead to sharp retribution. When a missionary of the LMS in Travancore, at somewhat advanced age married an Indian girl much younger than himself, local opinion, both missionary and Indian, required that he withdraw from active service in the mission.

Did half a century of Protestant missionary work create something like a ferment in the Indian mind and in Indian society? When such a question is asked account must be taken of the minute scale on which the work was actually carried on.

In 1858 the number of Protestant missionaries in India was 360. The majority of these were married, and many of the wives were active in Christian service. The number of foreigners engaged in the work may therefore be assessed at 600. Indian helpers numbered about four times as many foreigners. If this reckoning is correct, the total number of full-time Protestant witnesses for Christ, in a country of which the population may have been about 180 million, can hardly have exceeded 3,000.⁴¹

Though the cities and larger towns may be regarded as having been fairly well supplied with missionaries, ninety per cent of the population at that

time lived in the 700,000 villages of India. The vast majority of these villagers had never met a Christian and, unless they were Muslims who had learnt something of Jesus from the Qurʾān, had never so much as heard his name.

Indian Christians were still a numerically insignificant body. The first official census in India was not held until 1871; for earlier periods accurate statistics are not available, and a certain amount of guesswork enters into all calculations. Some attempt at assessment can, however, be made.

The great majority of Indian Christians were Roman Catholics. By 1858 the Roman Catholic missions had done much to recover lost ground and to reach out into new areas. Three-quarters of a million would be a generous estimate of their numbers. To these must be added about 60,000 of the independent Thomas Christians.

Europeans and Anglo-Indians, the majority of them Anglicans but with a considerable Roman Catholic minority, may have numbered in all about 200,000.

In most of the Protestant missions accurate statistics were kept, and from 1851 on these were carefully recorded in the Decennial Missionary Tables. It appears from the record for the year 1851 that at that time there were no more than 91,092 registered Protestant (including Anglican) Christians in India, 14,661 being communicants. There were no more than 21 ordained Indian ministers. If we allow for proportionate increase, it was likely that in 1858 there were 120,000 baptised members and 20,000 communicants. The greatest increase was in the number of ordained ministers. In 1858 these numbered at least 80 (the reason for this notable increase is given elsewhere in this work); by 1861 the number had further increased to 97.

Distribution of Christians was very uneven. There were large areas in which, so far as is known, there were no Indian Christians at all. The great majority were to be found in the south – in Tamilnādu and Kerala, and in the Portuguese dominions. Three-quarters of all Protestant Indian Christians were to be found in these areas; there alone were to be found stable and well-organised congregations, capable to some extent of standing on their own feet and of managing their own affairs. Elsewhere the great increase in numbers came about only in the period subsequent to 1858.⁴²

All this gives only one side of the picture. The echoes of the Gospel carried much further than might be inferred from the small number of those engaged in the work. The military grapevine had carried far and wide throughout North and Central India the false rumour that it was the aim of government to turn everyone into a Christian, thus proclaiming to everyone who had not heard of it that there was something called the Christian religion. Christian witnesses itinerated widely in the villages and distributed books and pamphlets among those who could read. The rapid spread of the English language, and the growth in the number of Christian schools, meant

that an increasing number of young people acquired at least a rudimentary idea of the Gospel. In the three great presidency cities religious discussion was active and vigorous. There were enough intelligent Indian Christians to make it clear that the Christian church would be a significant element in the formation of that new India which was to come into being in the century that followed on the queen's proclamation of 1858.

16 · Indian Society and the Christian Message

I A NEW PHASE IN CONTACTS

For much of his time the historian of Christianity in India is condemned to present a one-sided picture of what happened. For the most part the recipients, or victims, of Christian propaganda were mute; or, if they spoke, no record has been preserved of what they said.

With the nineteenth century all is changed. All parties become more voluble, and the printing-press makes it possible to lend a certain coherence and continuity to what previously had been inchoate and transitory. We have detailed accounts from the missionaries of their methods of communicating the Gospel. We have thoughtful accounts from converts of the steps by which they were led to faith in Christ. We have from non-believers assessments of the Christian message, sometimes astonishing in their shrewdness and controversial aptness. We have objections to and repudiation of the Christian challenge varying between shrill vilification and angry misrepresentation, calm exposition of the merits of the non-Christian religions and temperate evaluation of what the non-Christian mind had identified as valuable in the Christian message.

During the first third of the nineteenth century, all groups in Bengal without exception, from Rāmmohun Roy to the young followers of Derozio, were strongly attached to the British connection. Nationalism had not yet acquired the connotation of anti-European and anti-British reaction which was to characterise it in later times. In these early days Western thought and British power were synonymous with liberation and progress – liberation from the obscurantism which was felt to mar the conservative forces of Hinduism, and progress towards enlightenment and the absorption of new knowledge.¹

Bengal was the area in which the culture shock was most acutely felt and in which, in consequence, the tensions between East and West came to most vivid and explicit expression. Calcutta was the storm centre. In what was rapidly becoming one of the great capitals of the world, every aspect of life – cultural, social and educational – was discussed; it was impossible that religious ideas should be excluded from the storm. In this modern

Byzantium, controversy could reach the intensity and acrimony of the contests between the Greens and the Blues in the older Byzantium.

The situation was too complicated to be summarised in one convenient formula. Reactions to Christian propaganda varied between the extremes of total rejection and eager acceptance, with many halting-places in between the two.

2 VARYING ATTITUDES

Many Indians had no contact with the Christian way, and desired to have no contact with it. This was specially true of the women, who in every society tend to be the guardians of the ancient traditions and champions of the hallowed ways. At that time child marriage was the rule on every level of Indian society. The education of girls was almost unknown. This has led many observers to underestimate the influence of women in Indian society. No one who has had the privilege of encountering the extraordinary grace and dignity of the Indian grandmother is likely to fall into that error. Technically all the decisions are made by men: but not many men are likely to act in defiance of the established opinions, or prejudices, of their womenfolk. In matters of religion, the vote of the women is likely to be cast against change in any form.²

This solid conservatism was likely to lead to tensions in families where the men had gone some distance towards a more liberal understanding of the family and its claims. This is movingly set out in the autobiography of Devendranāth Tagore.³ Devendranāth, under liberal influences, had renounced idolatry. When his father died in 1846, a burning question arose as to the nature of the funeral ceremonies to be performed for him:

I said to my second brother Girindranath, 'as we are Brâhmas now, we cannot perform the Shraddha by bringing in the *Shāligrām*. If we do that, what is the good of having become Brâhmas, and why should we have taken vows?' He answered softly and with bent head, 'Then everybody will forsake us, everyone will go against us . . .'
'In spite of all that, we cannot possibly countenance idolatry' I said . . . This was the first instance of a Shraddha being performed without idolatry in accordance with the rites of *Brâhma Dharma*. Friends and relatives forsook me, but God drew me nearer to Himself. I gained satisfaction of spirit in the triumph of Dharma. And that was all I wanted.

At the other extreme some flung themselves with eagerness into acceptance of the new ways and of the message that came from the West. But here too discrimination is necessary. Some of the emancipated went all the way and accepted allegiance to Jesus Christ in the church as the natural goal and end of the liberation of the human spirit that they had experienced. The life-

stories and the experiences of some among these converts have come before us in a number of contexts. Others, while remaining outwardly in the Hindu fold and making no radical break with the past, adopted many of the externals of the Western way of life. Among the most prominent of these was Prince Dwarkanāth Tagore,⁴ who had been in England and had there been well received in society. He was in the habit of inviting his Western, or Westernised, friends to sumptuous banquets in his palatial house. On one occasion the governor-general, Lord Auckland, and his sister were somewhat taken aback at being welcomed by elephants on the lawns and by ice-cream in the pavilions of the princely palace. Dvārikā nātha Thakkura, as he should more properly be called, continued to be a friend and supporter of Rāmmohun Roy; but what, if any, religious convictions he retained it is difficult to say.⁵

A third group, mostly made up of former pupils of Derozio at the Hindu College, had abandoned their traditional religion, but had adopted instead the scepticism of the West rather than an alternative form of faith. These endured the fate which commonly befalls the homeless, who having abandoned one home have not yet found another. Some of them later found their way into the Christian church.

3 THE FATHER OF MODERN INDIA

There was yet a fourth group of thinkers who, while not making any radical breach with Hinduism, yet rejected many of its externals and believed that a great deal of Christian teaching could be grafted on to the old stock of Hinduism and could bring new vitality and viability to what had evidently decayed. By far the most important of these was Rājā Rāmmohun Roy (1772–1833).⁶

Rāmmohun Roy was born in a Brāhman family in Bengal in the year 1772. At home he learnt Bengali and some Persian, and when he was about twelve years old was sent by his father to Patna, at that time a centre of Muslim culture, to learn Arabic. There he studied the Qur'ān and became familiar with the mystical tradition of the Sūfīs. This period of contact with Islam left on his mind deep impressions which lasted all his life and are seen in the combination of almost mystical religious experience and hard rationalistic thinking which can be traced in all periods of his career. At some time during his youth he learnt Sanskrit, and gave evidence of considerable proficiency in that language.⁷ It was probably during the period of Muslim influence that he became convinced that the Hindu religion had become profoundly corrupted and could be vivified only by the adoption of a rigid monotheism and by the total exclusion of idolatry. At this time the *Upaniṣads* presented themselves to him as the supreme authority for religious faith; but he does

not seem at any stage of his career to have accepted the idea of the verbal inerrancy of any religious scripture.⁸

For a number of years Rāmmohun Roy was in the service of the East India Company, and held a position of some eminence. His superior, John Digby, befriended him, encouraged him in his studies, and in particular helped him towards that perfect mastery of the English language of which he gave such remarkable evidence during the last twenty years of his life. He may at the same time have acquired the intimate knowledge of the Christian Scriptures which he later displayed; it is said that he learnt Greek and Hebrew in order to read these Scriptures in the original languages.

In 1814 Roy, being now a man of wealth and leisure, returned to Calcutta and settled down to the real work of his life. The later reformer Mahādev Govind Ranade said of him, 'Rāmmohun Roy was at once a social reformer, the founder of a great religious movement, and a great politician.'⁹

In 1815 Roy founded a small society called the Ātmiya Sabhā, which met once a week for the reading of texts from the Hindu scriptures and the singing of theistic hymns. This led to a public debate with a learned pundit, Subramaniam Sāstri, a defender of the orthodox Hindu position, in which the reformer had very much the better of the argument. At the same time he was carrying on his campaign for the abolition of *satī*, for the achievement of which Hindu writers ascribe to him the major share of glory. Not surprisingly his enemies accused him of being an apostate from the Hindu faith. By his own account he met with the strongest opposition from Hindu leaders and was deserted by his own nearest relations: 'In that critical situation the only comfort that I had was the consoling and rational conversation of my European friends, especially those of Scotland and England.'¹⁰

A notable turning-point in the life of the reformer came in 1820, when he published in Bengali and English a book with the title *The Precepts of Jesus: the Road to Peace and Happiness*. This little work consists almost entirely of extracts from the Gospels, much from Matthew and Luke, less from Mark, and much less from John. The historical sections are omitted as not being readily intelligible to Hindus; miracles are not brought in, since Hinduism has better miracles of its own; the crucifixion and resurrection are excluded as giving rise to just the kind of controversies which the reformer was anxious to avoid. A Hindu writer has well said that 'then slowly, but surely, Jesus grew into Rāmmohun and Rāmmohun grew into him . . . there was no more of that cold calculating rationalism that had characterised his early writings . . . whenever in his writings he is face to face with Christ, Rāmmohun melts in love and homage'.¹¹

Of his aim in this publication Rāmmohun himself writes:

This simple code of religion and morality is so admirably calculated to elevate men's ideas to high and liberal notions of one God, who has equally submitted all living

creatures, without distinction of caste, rank or wealth, to change, disappointment, pain and death, and has equally admitted all to be partakers of the bountiful mercies which he has lavished over nature, and is so well fitted to regulate the conduct of the human races in the discharge of their various duties to themselves, and to society, that I cannot but hope the best effects from its promulgation in its present form.

It might well have been hoped that the Christian community in Calcutta would have welcomed with enthusiasm this unexpected help from a man who still professed the Hindu faith. Unfortunately the author found himself almost at once involved in a prolonged dispute with the missionary world. The first blast of the trumpet came from the Reverend Deocar Schmidt, an orthodox Lutheran in the service of the CMS, and one rather too readily inclined to controversy. In the columns of *The Friend of India* he opined that the book might 'greatly injure the cause of truth'. Joshua Marshman, not to be left behind in the fray, described Rāmmohun as 'an intelligent heathen whose mind is not as yet completely opened to the *grand design* of the Saviour's being incarnate'.¹²

Rāmmohun Roy was deeply offended by the use of the term 'heathen', which Marshman had not intended in any opprobrious sense. He at once replied in *An Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of the Precepts of Jesus, by a Friend to Truth*. In the following year he published a *Second Appeal*. In December 1821 Marshman again took up the cudgels with 128 pages in *The Friend of India*. In January 1823 Roy produced *The Final Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of the Precepts of Jesus*, a work of 256 pages.¹³ The erudition displayed by both of the contestants is considerable, though the untidy mind of Marshman did not fit him well to be a controversialist. But the controversy makes dreadfully tedious reading, and neither convinced the other.

The plain fact of the matter is that the men of Serampore were strategically right but tactically wrong. Rāmmohun Roy was mistaken in thinking that the precepts of Jesus can be separated from everything else in the Gospels; he was offering a moral code and not a gospel of redemption. But most readers will sympathise with the regret expressed by Manilal Parekh, that this sincere attempt by a Hindu to understand Jesus did not meet with a warmer welcome from those who claimed to be the representatives of Christianity.¹⁴

Roy expressed the opinion that the conversion of higher-caste Hindus to the Trinitarian faith would be morally impossible, but that they might be led to accept the Unitarian version of Christianity if it was presented to them in an intelligible manner.¹⁵

Roy was wrong on both counts. Within a few years Hindus of the highest caste, educated and with abilities comparable to those of Roy himself, were finding in the doctrine of the Trinity the answer to their deepest

questionings. The Unitarian cause, on the other hand, had faded away to nothing, so much so that in 1828 the Calcutta committee had to record that it can see no 'fit mode in which Mr Adam can employ himself as a Unitarian missionary'.¹⁶

Rāmmohun Roy was a Hindu and never pretended to be anything else. He is the man whose vocation it is to bring Hindus back to a true understanding of the glory of their faith by elimination of everything that is inconsistent with that glory:

the man who lays your scriptures and their comments . . . before you, and solicits you to examine their purport, *without neglecting the proper and moderate use of reason*; and to attend strictly to their direction by the rational performance of your duty to your sole Creator, and to your fellow-creatures, and also to pay respect to those who think and act righteously.¹⁷

From November 1828 Rāmmohun Roy and a number of his friends had been meeting on Saturdays for a form of worship. On 23 January 1829 the Brāhmo Samāj¹⁸ came into formal existence with the opening of its first place of regular worship. The Trust Deed, signed by seven friends, contains a noble statement of the aims of the society:¹⁹

a place of public meeting of all sorts and descriptions of people without distinction as shall behave and conduct themselves in an orderly sober religious and devout manner for the worship and adoration of the Eternal Unsearchable and Immutable Being who is the Author and Preserver of the Universe . . . to the promotion of charity morality piety benevolence virtue and the strengthening the bonds of union Between men of all religious persuasions and creeds.

The theism of the Brāhmo Samāj was rooted in Hinduism. But other influences had been at work, not least the Christian services which Roy had been in the habit of attending in Calcutta. Regular congregational worship is unknown in Hinduism. Worship, as practised by the Brāhmo Samāj, included readings from the Hindu scriptures, a sermon or exposition of what had been read and the singing of hymns, many of which had been written by Rāmmohun Roy himself. All these things constituted a radical departure from Hindu tradition and practice, and are evidence of a radiation of Christian concepts far beyond the limits of the Christian church.²⁰ It cannot be said that the Brāhmo Samāj was Christian, but equally certainly it was not anti-Christian; its aim was to unite all men of goodwill in the search for, and the adoration of, the Supreme Principle of all Being.

The society's membership was never large, but its coming into being was an event of great significance in the religious history of India. It offered to the educated public of Bengal a religion which was national,²¹ rational, free from superstition, exalted in its ethical demands, and well calculated to raise the minds of men to the contemplation of the sublime. It could claim to offer the

best in Christianity without the drawback of alien associations and customs that are objectionable to the Hindu mind. The weakness of the Samāj was the severely intellectual character of its worship; there was little recognition of the emotional needs of the worshippers.²²

4 AFTER RĀMMOHUN ROY

The Samāj might have died out altogether had it not been revived by a second founder who was almost as remarkable a character as Rāmmohun Roy himself. Devendranāth Tagore was the son of the wealthy Dwarkanāth Tagore. His long life (1817–1905) covered the rise and fall of many things in India. More of a Hindu than Rāmmohun Roy, he stood near to him on one side of his being, but on another nearer to those who felt it right to take up a stance of definite and outspoken hostility to the Christian faith.

After many years of association with the Samāj Devendranāth writes that the 'Brahmo Samāj must be protected from three dangers. The first is Idolatry, the second is Christianity, and the third is Vedāntism.'²³

A brief note on these three dangers will make clear the position taken up by Devendranāth after he had entered the fellowship of the Samāj.

Of idolatry not much needs to be said. 'The idolators ascribe humanity to Brahma'; this involves self-contradiction, since Brāhma cannot be subject to the limitations of a visible form.

Christianity is objected to as being involved in a doctrine of *avatāra*, which Devendranāth firmly rejects:

Whatever is good in their [viz. great religious teachers'] teaching and their example we cordially accept, but we do not believe them in any respect to be different from other men, or to belong to a special class. To proclaim their names along with the name of God, or to establish the necessity of paying homage to them, along with that of paying homage to God, we do not by any means consider to be consonant with *Dharma*.²⁴

The comment on Vedānta is the most interesting of the three:

Shankaracharya seeks to prove therein that Brāhma and all created things are one and the same. What we want is to worship God. If the worshipper and the object of worship become one, then how can there be any worship? . . . We were opposed to monism just in the same way as we were opposed to idolatry.²⁵

This intense concern for worship distinguishes the approach of Devendranāth from that of Rāmmohun Roy. To the form of worship introduced into the life of the Samāj in 1845 Devendranāth added a prayer which he had composed himself, and which could hardly have been written by the first founder:

O Supreme Spirit, deliver us from sins committed through delusion, and guard us from evil desires, that we may strive to walk in Thy appointed path of righteousness. Inspire us to meditate constantly and lovingly upon Thy immeasurable glory and supreme goodness, so that in the fulness of time our desires may be crowned by the heavenly bliss of everlasting communion with Thee.²⁶

One further step had to be taken – determination of the foundation on which the Samāj rested. This had become a matter of extreme urgency as a result of controversy with the missionaries in which the Samāj had become engaged.

One Christian periodical affirmed that the doctrines of the Samāj were a kind of neo-Platonism – a new compound arising from the incorporation of many Western ideas with fragments of oriental thought – to be designated neo-Vedantism to distinguish it from the old.²⁷ Another stated that ‘what it finds not in purely native sources . . . it borrows without acknowledgment from Christianity, adopting quite the language of European ethico-religious writers, a language hitherto entirely unknown in Hindu literature’.²⁸ The trouble was that the missionaries had a much more exact knowledge of the *Veda* than the young Bengalis – it is the confession of Devendranāth himself that ‘we could learn nothing of the extensive Vedic literature. The Vedas had become virtually extinct in Bengal.’ As a result the replies of the Samāj were thin, evasive and unconvincing. It had been asserted again and again that the *Veda* alone was the source of the doctrines taught by the Samāj; but could this position any longer be maintained? It became a matter of urgency to determine what exactly the *Veda* did contain and teach.

In the years 1844 and 1845 four students were sent to Varanāsi (Benares), each charged with the task of mastering one of the four *Vedas*. It soon came to light that the *Veda* contains a vast mass of varied and at times inconsistent material. What measure of authority, then, could be accorded by conscientious reformers to these ancient documents? It had been generally agreed that the *Veda* was verbally inspired and infallible. Muslims believe that the Qur’ān is verbally inspired. At that time almost all Christians held the doctrine of the verbal infallibility of the Bible. Should Brāhmos believe less about these most ancient of scriptures, so often declared to be the one true source of revelation for all Hindus?

One of the most courageous of the actions of the Samāj, guided by Devendranāth, was rejection of the belief in the infallibility of the *Veda*:

At a general meeting of the Brāhmas it was agreed that the Vedas, Upaniṣads and other ancient writings were not to be accepted as infallible guides, that Reason and Conscience were to be the supreme authority, and the teachings of the Scriptures were to be accepted only in so far as they harmonised with the light within us.²⁹

It was hoped that the *Upaniṣads*, in which the deepest teachings of the Vedānta were given, would serve as the true and certain foundation. But this hope too was frustrated. The *Upaniṣads* also were found to contain a great deal of miscellaneous material, not all of which could be reconciled with the views which the Samāj wished to maintain and to propagate. 'How strange!' wrote Devendranāth sadly. 'I did not know of this thorny tangle of the Upaniṣads.' He goes on:

When we found that [they] too abounded in contrary and confusing ideas, we lost faith in them too . . . What will then be its foundation? We came to the conclusion, therefore, that 'the pure heart enlightened by self-realised knowledge' is the only basis of it . . . Those portions of the Upaniṣads which are comfortable to such heart are acceptable to us; the rest we cannot accept.³⁰

The Samāj was now revealed as a rational deism with a certain amount of Hindu colouring. To some of the members this was quite acceptable. Devendranāth, however, was not prepared to go as far as this in the abandonment of the Hindu tradition. The true answer should be a written work, into which all the Vedic truth that is compatible with reason should be distilled. The result was the *Brahma Dharma Grantha*, which was published in 1850 and was intended to be a kind of Bible for Brāhmos.

Clearly Devendranāth owed a great deal to Rāmmohun Roy; but, far from being a faint echo of the first founder, he thought out his own thoughts, pursued and found his own way. In no point is the divergence between the two clearer than in their respective attitudes to Jesus Christ and to the Christian faith. On this the evidence given by Devendranāth's son is conclusive:

It is singular that the one field of religious inspiration which was foreign to him was the Hebrew Scriptures. He was never known to quote the Bible, nor do we find any allusion to Christ or His teachings in his sermons. His religion was Indian in origin and expression, it was Indian in ideas and spirit.³¹

This being so, it is not surprising that Devendranāth was deeply shocked when Hindus of good caste decided to become Christians³² and at times found himself in alliance with those Hindus who took up an attitude of determined hostility to the missionaries and their cause. The case of which he himself gives an account is that of Umeshchandra Sirkar, a fourteen-year-old boy who in May 1845 took refuge with his wife in the home of Dr Duff, with the intention of adopting the Christian faith. At once Devendranāth was roused to action. He caused a vigorous article to appear in his paper *Tattwabodhini Patrikā*:

How much longer are we going to remain overpowered by the sleep of inaction? Behold, our religion is being altogether destroyed, our country is on the road to ruin,

and our very Hindu name is about to be wiped out for ever. Therefore . . . keep your boys aloof from all contact with missionaries. Give up sending your sons to their schools, and take immediate steps to enable them to cultivate their minds with due vigour.³³

He went all round Calcutta, calling in person at the homes of leading Hindus, urging them to take action for the creation of a Hindu school as the best means of saving Hindu boys from the snares of the missionaries. A large meeting was held, attended by nearly 1,000 persons, and on that one occasion Rs. 40,000 were promised (but not in every case paid) for the purpose in view. A school was founded. Devendranāth remarks rather placidly that 'thereafter the tide of Christian conversions was stemmed, and the cause of the missionaries received a serious blow'.³⁴

5 CONTROVERSY ON A HIGH LEVEL

In the year 1839 the Christian-Hindu dialogue entered on a new and most interesting phase.

John Muir (1810-82), a devout though not always orthodox Scottish Presbyterian, was in the employ of the British government in Bengal. During the early years of his service in India he acquired the extensive and accurate knowledge of the Sanskrit language which was later to win for him lasting fame through the publication of his five volumes of *Sanskrit Texts* (1858-70). His studies had led him to the conviction that the Christian approach to educated Hindus must be carried on in Sanskrit, and that a reasoned presentation of the Christian faith in that language was much needed.

Like many others among the Scottish missionaries, Muir had been much impressed by the work of William Paley. His approach to religious discussion was eirenical; this is well expressed in the title of one of his later works - 'An Essay in Conciliation in Matters of Religion; the proper adaptation of instruction to the character of the people taught' (1849). But he held it right to follow his master, Paley, in reasonableness of approach, lucidity of style and cogency of argument. If a religion is to be acceptable as true, it must be marked, according to Muir, by three characteristics - its founder should manifest the power to work miracles (this is directly from Paley); since God is holy, its inspired scripture must be marked by holiness; the revelation must commend itself by universal relevance. Muir believes that all these characteristics are to be found in the Christian faith and, if carefully considered, should be found to give convincing evidence of its truth.

Fortified by these convictions, in 1839 Muir set forth, in 189 stanzas of elegant though not fully classical Sanskrit verse, a work with the title *Mataparīksha*, 'The Investigation of Religions'. He himself may have been

surprised at the extent of the interest awakened by this new and scholarly approach to the Hindu world. His little book called forth no fewer than three answers, also in the Sanskrit language.³⁵

The first, and almost certainly pseudonymous answer, is marked by a broad and tolerant spirit; though fully convinced of the truth of Hinduism, the writer holds out the hope that 'there may be salvation even for the adherents of the non-Christian religions'.

The second answer, 'An Answer to a Sketch of the Argument for Christianity and against Hinduism' (1840) is of a very different character: 'only a man', asserts this author, 'who has never deliberated upon his religion, and has not looked upon the defects in Christianity, would ever become a Christian'. This work, immediately and deservedly, called forth a reply from the Brāhman convert Krishna Mohan Banerjea, who, being himself a convert from Hinduism to Christianity, was well qualified to deal with what has been not unfairly described as 'the nadir of Hindu apologetics'.

By far the ablest of three rejoinders was a considerably longer work, written by a gifted young pundit of Benares, Nīlakaṇṭha Goreh – 'A Verdict of the Truth of the Sastras'. This writer gives clear evidence of capacity for lucid thought and for the marshalling of carefully considered arguments. Like the other defenders of Hinduism, he takes his stand on the eternity and perfection of the *Vedas*; but he makes the demand that these must be approached not in the spirit of mere rational evaluation, but with *śrāddha*, that is to say with intuitive faith.

The sequel to this brief period of intensive controversy is strange and paradoxical.

Muir, after his return to Scotland, became involved in a deep study of critical and rationalistic approaches to the Bible and to the Christian revelation, and came to regard the Christian position which he had set out in his earlier Sanskrit work as far too narrow and dogmatic.

Nīlakaṇṭha Goreh moved in precisely the opposite direction. His restless and critical spirit had been directed to an ever more intensive study of the Christian Scriptures; though gradually convinced in general of the truth of the Christian revelation, he demanded the solution of all the doubts and hesitations which stood in the way of his unconditional acceptance of the Christian demands. By degrees his doubts were settled. In 1848 Hindu society in Benares was dismayed to learn that on 1 March of that year the doughty champion and defender of Hinduism had been admitted by baptism to the fellowship of the Christian church. But for the Reverend Nehemiah Goreh, as he became, the Christian faith proved to be no quiet backwater, but, rather, a stormy sea, in which new doubts and perplexities were constantly liable to appear. In the devout Christian minister much of the

questing spirit of the scholastic devotee of the ancient Sāstras seems to have survived.

6 THE ORTHODOX REACTION

This may be an appropriate point at which to turn from the more liberal Hindus to the orthodox, who made no secret of their total and irreconcilable hostility to the missionary cause and to the very idea of the movement of an individual from one religious community to another.

The enlightened Christian holds that personal freedom of choice on the basis of conviction should be within the reach of anyone who sincerely wishes to pass from one form of religious faith to another. Hinduism knows no such tolerance. A man becomes a Hindu by birth; there is no other way by which he can become a Hindu. Any Hindu who becomes a Muslim or Christian is therefore at once expelled from his caste. Even if his relations would like to keep him in their home, they can hardly do so, since they would then share in his defilement. On the lower levels of society it was sometimes possible for converts to remain at home; among the higher castes this could hardly be considered a possibility. The missionaries did not feel that they could desist from their aim of making all men one in Christ; they hoped that the opposition they aroused would grow less with the spread of enlightenment. The Hindu view, however, was very different. To them it appeared that the missionaries were prepared to use any methods, legitimate or illegitimate, to lure Hindus away from their allegiance; why should it be judged wrong if Hindus also used every method, legitimate or illegitimate, to frustrate them in their aims?

The feeling that Hinduism was in danger was naturally called into being by the great series of reforms, of which the abolition of *satī* was the most notable. One of the consequences of this action of government was that the leading Hindus of Calcutta formed themselves into the Dharma Sabhā, to resist the abolition of *satī* and any other actions by which they felt that the rights of Hindus were being violated. This was a perfectly reasonable thing for them to do, and appeal to higher authorities in all cases is fully recognised as legitimate under British law. The actions of the Dharma Sabhā were perfectly correct and legal.³⁶

One of the activities of the Dharma Sabhā was steady opposition to the so called *Lex Loci* of 1850, which safeguarded the rights of a convert to inheritance and property.³⁷ This opposition was maintained for five years without a break. The Sabhā did not hesitate to accuse the government of having abandoned its policy of neutrality and of having shown undue favour to the missionaries:

It is now nearly sixty years since the missionaries first arrived in this country to teach Christianity to the Natives. During this time they have adopted various plans for affecting the above object – but owing to their having received no aid from our rulers, they have not hitherto succeeded as they desired. From the Draft of the proposed Act it would now seem that our Government, influenced by partiality to their own religion, have at last begun openly to assist the missionaries in their work.³⁸

The Hindus carried their protests, as they were entitled to do, as far as the House of Commons, but without success; the act remained in force.

The attempt of the Dharma Sabhā, with others, to start a school in rivalry to the mission institutions has already been mentioned. This also was an enterprise to which no objection could be taken. But the missionaries were justified in their belief that ‘the high character of the education afforded in the Missionary schools, the perseverance, ability and devotedness of the teachers, and the fact that they are free of cost . . . would ensure that no lasting harm would be done to the Christian schools’.³⁹

The conversion of young people of good standing to the Christian faith continued to perplex Hindu society. Hindus had the utmost difficulty in believing that anyone could genuinely be converted from the religion in which he had been born to any other. They could not but suppose that the missionaries had used underhand methods of one kind or another to secure the appearance of conversion. Bribery could hardly come into it, since the missionaries were not in a position to offer anything that could compensate for all that the converts would lose by the acceptance of baptism. There might, however, be subtler methods of conversion. There could be excessive indoctrination of tender minds; there could be the emotional appeal of kindness and generosity. Such perplexity underlay the press and pamphlet warfare which was carried on for thirty years.⁴⁰

It was unfortunate that the chief controversialist on the Christian side was William Morton of the LMS.⁴¹ No doubt the attacks made on the missionaries in the Bengal press were intemperate and in part at least untrue; but the Christian cause is not helped by retaliation in kind. Whatever the provocation, it was unwise to refer to the stupid Chandrika, the babbling inane Purnochandroday and the rabid Prabhakar.⁴² Morton left India in 1845; the tone of Christian controversy improved very much after his departure.

The missionaries had to fight on two fronts against two types of assault. Attacks were made on the character and proceedings of the missionaries, and also on the basic truths of Christianity. In the second category the students of ‘young Bengal’ were noisier and probably more effective than the journalists.

We have it on good authority that ‘[Tom] Paine’s works were at this time devoured by young Bengalees who were in raptures at the possession of this armoury of arguments against Christianity.’⁴³ These writings seem to have

been the chief source of a series of tracts, which appeared weekly at the price of one anna under the title *A Rational Analysis of the Gospel*. In response to this challenge the missionaries set to work to produce a series of *Anti-Infidel Tracts*. Twelve of these appeared between November 1825 and January 1826. As often happens, there seems to have been no real meeting of mind; the missionaries exaggerated the effectiveness of what they had done, and Hindu critics averred that the *Tracts* had not honestly dealt with the arguments put forward in the *Rational Analysis*. At least an attempt had been made to raise the intellectual level of the discussions.

An interesting illustration of the more temperate approach adopted by the missionaries at the mid-century is the preparation of a *Letter to the Learned Pundits of Bengal* (1853), which was widely circulated in Bengali. The *Letter* dealt in the main with two points – the widespread idea that Christianity was a religion only for Europeans, and the equally erroneous idea that it was a religion only for the ignorant. No evidence seems to exist as to any influence of the *Letter* on the minds of the recipients; the affectionate tone in which it was written cannot but have helped to dissipate misunderstandings and to improve relationships.

Orthodox Hindus and revolutionary students had alike done their best, and yet young Bengalis went on being converted. What was to be done about the converts?

There was first a theological question to be answered. If a Hindu had abjured his religion and become apostate, was there any way by which he could be restored to his Hindu status? The general answer of orthodox Hinduism was that no return was possible. Some authorities had prescribed forms of atonement for breaches of caste regulations, but these were so prolonged and so degrading that it was unlikely that anyone would undertake them; and in any case these rules did not envisage the possibility that any Hindu would actually abandon his own faith and embrace another. The number of conversions to Christianity now made it necessary for the most orthodox Hindus to consider the possibility of providing a way back.⁴⁴ This was a subject of intense discussion during the 1840s and 1850s. As was to be expected, the Dharma Sabhā took the lead, suggesting that, when a young man of respectable family had been seduced into accepting Christianity, means should be devised for bringing him back into caste.

One of the most interesting efforts was the formation in Calcutta, in August 1852, of a 'Society for the Deliverance of Hindu Apostates'. It was stated that the society had been formed by 100 wise and excellent gentlemen, and that after consultation with the learned in all the centres of learning in Bengal methods and principles for the restoration of apostates had been agreed upon. It was further stated that six apostates had applied for

readmission to the Hindu family and that of these four had been accepted and two rejected.⁴⁵

The Christians took careful note of all these things, but on their own principles of fairness and openness could enter no objection to them:

Missionaries have no wish to harbour hypocrites, and as they employ no other means to convert the natives to Christianity than those which reason and honourable conduct will approve, so they will present no obstacles to the conversion of Christians to the Hindu faith.⁴⁶

This did not settle the question of what was to happen if the convert could not be persuaded to return to his old ways. Many of those who had been attracted by Christian teaching did not wish to take any action which would separate them permanently from their families; and, provided that the ultimate step of baptism was not taken, many families were now prepared to connive at much on which in earlier days they would have felt it necessary to frown. But some enquirers reached the point at which the tension between loyalty to Christ and the performance of Hindu ceremonies in the home became intolerable. Then the break became inescapable. In such cases the new convert usually fled to the home of the missionaries, judging that conditions in his own home and loyalty to Christ were irreconcilable.

When this had happened, it was naturally the desire of the family to get the absconder back – at any cost and by almost any method. If legal means failed, recourse might be had to the less legal method of abduction.

The missionaries were ordinarily so careful in the methods they used that they had no difficulty in showing that no kind of coercion had been exercised, no improper means used to draw the person concerned away from his original faith. When cases were taken out in court, the decision usually turned on the question of the right of custody. Where minors were concerned, the parents seemed to have a strong case: it would appear right and natural that custody should be assigned to them. But there was an ambiguity – at what age should minors cease to be minors and be reckoned as able to speak for themselves? The missionaries generally were of the opinion that in the case of boys minority ended at the age of fourteen, but the Hindus desired that the period should be extended to eighteen.⁴⁷

That the law was far from clear is evident from the contradictory decisions given by the courts, even where the cases were almost exactly similar.

In the case of a fourteen-year-old boy, Brojonath Ghose (1883), the judge remarked that the boy ‘had been allured from his parents’ home for the purpose of converting him to Christianity, contrary to the usages of the country . . . I therefore say that to order him to be delivered to his father is a sound, proper and good decision.’

In an almost exactly similar case, relating to one Umeshchandra Sarkar, the chief justice of Bengal affirmed that ‘the child is under no illegal restraint,

on the contrary he is consenting to remain where he is . . . Here is a species of moral restraint with which the court cannot interfere. If any obstruction had been offered in preventing the father from seeing his child, we should have granted the application [for a writ of *habeas corpus*].'

If there was confusion in the courts of Calcutta, the same was true in other parts of the country. In Bombay the decisions were generally in favour of the parents. In Madras cases frequently turned on the question of discretion – on the ability of the convert to state his own case in reasonable terms; and this meant that most cases were decided in favour of the converts and their missionary friends.

Two cases in Madras may be cited as specially important in view of the eminence of the judges by whom the decisions were given.

In 1846 a Brāhman boy, whose name is given only as E. R. wished to be baptised. A writ of *habeas corpus* was granted to the boy's father, and the Reverend John Anderson was ordered to produce the boy in court. The father swore that the boy was only twelve; E. R. gave his age as seventeen. The judge, Sir William Burton, himself put questions to the boy in English; having received what he judged to be satisfactory answers to his questions, he gave his opinion at great length, to the effect that the boy was free to choose where he wished to go. When he said that he wished to go to Mr Anderson's school, arrangements were made for him to be safely conveyed thither.⁴⁸

An even more important case arose in 1847 through the desire of a number of girls for baptism. The case was heard before the same judge, Sir William Burton. In view of the importance of the case and the precedent that would be set, the judge announced that he would defer decision until the evidence had been heard also by his colleague Sir Edward Gambier. The second judge gave careful attention to the case, spending forty-five minutes with the girl who was before him, and examining her very carefully with regard to her age, competency and capacity, and as to her choice. He gave it as his considered opinion that 'the motion for her to be restored to her mother ought to be refused'. The choice of the girl was the result of her parents' decision to send her to a school in which, as they well knew, Christian instruction was given. A few further sentences from the judgement should be quoted:

I think it impossible to come to any other conclusion. I hesitate not to say that the opinion of the Bombay judge, while I entertain sincere respect for him, is *not* the state of the law . . . We must look if the party is capable of exercising discretion, and leave her freedom of choice where to go . . . the discretion of the child must therefore now prevail.⁴⁹

Sir William Burton gave judgement in the same sense. The decision must turn on the simple question whether the person concerned was capable of exercising discretion. If in the opinion of the judge that capacity was there, on

the basis of personal freedom as recognised by the law of England the decision could go only one way. In view of the eminence of the two judges concerned, and the care they had taken in reaching their decisions, this case carried great weight throughout the whole of India.⁵⁰

Naturally such judgements gave no satisfaction to the Hindu populace. There were loud outcries and some disturbances. Nor must it be supposed that all would-be converts showed such determination as the young people in Madras whose cases have been reported. A considerable number yielded to the appeals and reproaches of their relatives, and withdrew from their first eager acceptance of the Christian faith. Some, having been baptised, ventured to pay a visit to their relatives, and found themselves drawn back half-unwittingly into the old ways. Of one such it is recorded that, after more than four years of great wretchedness, he came back, as he said, 'to die within the shadow of the mission-house'.⁵¹

7 OTHER METHODS

Not unnaturally the relatives of converts, having failed to obtain what they regarded as justice in the courts, at times decided to take matters into their own hands and forcibly to remove young Christians from the care of those who had given them protection.

The first known case of the kind was recorded in *The Friend of India* for August 1835. A young enquirer named Ramratan Mukherji had taken refuge in the house of a missionary of the CMS, the Reverend J. Häberlin. A crowd of Hindus forcibly entered the house, pushed Häberlin on one side and carried off the young man. Missionaries were usually extremely reluctant to take legal action, even in the face of aggression. In this case no action was taken; the kidnapping was successful, and nothing was ever heard again of Ramratan.

Another case occurred in 1851. A young man named Dwarkanāth Bose had taken up residence in the house of Dr Ewart, a missionary of the Church of Scotland Mission. One day, as Ewart was driving to his school accompanied by his young friend, his horse was stopped in a crowded part of the Chitpore Road, and Dwarkanāth was violently dragged from the carriage. Later he stated that he had been very harshly treated, that chains had been put upon his ankles and that he had been given food containing intoxicating drugs. He did, however, manage to escape from confinement. On this occasion Dr Ewart felt it right to take the matter to court. The magistrate, having heard the young man's evidence, told him that he was free to go wherever he wished, and that, if it proved necessary, he would be given the protection of the police. The relations seem to have made no further attempt to carry the young man off into captivity.⁵²

Such cases were not very numerous. Those who carried out such enterprises knew well that they were rendering themselves liable to criminal prosecution and that the courts would take a stern view of their actions. Almost all seem to have concluded that the game was not worth the candle.

Except in times of strong emotional excitement, the temper of the Indian peoples is in general pacific. In consequence martyrs have been few in the history of Christianity in India, and missionaries, quietly pursuing their avocations, have for the most part been untouched by personal violence. But to this general rule there were a few exceptions.

In December 1840 the Baptist missionary at Dinajpur, Smylie, and his Indian colleague, Budhan, were violently assaulted. Budhan was seriously injured and died the next day. The culprits were easily identified. One was sentenced to life imprisonment, two to fourteen years in gaol, a fourth to seven years.

It seems clear that the cause of the assault was not direct hostility to Christian preaching or to the Christian faith. Smylie and his colleague had been instrumental in exposing various malpractices in the neighbourhood, in some of which government officials had been involved. Those deprived of their illegal gains were indignant against the witnesses who had caused the loss and were prepared to take the risk involved in planning and carrying out reprisals.⁵³

Another case of violence occurred in Calcutta in April 1842 on the occasion of the Charak Puja, a festival in which the hook-swinging ceremony was a principal event. The Reverend J. Campbell and his Indian colleague the Reverend T. Boaz remonstrated with the people, pointing out the folly and cruelty of the performance. It may be true that they had gone too far in their protests and that their behaviour had been provocative. (It was alleged that Mr Boaz had laid his hands on the materials being used for the erection of the Charak post.) A violent tumult ensued. Mr Campbell was found staggering into a dry ditch, his face covered with blood. The assailants ran away, but one was easily recognised as Harināth Roychaudhuri, a man of some education and social position. He was convicted and fined Rs. 200, a sum which the missionaries regarded as wholly disproportionate to the offence. Matters were made worse when it was learnt that Harināth had been appointed to a minor post under government. *The Friend of India*, with its usual frankness, described the appointment as 'improper, indecent, and immoral'.⁵⁴ Harināth wisely declined the appointment on the ground that the salary was inadequate.

The position of the village Christians was very different from that of the educated converts, whose fortunes we have been considering. They were ceaselessly exposed to attack, mainly from two quarters – the village community and the landlord class.

Christians were a threat to the complex and endlessly interrelated order of village life. In that life of varied mutual interdependence nonconformists could not be tolerated. If a whole village, or a large section of a village, decided to accept the Christian faith, such a group might be able to maintain itself in the face of whatever hostility might arise. If a small group, or a single individual, decided to change religious allegiance, hostility, though short of actual violence, might reach levels which it was by no means easy to endure.

The most usual weapon was a kind of village excommunication – denial of the services of the village washerman and barber, refusal of access to the village well (in many cases the only one) and to the village shop. Such measures did not threaten life or survival, but they could be exhausting and inconvenient, and the isolation from village life could be felt as humiliating. Against such reprisals there was no legal remedy, unless it could be shown that actual violence was involved. The foundation of Christian villages, instances of which have been noted in another chapter, gave respite from affliction but had the disadvantage of isolating Christians even more completely from the life around them.

A large part of the land-surface of India was in the possession of proprietors, who treated their tenants much like serfs; anything which tended to give the tenants a spirit of independence was anathema to them. It was the gravamen against the work of the missionaries that it tended to produce just that spirit which was most offensive to the landowner. Even if the Gospel was represented by no more than a village catechist, such a man would gain an ascendancy over the minds of his hearers, 'and eventually was looked upon as little, if at all, inferior to the proprietor of the estate. The zemindar's vanity was thereby wounded to no small degree.'⁵⁵ The most usual reaction of the landowners was refusal to employ Christians on their lands; as these had no other source of income, this was in fact to condemn them to starvation. Not infrequently, however, landowners resorted to illegal measures such as violence and expulsion of the Christians from their homes.

Even in cases of flagrant injustice the missionaries were reluctant to intervene in the interests of Christians. They were well aware that such interference might lead Christians to the refusal of just claims and obligations, and that it could also be regarded as an invitation to false and interested professions of Christian faith.⁵⁶ There were, however, some cases of such flagrant injustice that the missionaries felt it impossible to stand aloof.

One glaring instance was reported from a village, Bohirgachchi, in the neighbourhood of Krishnagar. In an affray between Hindus and Christians one of the Christians was so badly injured that he died. When the matter came to court, the magistrate refused to convict on the ground that, as the victims were Christians and the witnesses were all Christians, their evidence was not

worthy of credence. On this *The Friend of India* rightly and pungently commented that 'to reject an evidence because it was uniform and came from Christians, was to degrade the character of our tribunals, wantonly to depreciate the character of Christianity itself and unjustly to obstruct its progress by teaching the heathen that they may oppress the native converts with impunity'.⁵⁷

An even more scandalous case was the assault on the Christians of Baropakhya, a village twenty miles north of Barisal, in 1855. A number of Christians had been confined, tortured, and harried from place to place in the district. There was no doubt about the facts. Yet when the Reverend J. C. Page brought a case in the magistrate's court there was the utmost difficulty in securing any kind of justice for the Christians.⁵⁸ The local magistrate decided in their favour, but the sessions judge on appeal reversed the judgement of the lower court. The evidence was so plain that the missionaries approached the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, F. J. Halliday, a man not notable for his sympathy with Christians; on his orders a court of three experienced judges was appointed by the Supreme Court to go into this affair. More than a year after the original occurrence the three judges reported that the sessions judge had acted in error and that the judgement of the lower court must stand. But no compensation was given to the Christians for the wrongs that they had suffered and there was no guarantee that they would be better protected in the future.

Missionaries were constantly of service to those in need, especially in times of famine or other extremity. This naturally attracted many to a religion which showed them kindness such as was not always manifest in the religion to which they had previously adhered. It was, perhaps, as well that the desire to become Christians often resulted in hostility and outrage from which, in a great many cases, the missionaries were unable to protect their flocks. Undoubtedly many, perhaps the majority of enquirers, withdrew in the face of threats or persecution. Certainly a number of those who had been baptised lapsed from the faith when the help on which they had counted did not materialise. The surprising thing is that so many stood firm. Ignorant and newly introduced to a religion which they did not fully understand, the converts seem to have drawn strength from the faith which they had adopted, and to have shown a commendable courage and resilience. The steady growth in the number of Christians over many years suggests that faith may have been more than superficial and that there were at least some elements of true conviction.

Most of the evidence so far presented comes from either Bengal or the Madras Presidency, naturally, since the strength of missionary work was found in these two regions. But it must not be supposed that it was only in these two regions that opposition manifested itself.

In 1852 a report was received from western India of a book published in

Marāthī by one Gangadhar Shāstri, a highly intelligent teacher in a government school, under the title *Defence of the Principles of Hinduism*. What is interesting is that the writer inveighs with even greater passion against renegade Hindus than against the missionaries themselves:

Of those who have subsequently received an education, a large part wholly pervert it by abandoning and seeking to destroy their ancestral faith. Against foreign enemies we might contend with some hope of success; but what can be done when traitors within set fire to the citadel? Hinduism is [so sunk into] death that I am fully persuaded that it must perish. Still, while life remains, let us minister to it as we best can. I have written this book, hoping that it may prove a useful medicine. And if it be so fated, then possibly the patient may yet recover.⁵⁹

The learned author was unduly pessimistic; but the terms in which he wrote are good evidence both of the strength of the Christians and of the anxiety that it produced in the minds of thoughtful Hindus.

8 MISSIONARIES AND POLITICS

Missionaries have generally been instructed by those who send them out to refrain from any form of political activity. In Bengal, however, they were led by the extreme misery of the agricultural population to depart from this well-known principle and to engage themselves deeply in attempts to secure reform through official action. In seeking the cause of this misery, the missionaries found themselves led to attribute it to the ruthlessly oppressive methods followed by the *zamindārs*, the new aristocracy created by the permanent settlement of 1789, but also to the European indigo-planters, whose policies reduced the peasants to a position little better than that of slaves.⁶⁰ To these causes were added the incompetence and deep-dyed corruption of the police, and slackness and irregularity in the administration of justice.

The landholders and planters denied the charges of oppression and cruelty; and, while admitting the poverty of the people and the widespread corruption, they ascribed all blame to the British government in Bengal, which, if it would, could remedy the evils by passing the appropriate legislation.

In August 1852 the missionaries took the unusual step of presenting a petition to Parliament, stating the evils listed above and proposing a number of remedies.⁶¹

In September 1855 a meeting of more than ordinary significance was held in Calcutta, the General Conference of Bengal Protestant Missionaries, forerunner of an endless series of missionary conferences, which gained in importance as the years passed. Three papers relevant to this section were read: F. Schurr 'On the Influence of the System of Indigo-Planting and the Spread of Christianity', J. C. Page, on 'The Zemindary System and

Christianity', and A. F. Lacroix 'On the Special Difficulties Encountered by Missions in Bengal'.

The conference did not pass any resolution on these matters, but in the following year the missionaries sent in a memorial to government, pleading earnestly for the appointment of a commission to enquire into the real state of affairs. This was very coolly received by the lieutenant-governor, F. J. Halliday, who declined to accept the statements of the missionaries as corresponding to the facts, having himself 'large and frequent opportunities of learning by personal intercourse with all classes, native and European, in and out of service, and thereby acquiring a knowledge of the real state of affairs'.⁶²

Frustrated by the opposition of the government of Bengal, the missionaries turned to the imperial parliament and presented a 'Petition of the Calcutta Missionaries for a Royal Commission to Enquire into the Condition of the People of Bengal'. On 11 June 1857 the petition, together with a number of resolutions, was presented to the House of Commons by Arthur Fitzgerald (later Baron) Kinnaird.⁶³ After debate, Kinnaird was induced to withdraw his motion by a promise of immediate and effective reform; but within a few weeks England was caught up in the storm of the great uprising, and all thought of reform had to be for the time being abandoned. The missionaries felt, however, that one great object had been attained: 'the attention of the people of Great Britain and of the whole civilised world was directed in a way in which it never was before to the deplorable social condition of the teeming myriads of Bengal'. This had been achieved in the face of intense opposition on the part of wealthy Hindus to the policies of the missionaries, and therefore to the Gospel which they preached.

Not even the warmest friend of the missionaries could maintain that they were always tactful: they could be boorish, and they could be provocative. But it is pleasant to be able to quote the considered opinion of Dr M. M. Ali, who as a Muslim has no reason to be particularly sympathetic to missionaries:

It is quite clear that throughout this period the real friends of the rayats of Bengal were the Christian missionaries. Their's was not a factious opposition to the indigo planters and zemindars as such, but an ardent desire to improve the lot of the peasantry, partly because of its bearing on the spread of Christianity, but mainly because of the extreme sufferings of the people under the zemindari and indigo systems.⁶⁴

The opposition of the landowners and the indigo-planters to the missionaries was intense, and from their point of view fully justified. There were other Hindus and Muslims who while disapproving of the proselytising activities of the missionaries, were able to turn a friendly eye on some of the things that they tried to do and to recognise that the best among them were actuated by a deep concern for the welfare, in body, mind and spirit, of every member of the human race.

17 · Towards an Indian Church

I THE IDEA OF THE CHURCH

The story of Christianity in India must be primarily the story of Indians becoming Christians, developing as Christians, creating for themselves an identity as Indian Christians, adapting the church in an Indian setting, making themselves felt as a recognised and integral part of Indian society. At the start, however, Christians in a non-Christian country will be foreigners. Up to 1786 the story has to be largely the story of the foreigners.

If, however, missionaries had been asked to state the way in which they understood their position and their work, the majority would have declared almost passionately that the purpose of their being there was the emergence of an Indian church, that their role could not be more than transitory, and that it was the Indian church that must take root and thrive and survive. This was what Ingoli had insisted on from the very day on which the Propaganda was constituted in 1622. Similar utterances can be quoted from other parts of the Christian world.

So far there would have been general agreement; but if the missionaries had been asked in what way they understood the meaning of the phrase 'an Indian church', there might have been considerably less agreement. All came, naturally, with the idea that what they represented was the best and purest form of Christian faith and organisation, and that the best possible fate for the Indian Christians was to be as closely adapted as possible to what the missionaries had brought with them. The church of the Thomas Christians had been so long in India that it might have laid claim to being the Indian church; yet Roman Catholics and Anglicans alike had no hesitation about trying to mould that ancient church a little nearer to their heart's desire.

By 1858 all this was beginning to change. The idea of an Indian church was beginning to come to the fore in missionary thinking. Indian Christians were becoming articulate as they had never been before, and were recovering a sense of Indian dignity and independence. But the Indian church was still to a large extent dominated by foreigners, and so was inevitably foreign in many of its ways and in its manner of thinking. Indian integrity tended still to be relegated to an as yet far-distant future.

2 THE MISSIONARIES

a. Who they were

In the early days the vast majority of the Roman Catholic witnesses in India had been Portuguese. By the end of the eighteenth century all this had been changed. With the suppression of the Jesuit order, superiority in numbers passed to the French. But what they had gained was by no means a monopoly. Spanish and Italian Carmelites were present in numbers; other religious orders brought in Germans and Dutchmen; and there was even the occasional Englishman, such as the Capuchin Fr John Milton, who caused the British authorities in Madras so much trouble.¹ America was not yet represented in the spectrum.

Similar diversification had taken place in the ranks of the Protestants. The first great Protestant mission had been called the Royal Danish Mission; the great majority of the missionaries were, however, Germans, though the occasional Dane was found among them. With the awakening of missionary zeal in Britain, all parts of the British Isles came to be represented in India – Baptists and Anglicans from England, Presbyterians from Scotland, Calvinistic Methodists from Wales, Anglicans and Presbyterians from Ireland. By the end of the eighteenth century the Dutch had practically disappeared. The records speak of only one Swede, Peter Fjellstedt, who served briefly with the CMS in Tirunelveli. But Switzerland had entered on the scene and was greatly to strengthen its contribution through the Basel mission. In 1858 the American representation was already considerable, though the days were still in the future when the Americans would be the strongest missionary body in India.

In social status and academic qualifications the missionaries did not on the whole rank high.

The Roman Catholics were almost all seminary priests in the exact sense of that term. Many had been trained in the seminary of the Paris Society (Missions Étrangères). Just at the end of the period the Milan seminary entered the field. Most of the religious orders had their own places of training; but there was a certain similarity – in the course of studies, in the methods of instruction and in the general theological atmosphere. Probably these seminaries were on a rather higher level than that immortalised by Stendhal in *Le Rouge et le noir*, but on all alike the hand of the Counter-Reformation rested heavily. The students were not there to learn how to think; they were there to receive orthodox answers to all questions, and to learn the great virtues of submission and obedience. As preparation for the routine exercise of the office of the priesthood this training perhaps left little

to be desired, but there are few signs of awareness of a wider world of thought and culture. Little was done to awaken interest in the very different cultures and religions which the students would meet in Asia.² The spirit of Nobili and Beschi, of Hanxleden and Roth, had died away. Until we come to the towering figure of Anastasius Hartmann, the spirit of discipline and conformity seems for the most part to have stifled originality.

The Protestant world naturally showed greater diversity than the Roman Catholic, but there too it was the case that not many wise, not many mighty, were called to missionary service.

Many of the Germans came from the great pietist centre at Halle, but later the seminary of Jaenicke at Berlin and that of Basel came to play a considerable role as sources of supply. In all these centres students received a good theological grounding, and some knowledge of the classical languages of the faith was required of all. But Halle, whatever its spiritual excellence, was not highly esteemed in intellectual circles, and it was generally taken for granted that the training in seminaries could not be compared with that which was offered in the universities.³ Yet, for all the limitations in their training, some of the Germans did emerge as notable scholars. Hermann Gundert was not alone in becoming a perfect master of an Indian language (in his case Malayālam); Philip Fabricius had earlier mastered Tamil.

Among the English pioneers were a number of men who by their own exertions had raised themselves from indigence to eminence, and who, though self-educated, surpassed in learning some of those who had passed through the universities. Carey and his colleagues at Serampore came from the ranks of those whom the Victorians somewhat patronisingly called the respectable poor. But not all who came from this class were equally successful; some failed to make the necessary adaptation to the demands of missionary service, and fell by the wayside. Lack of intellectual training was a handicap which not all were able to overcome.

Candidates offering themselves to the CMS came from a great variety of backgrounds. After various experiments in training, the society decided to follow the example of the Germans and to have its own training institution; its college at Islington came into being in 1838. The first principal, the Reverend C. F. Childe, remarked that 'we had to carry the several works of an English School, a Grammar School, and a Theological College, at one and the same time, in one and the same place'. The achievements of the Islington men were as varied as their beginnings. It was natural to suppose that faithfulness rather than eminence would be their distinguishing quality. Yet there were those who did attain eminence. Several rose to be bishops, among them Edward Sargent, who became assistant bishop of Madras in 1877. One of the Germans, J. J. Weitbrecht, has been named as one of the notably able missionaries in Bengal. The Irishman James Long, when he arrived at Islington, was reputed already to know nine languages. He started work in

Bengal in 1840 and served for thirty years with splendid distinction, having acquired an understanding of the Bengali *ryot* (peasant) perhaps unrivalled by any other missionary.

Islington continued for many years to do useful work. But from 1841 onwards the situation was changed by the great spiritual awakening in the English universities. In the twenty years between 1841 and 1861 the CMS received forty-two offers from Cambridge men, twenty-two from Oxford, and twenty-two from Trinity College, Dublin. Many of these were men (not yet women) who had attained high academic distinction. India being regarded as *par excellence* the field where academic proficiency would be appreciated, a large number of these were sent out to India. Two stand out above all others. T. G. Ragland (1815–58) had been fourth wrangler, and had become fellow and mathematical tutor to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. At the time of his death he was senior fellow of the college.⁴ Thomas Valpy French (1825–91) had attained high distinction in classical studies, and had been elected fellow of University College, Oxford. A gifted linguist, he was perhaps the ablest missionary ever sent by the CMS to India. His learning was not always tempered by prudence. After twelve years as bishop of Lahore, enthusiasm led him to a lonely grave in Muscat in Arabia.⁵

Numerically England was ahead of other countries in its contribution to missions in India; but the Scots might claim that they were first in the field in sending to India missionaries of outstanding intellectual calibre. Whereas England was content with two universities, Oxford and Cambridge, little Scotland had for centuries had four; and, small as numbers naturally were, these were served by professors of the highest distinction. When Robert Caldwell could not obtain admission to Oxford,⁶ he found a home in Glasgow, and got there as good an education as could have been provided by the Oxford of his choice. The first missionary of the LMS in India, Nathaniel Forsyth, was also a graduate of a Scottish university. But it is with Duff, Wilson, Hislop and Anderson that Scotland enters with real power into the Indian story. It came to be taken for granted that some among the best students in Scotland would offer themselves for missionary service. Such men were able to hold up their heads in any society; the old reproach that only the unsuccessful would take up a missionary career could no longer be sustained.

Most American missionaries were graduates, but, in the rather rudimentary state of American education in this period, this did not necessarily mean very much; their giants mostly belonged to a later generation.

b. How they lived

For two centuries the crown of Portugal made an allowance to missionaries in India. For more than a century the crown of Denmark followed suit.

English chaplains were paid from the funds of the East India Company. But for Protestant missionaries outside Tranquebar no such provision was made; how were they to be supported?

The Baptists started out with the idea that within a short time missionaries should be self-supporting. In England many Nonconformist ministers supported themselves by engaging in a trade – Carey himself had been schoolmaster and cobbler. The exceptional circumstances in which the men of Serampore worked made it possible for them to be independent of the missionary society in England. Carey's salary from Fort William College, the profits from the Marshmans' school, and the income from the printing-press, enabled them not merely to live, but to pay large sums of money into the various activities of the mission. Before long, however, it came to be realised that this could not be taken as a precedent. The labourer is worthy of his hire; missionary work is not a spare-time occupation. Clearly it is right that the missionary should be provided with enough to live on and to maintain a family.

Supporters of missions were constantly exercised as to the amount that should be provided. It was not desirable that the servant of Christ should live in luxury; but if the provision was inadequate health could not be preserved and strength would be inadequate to the work that had to be done.

One or two examples may be given of the amounts that were thought to be sufficient for those at work in the field.

Bishop Middleton expressed approval of the action of the SPCK in raising the salaries of the veteran missionaries Pohle and Kohlhoff from £180 to £200 a year. Alexander Duff was appointed to Calcutta on a salary of £300 with free accommodation, John Anderson to Madras on £350 a year, all allowances included. At that time the pound sterling was worth about ten rupees; so Duff's salary would be worth about Rs. 250 a month in Calcutta.

It is extremely difficult to calculate the value of money in real purchasing power in a distant land at a remote epoch of time. The most practical method of calculation is to compare the salaries of missionaries with those earned by their fellow-countrymen who were following other professions.

T. B. Macaulay, as law member of the council in Calcutta, received a salary of £10,000 a year; but, before leaving for India, he was told that he would probably be able to double this amount by fees and other emoluments. Chaplains on the establishment drew a salary of £1,200 a year. Missionaries could not expect the same standard of living as those who came out to India under other auspices. If their income was compared with that of the Indians with whom they would have most to do, they would of course appear to be wealthy. The ordinary Indian labourer would be lucky if he could earn as much as Rs. 7 a month. Anderson in Madras noted that he paid Rs. 30 a month to Indian monitors in his school, but that head teachers (mostly

Anglo-Indians), who expected to live on a rather higher standard than their junior colleagues, required Rs. 100 a month. When three converts were licensed as preachers, he felt that they should not be offered less than Rs. 70 a month, to be increased when they were ordained. The Reverend Gopinath Nandi, in the service of the CMS, was allowed a salary of Rs. 170 a month. Though this did not put him on an equality with missionaries, it did elevate him to the precarious position of being considerably the richest man in his Indian congregation.

Missionaries had to learn to live a simple life; but the hardships involved in their way of living must not be exaggerated. We have the invaluable evidence of the layman A. C. Pears, writing from Megnanapuram on Good Friday 1860, on a visit to the Reverend John Thomas:⁷

I am surprised . . . and very much pleased at the comfortable style in which the missionaries live, large and well-built houses, *well* furnished, a large garden, a swimming bath, ponies and horses, a good poultry yard, a *liberal* table. Thomas seems to live as comfortably as any field officer in any of our Cantonments, perhaps more so, and they sit down to dinner nine every day . . . I should not have thought it possible on their very moderate incomes. Perhaps the district is cheap, and no doubt there is good management.⁸

Not all missionaries managed as well as the Thomases, but this picture may serve as typical of many. Long experience had shown that what might appear as extravagance was in point of fact economy. Hill-stations were beginning to be developed, but until travel by rail became possible these stations were too distant, and travel too expensive, for missionaries to consider a visit to them except in cases of serious illness. Those who lived near to the coast would go there from time to time to enjoy the benefit of sea-breezes and of bathing in the ocean. For those suffering from the climate of Bengal, a sea-voyage would sometimes be recommended. But for the most part missionaries stayed where they were; routine could perhaps be broken by a visit to a neighbouring missionary, or, for those in village stations, by a shopping visit to the nearest metropolis. This being so, large rooms and high roofs were essential if health was to be preserved.

If it was desired that husband and wife should work together in the service of the missions,⁹ servants were a necessary part of the missionary household. Pears mentions ponies and horses. Almost all missionaries kept these, as being by far the cheapest means of getting about the countryside, and also as providing the physical exercise so necessary in the tropics. Bishop Wilson in Calcutta rode some miles every morning, and found this a convenient way of doing business with the governor-general who followed the same regime. The frugality of Lord Cornwallis was shown in the fact that he employed only fifty-three servants at government house. In South India, where the

division of labour was not carried to such excess as in the north, and where Christian servants, often of exemplary honesty and faithfulness, were available, numbers could be kept more easily under control. Nevertheless a family such as the Thomases would expect to employ a cook and a butler, two gardeners (all water having to be drawn from a well by hand), a *sais* and a grass-cutter to look after the horses, an *āyah* to look after the younger children, and a sweeper.

Roman Catholic missionaries, with their rule of celibacy, were exempt from some of the problems faced by their married brethren of other confessions; but the Roman Catholic presbytery of those days was often a cheerless place, with only male servants, and those often unskilled in the art of looking after Europeans.

Missionaries' children began their education in the home, the wife often proving a skilful though untrained teacher. A few children, such as James Thomason, were sent to England;¹⁰ the others grew up in India. Missionaries in Bengal took advantage of the excellent schools run by the Marshmans at Serampore. The CMS planned a school for missionaries' children to be located in the Nilgiri hills. This was followed by the famous school founded by Dr G. U. Pope after his withdrawal from the service of the SPG. As a result, many of these children made their home in India. Some entered missionary service; we have taken note of the three generations of Kohlhooffs from 1737 to 1881.¹¹ The majority entered other professions – government service, the law or commerce. One of the sons of David Brown, a government servant in Calcutta, became the famous Telugu scholar and adviser of the missionaries, C. P. Brown. One of the Marshman daughters became the wife of the 'Baptist General', Sir Henry Havelock.

Health was a perpetual problem. Tropical medicine was as yet in its beginnings. Most missionary wives brought with them considerable knowledge and skill in home medicine, most valuable when doctors were few and far between. But such elementary precautions as the boiling of drinking water were unknown. All Europeans at that time believed that a moderate consumption of alcohol was necessary to the preservation of health in the tropics, and missionaries were no exception to the rule. The men of Serampore, finding that rum was the cheapest of all alcoholic liquors, adopted this as part of their diet. It is recorded that, when at sundown the servant brought Dr Carey the appointed glass of rum and water, he would swallow it at a single gulp with every appearance of distaste, and would then resume his interrupted work.

Missionary societies had not yet discovered the value of regular leave in the West; missionaries continued to work until they dropped.¹² With their abstemious manner of living they kept on the whole better health than other Europeans in India – the law of 'two monsoons' as the expected period of life did not apply to them. But casualties were many. The chief killers were

malaria,¹³ dysentery and typhoid; attacks of cholera were not unknown. No one has ever been able to compute the number of children who died in their early years from a multiplicity of children's diseases.

For the period 1793–1833 we have full and accurate information as to the number of Protestant missionaries in India, as to their period of service in the field, and, if that service was terminated by death in India, as to the dates at which they died.¹⁴ For the Roman Catholic missions, unfortunately, detailed information is not conveniently available.

During the period under review, the Protestant missions in India had in their employ 301 missionaries. Most of these had been sent from the West, but a few were country-born or belonged to the Anglo-Indian community. One or two were Armenians. Most of these missionaries were married; in a number of cases the wives made notable contributions to the missionary enterprise.¹⁵

In the years between 1793 and 1813, 61 missionaries were at work in India. Of these, 18 gave upwards of twenty years service to the mission; another 15 gave ten years or more. 28, or rather less than half, gave less than ten years of missionary service.

Between 1813 and 1823, 117 missionaries had been added to the list. Of these, 45 gave ten years or more of service, thus giving a total of 78 out of 178 who had given at least ten years to the mission.

In the ten years following 1823, 123 recruits came from the West or were added locally. In 1833, 89 of these were still in service. Of the remainder 14 had died in India, 20 for one reason or another had withdrawn their services.

In forty years, 56 missionaries had died at their posts. Of these 22 had died within three years of reaching India. It appears that, of those who survived the rigours of the Indian climate for five years, the majority were able to give long service. The record seems to be held by J. P. Rottler, who resided in Tranquebar and Madras for just sixty years (d. 1836) without once returning to Germany. Not all returned to the land of their birth; some of those who retired from the work continued to make India their home, feeling that in truth it was much more their home than the land which they had left many years before.¹⁶

For the period between 1835 and 1859 we have exact records for the SPG. During those years the society employed 58 European and Anglo-Indian missionaries. Of these one worked for more than fifty years, 2 for more than forty years, 7 for over thirty years, 6 for over twenty years. 34, or considerably more than half gave less than ten years to the mission. 5 of those listed became chaplains on the establishment.

The number of those who died in India is not given. It was in all probability between fifteen and twenty, of whom a third may have been Anglo-Indians.

Various causes are given for the withdrawal of missionaries from India.

Some found simply that they had no vocation for the work; they were unprepared for the isolation and hardships of the missionary task and departed almost before they had arrived. In one or two cases inability to learn an Indian language is given as the reason; in such cases transfer to English work was the solution generally adopted. Some proved to be of little use, through lack of conviction or of devotion to the missionary cause; it was felt to be better that such should return to their own country. Only in rare cases was the cause of dismissal conduct regarded as unbecoming in a missionary.¹⁷ Roman Catholic missionaries also seem to have maintained a high standard of probity; this was less true of the secular clergy than of the religious orders.

In the vast majority of cases the cause of departure was simply ill-health of the missionary or of his wife. In almost every case those who had left desired to return. In some cases this was possible, though some, like Joseph Fenn, returned only to die. But against many was passed the solemn judgement of the prophet Jeremiah, 'to the land whereunto they desire to return, thither shall they not return' (22: 27).

c. Varieties of Christian thinking

On the Roman Catholic side, there were considerable varieties in missionary practice as between the various religious orders, and as between the orders and the secular clergy. In the world of theology there could be little difference. All alike were committed to the rigidities of Tridentine doctrine. Since 1744 there had been no possibility of variation even in liturgical practice; the period of adventure, of adaptation, was for the time being at an end. The Indian priests, such as there were, would wear exactly what their European colleagues wore; they would say mass in Latin (except for those who said it in Syriac), without the smallest variation from what had been established as the Roman pattern. Few, Indian or foreign, had made any deep study of the religions by which they were surrounded. They enjoyed all the advantages of uniformity, but paid the penalty in a lack of originality. There was to be a church in India, but little attention was paid to what it might mean to be an Indian church.

Much greater diversity might have been expected on the Protestant side, but here too in many areas uniformity prevailed. Most of the missionaries were children of one or the other of the pietist revivals; their outlook was determined by the rather rigid biblical orthodoxy characteristic of all these pietistic movements.

All accepted without question the total inspiration of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. In 1836 David Strauss had published his *Life of Jesus*, and thereby unleashed a period of strenuous controversy in the

Christian world. It does not appear, however, that missionary life in India was perturbed by such 'neologies'; fifty years were to pass before liberal ideas created problems in missionary circles.

All alike accepted the reality of original sin and its outcome in the perverted will of every single human being. To all, idolatry was one of the worst of sins, inasmuch as it involved denial of the holiness of God and ran counter to his true nature as spiritual and invisible. For sin there could be no human remedy; God had provided the remedy in the perfect fulfilment of the law by his Son Jesus Christ, in order that the gates of righteousness might be opened to all who would believe.

Conversion, as they understood it, meant man's total repudiation of all merit of his own and a joyful acceptance of the merits of Christ as the only ground for his salvation. It was taken for granted that faith would be followed by open confession and that such confession would be followed by baptism. Baptists required that baptism should be by immersion; others regarded the exact form taken by the institution as having no particular importance.

Since they were agreed on so many things, confessional differences seemed to the majority among them to be, though important, less so than those many things on which they were agreed. Confessionalism was not in the forefront of missionary problems.

To this accord there were certain exceptions.

Relations between Roman Catholics and others could be personally cordial, but such cordiality could only gloss over much actual hostility. Roman Catholics, from Beschi on, regarded Protestants as intruders, unwelcome, bent on the destruction of souls.¹⁸ Evangelicals regarded the Roman version of the Christian faith as a perversion of the Gospel and had few scruples about taking discontented Roman Catholics into their ranks. The troubles over La Martinière in Calcutta may be taken as an example of the difficulties that arose when the two groups found themselves forced into a propinquity which did not necessarily result in amity.¹⁹

Some among the Anglican chaplains were rigid high churchmen and took a low view of Nonconformists and their ways. Some could be offensive to Anglican evangelicals, as Robert Noble found to his distress in Machilipatnam.²⁰

The new type of Anglican high church doctrine introduced by Keble, Newman and Pusey, the great men of the Oxford or Tractarian Movement, was slow in making its way to India. Robert Caldwell and Edward Sargent, though one served the SPG and the other the CMS, found no difficulty in working in brotherly harmony for half a century. We have noted, however, the arrival at Bishop's College, Calcutta, of Professor Street, who had come deeply under the influence of Newman and had adopted the full range of Tractarian doctrine. It was inevitable that he should influence the minds of

some among his students. The most notable of these was the Anglo-Indian Charles Egbert Kennet, known because of his patristic learning as the Pusey of India, who taught for a number of years at the theological institution of the SPG in Madras and was awarded the Lambeth degree of Doctor of Divinity.²¹ But harsh tensions within the Anglican tradition in India came to be a major factor only with the arrival of Bishop Milman in 1868.

A more confessionally rigid form of Lutheranism, previously unknown in India, entered the field with Heinrich Cordes, and later Karl Graul, of the Leipzig Mission. Lutherans of this type found it more difficult than their predecessors to co-operate with Anglicans, whose doctrine of the Lord's Supper they regarded as feeble and inadequate. Their insistence on the purity of Lutheran doctrine could not but lead to division where harmony had previously prevailed.

Protestantism in India, therefore, never presented a completely united front. In 1858 it was less united than it had been fifty, or thirty, years earlier. Yet there was much mutual appreciation, and co-operation in a great variety of ways, especially in the field of Bible translation.²²

In another area of theology there was a surprising measure of unanimity, especially among missionaries from the English-speaking world. Evangelicalism, with its emphasis on conversion, has often been supposed to be an emotional form of the Christian faith, but this was very far from being true of early nineteenth-century evangelical missionaries. They believed that God had given to man the gift of reason, and that this, though injured by the Fall, had not been destroyed. Christianity is a religion for the whole man; Christian preaching must make its appeal to his reason no less than to other parts of his being. The right use of reason can lead man to natural theology; from there a reasoned study of the Holy Scriptures will lead him on to a full understanding of the Gospel.

The works of Bishop Joseph Butler, and especially his *Analogy of Religion* (published 1736) played an immense part in the formation of the English (and not only of the Anglican) theological mind for at least a century. The missionaries, almost without exception, were steeped in this cool and intellectual approach to the mysteries of the faith, used Butler's method in the instruction of their converts, and encouraged the translation of his works into Indian languages. The Malayālam translation of the *Analogy* was the work of George Māthan, a Syrian who was ordained to the Anglican ministry, and who died in 1870. The Tamil translation, which seems to have been the work of Henry Bower, appeared in monthly parts in 1858 and 1859 in the *Narpothagam*, the magazine put out by the Tīrunelveli missionaries for the further education of their village workers.

The English and Scottish missionaries were 'Butler Christians'. It would perhaps be even more precise to say that they were 'Paley Christians'.

William Paley (1743–1805) was the author of four celebrated books, two of which enter into consideration here – *View of the Evidences of Christianity* (1794)²³ and *Natural Theology, or Evidences of the Existence and Attributes of the Deity, collected from the Appearances of Nature* (1802). These formed the basis for the endless lectures on natural theology and Christian evidences given by missionaries to their students in the first half of the nineteenth century. Paley relies greatly on the argument from miracle and the argument from prophecy. That these were widely used by the missionaries is evident from two interesting references. K. M. Banerjea, in writing of the period in which, like Rāmmohun Roy, he was attracted by Socinianism (Unitarianism), remarks: ‘Socinianism which seemed little better than Deism, I thought could not be so far above human comprehension that God should think of working such extraordinary miracles for its establishment . . . Socinianism . . . seemed yet so insignificant, as a professed revelation, that I could not conceive how, with propriety, an all-wise God should work miracles for its sake.’²⁴ Anderson, in Madras, in writing of the progress of one of his first converts, speaks of him as being well launched on the prophecies as evidences of the truth of Christianity.

Paley’s arguments no longer convince us.²⁵ But even arguments which are not perfectly valid, when put forward by those who are absolutely convinced of their validity, have a deeply convincing effect on those to whom they are fresh, and who have neither the desire nor the resources with which to criticise them. These early converts became as deeply convinced as their teachers and found their doubts about the Christian faith gently laid to rest.

3 AN INDIAN CHURCH

Many authorities, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, had laid stress on the creation of an Indian ministry, as the precondition if much success was to be looked for in the conversion of non-Christians to Christ. But good intentions had not on the whole been followed up by notable success. The Portuguese had ordained too many Indian priests, and had then been unable to employ those who had been ordained; in reaction, the Jesuits never advanced any Indian Christian beyond the level of catechist, at which the requirement of celibacy did not obtain. Most of the other religious orders and the missions supported by the Propaganda seem to have adopted similar policies. The Lutherans in South India had in the course of 100 years ordained fourteen men as ‘country priests’. But the tradition of such ordinations seems almost to have died out. In 1840 the number of Indian priests and ministers was still extremely small.

Just at this time two men, one a Roman Catholic, the other an Anglican, fought the battle for the ordination of Indians to exercise a village ministry

among simple people – the one successfully, the other without success.

Melchior de Marion Brésillac was born in 1813 in the ranks of the minor aristocracy in the south of France. Educated by a strict father in the ways of the Tridentine church, he felt the call to the priesthood and in particular to the missionary service of the church. Having overcome some resistance both in his home and in the diocese which he served, Brésillac spent a year in the seminary of the Missions Étrangères in Paris and was able to set out for India on 12 April 1842. Before leaving, in the course of a retreat he set down the missionary principles by which he desired to be guided. The fourth of these is remarkable as coming from the pen of a man who had not yet set foot in India:

Above all I implore the blessing of God on my desire to use every possible means to direct all my own work and thought towards training a native clergy . . . which has hardly been thought about yet at all. It is a pure dream, more brilliant than solid, to think of converting any people without a native clergy.²⁶

Brésillac was a man who saw visions and dreamed dreams, an incurable romantic who knew what he wanted and was determined to get it, yet all too often stood in his own light and was himself the cause of his failure to obtain that on which he had set his heart. When he went to India he had had very little experience of the world. He had never attended a university; six years in seminary had done little to broaden his outlook, or to give him understanding beyond the limits of priestly efficiency. He was lacking in sensitiveness to the feelings of others and in that measure of diplomatic tact which is necessary, in ecclesiastical as in other affairs, if a desired goal is to be reached.

At first everything seemed to point to a career of brilliant success. After less than two years in India, Brésillac was appointed superior of the seminary in Pondichéri, a post less glorious than it sounds, since the students were little more than boys and it was certain that the great majority of them would never be ordained. He had hardly settled down to his work in the seminary when at the age of thirty-two he was called to be a bishop, pro-vicar of Coimbatore (4 May 1845), an appointment which was confirmed five years later when he was made vicar apostolic of Coimbatore. Rome felt that it had found a leader; it may have seemed that he was being groomed for even higher responsibilities.

In reality Brésillac's twelve years in India were a time of almost total frustration. The root of the trouble was the ideal of missionary life which in his day had come to be almost universally accepted. The missionary was to be like the *curé* in France, a man enjoying a considerable position in society.²⁷ The *curé* should have enough to live on in modest comfort; the poverty demanded of members of religious orders was not required of him. If Indians were to be ordained as village priests, they would have to be trained

to live lives of considerable simplicity. In France there were many godly priests who were very poor and lived much nearer than the *curé* to the people they served; this was where the ideal for the Indian village priest must be sought.

That this is what Brésillac was aiming at is made plain by a conversation with one of the missionaries which he himself has recorded. The conversation opened well, when the missionary remarked, 'We must have priests of the country who speak their own language well.' To this Brésillac replied, 'Yes, but we must make sure not to expect them all to be missionaries. Some, no doubt, will be missionaries, but in the ordinary way it is enough that they be good priests charged with the care of a little parish.'²⁸ This was clearly an idea which had never entered the head of the good missionary. His only experience of priests in India was of men each in charge of a large area, with under him a number of catechists who were all trained to treat him with great deference, none of them making any claim to any kind of equality. He had forgotten the existence of another kind of priest in France.

Another problem related to the age at which ordination could be given. The current view was that Indians should not be ordained under the age of thirty-eight or so, a convenient way of avoiding the possibility of scandals. Brésillac wanted to confer the tonsure and minor orders on boys of the age of twelve or fourteen (so as to get them before the usual age of marriage), and to take the risk of possible scandals.

Life would have been easier for Brésillac if he had been able to start a seminary in his own vicariate and to run it on his own lines. But the number of Christians in the area of Coimbatore was very small; and in any case the mission was kept so short of personnel that he would have had no one to put in charge of such a seminary.

It is not surprising that Brésillac came to wonder whether he was doing any good in India. From 1849 on, he was thinking and speaking of resigning. By 1854 his mind was made up. In the following year Rome accepted his resignation. He was still only forty-two years of age. The Roman Catholic church in India had to wait another fifty years before a great increase in its cadre of Indian priests was effected.²⁹

The story of the tough Anglican Welshman John Thomas is significantly different from that of the over-sensitive French aristocrat.

In 1838 Thomas was sent to Megnanapuram in the Tirunelveli district, where, by digging many wells, he caused the desert to blossom as the rose. Spiritually also the desert blossomed around him. A strong movement of the local people into the church was in progress. After four years of work he found himself with 500 communicants, each one of whom he felt should be visited once a month. In the whole area there was only one Indian priest,

John Devasahāyam, and he was now over fifty years of age. Not more than one or two other candidates of the same calibre could be expected to come forward.³⁰ So, if the ministry was to be a ministry of the word and *sacraments*, a revolution must take place. There were hardly any priests, but there was a multitude of excellent and well-trained catechists; why should they not be ordained?³¹

This was the revolutionary proposal put forward by John Thomas. Let candidates be chosen from among the catechists of not less than fifteen years' service, men of unblemished reputation, diligent and loyal to the church. Let them be given a thorough training in their own language, in all the departments of theology that would be of use to them in their ministry in the village, and then let them be ordained. Intelligence was not to be judged by the number of years that a man had been in school. Many of these catechists were men of considerable ability, well versed in local custom, and with good insights into all the problems of village life. Moreover, they had been subjected to the steady and exacting course of training which dated back to the days of Rhenius and had been maintained by his successors in the CMS.

Naturally there was much opposition. Was it suitable to ordain men who knew little or no English, let alone Greek and Hebrew? Would not ordination lead to unseemly arrogance in those selected? Would the people respect ministers whom they had previously known in a humbler state of life? Was it desirable to have two classes of Indian ministers – some who like John Devasahāyam would rank as on an equality with the missionaries, others whose qualifications and salaries would be inferior and who could never hope to rise above the level of assistants? These arguments were more than specious.

Thomas was persuasive, patient and determined. In the end he got what he wanted. The first six candidates of the new order were chosen in 1846, and Edward Sargent was called in to undertake the training. The men were to study for three years. The course would include intensive study of the Bible in Tamil, an outline of church history, Christian doctrine based on the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, preaching (of which they already had considerable experience), and pastoral care and village problems. For want of any other accommodation, the class met in the tower room of the beautiful church in Pālayankōṭṭai, which was later to be the cathedral of the diocese.

The experiment once tried proved itself to be a great success. The first ordination of five deacons was held in 1851, a second in 1856, a third in 1859.³² John Thomas, having observed the first of these ordinations, remarked, 'I earnestly wish that the number of our Native Clergy were multiplied ten fold.' He lived to see the almost sensational fulfilment of his hope, when in 1869, in the largest ordination ever held in India, no fewer

than thirty-two Indians were admitted to holy orders – twenty-two as deacons and ten as priests.

At the second of these ordinations, Paul Daniel, brought to Christ by Rhenius twenty-five years earlier, was ordained deacon. This man, who knew no English, proved to be one of the most remarkable preachers that the church in India has ever had. Of him John Devasahāyam remarked, 'He has what you call, eloquence, Sir. He expresses his ideas in rich suitable words.' John Thomas echoed this: 'I never listened with such unfeigned pleasure to any other preacher . . . His imagination was fertile, his resources in illustrations inexhaustible; his language clear, copious, appropriate, and euphonious in the highest degree.' He added, 'I have no hesitation in saying that if such sermons as are generally preached by him were delivered in any pulpit in London, the church would be crowded to overflowing.'³³

The weakness in the system was that the salary of the Indian clergyman was paid by the mission. He was given a considerable amount of freedom in his own sphere, but in almost every case he worked under a superintending missionary who stood to him in the relation of employer to employee. This led to a measure of servility, not unmixed with resentment, on the part of the Indian clergy. It was not easy to combine due respect for authority with that legitimate desire for independence without which the Indian church could not grow to maturity.

Indian Christians were poor. Henry Venn's ideal of the self-supporting church had hardly begun to penetrate the minds of the missionaries, and plans for regular, systematic giving by the faithful had not yet been made. South Indian Christians were capable, on occasion, of considerable generosity. In 1845 Christians in Tirunelveli, having heard of the creation of the Anglican bishopric in Jerusalem, sent no less than Rs. 170, quite a large sum in those days, to help in the building of Christ Church in that city. Signs of willingness to undertake financial responsibility were beginning to appear. As early as 1834 a Friend in Need Society was formed at Dohnāvur for the support of poor widows, and this was later extended to other districts. In 1848 this enterprise was reorganised as the Tinnevely Catechists' Widows' Fund, a society which is still in existence. But the idea of total self-support was still far in the future.

The question of the relationship of highly educated Indian Christians, especially ministers, to missionaries was bound to raise its head and to find expression in demands for equality. Spiritual equality the missionaries had from the first been willing to grant; the concession of full equality in other respects they found more difficult.

When in 1844 one of John Wilson's first Parsi converts, Dhanjibhai

Naoroji, completed his studies in Scotland, Wilson was anxious that his ordination should take place in that country. But Naoroji had made it plain that, unless he was to be ordained on terms of full equality with the missionaries, with 'full evangelistic power and liberty', he would not enter the service of the Free Church of Scotland. In this he had the full support of Dr Wilson – 'we are for natives being ordained, after due probation, *as missionaries or evangelists like ourselves*'.³⁴ Wilson wrote at greater length to Dr James Buchanan, the head of the foreign missions committee of the church:

Native ministers with a full evangelistic commission such as we ourselves receive as missionaries, and with full powers to enter into those doors of usefulness which may be opened up to them on their own knocking, are under Christ my great hope for the evangelization of India . . . I would give to them a very extensive latitude, that they and we may have the benefit of a very extensive experience.³⁵

The principle as set forth by Wilson was accepted by the authorities in Scotland, and thus a precedent was set which was to be of the greatest significance for the development of the church.

When the missionaries trained young men of this calibre and brought them forward for ordination, they may not have realised all the consequences of what they were doing; but it was certain that they were raising up a generation of men who in course of time would have no hesitation in criticising the missionaries and in opposing them when they judged them to be in the wrong.

Lāl Behāri Day, the most articulate of all the converts in Bengal, fell out with Dr Duff on this very question of the equality of Indian ministers and missionaries. In point of fact the dispute arose out of a misunderstanding. Day, at his ordination, rightly expected to be placed on a footing of full spiritual equality with his Western friends, and to this no one took any exception. But there was one body, the Mission Council, which was concerned principally with the management of funds contributed from Scotland to the work of the mission, and which was responsible for seeing to it that work was carried on in accordance with the wishes of the donors. It was felt that this was not of direct concern to the Indian Christians, and therefore they were not admitted to membership of this Council. Dr Thomas Smith, one of the Presbyterian missionaries in Calcutta at the time, has stated the matter very clearly:

There was no question of Presbyterian parity really involved. In all Church courts the claim of the native missionaries to absolute parity with their European brethren was not only frankly allowed, but was rejoiced in. But there was a body outside of these courts altogether, and whose members were not necessarily even Presbyterians . . . The European missionaries . . . did not consider themselves entitled to allow the claim of the Native brethren to the same official membership.³⁶

In 1857, at the United Monthly Missionary Prayer Meeting, Day delivered an address entitled *Seachings of Heart*, which was later printed. He dealt plainly and faithfully with the want of cordiality between missionaries and converts, asking the missionaries to examine themselves carefully to see whether the blame for this sad state of affairs did not in part rest with them: 'Do I look upon my converts as my sons in the faith – as brethren in Christ, not as subordinates and servants? Do I exercise Christian charity towards the converts, not thinking evil of them?'³⁷

Day further showed his independence of mind in a lecture which he delivered on 'The Desirableness and Practicability of Organising a National Church in Bengal':

I should constitute the United Native Church of Bengal on the broadest possible basis, so as to include in its communion a great variety of opinion. And I know not a broader creed than what is called the *Apostles' Creed*, or *The Creed* by way of eminence . . . by founding the United Church of Bengal on so broad and catholic a basis, we should be in communion with every church in Christendom, the Greek and Latin Churches not excepted.³⁸

Some of the ideas put forward could not come to fruition until the twentieth century. What is significant is that these ideas grew positively out of a genuine desire to be faithful to Jesus Christ, rather than negatively out of a desire to be free from foreign and missionary dominance.

4 THE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE CHRISTIAN GOSPEL

The Christian approach to India has been conditioned, and to some extent determined, by the presence and dominance everywhere in Hindu India of the caste system. The Christian doctrine of the equality of all men in the sight of God, though constantly violated in practice and only dimly reflected in the social organisation of nominally Christian countries, stands in the sharpest possible contrast to the systematic inequality on which the caste system is based and to the mantle of religious authority that has been cast over that inequality. Where Christianity has penetrated, it has presented itself as a disruptive threat to the organisation of Indian society.

Hindu rulers gave considerable privileges to the Christian merchant community in Kerala; by so doing they did in fact confer on it, though perhaps not intentionally, the character of a caste. The community of the Thomas Christians became almost hermetically sealed off from the Hindu world around it. Marriage was always within the community. Conversion from the non-Christian to the Christian world was so rare as hardly to enter into consideration. The status of the Christians was roughly the same as that of the Nāyars, the great landholding Hindu caste. Throughout the centuries the Thomas Christians made little if any attempt to Christianise their non-

Christian neighbours, fearing perhaps that to do so might involve them in sharing with others their considerable social privileges, or perhaps merely because they had absorbed into their mentality the Hindu concept of an unalterable *status quo*.

The Portuguese insisted that candidates for baptism must first break caste, usually by eating European food. The result was the formation of a new community, classed by the Hindus as 'outcaste' and therefore driven to associate itself as closely as possible with European society. There was a genuine measure of tolerance; mixed marriages were not uncommon, and those of mixed race found ready acceptance. But, as multitudes of the less educated were brought into the church, society came to be marked by much the same kind of social discrimination as was found in the Western world.

The Protestant educational missionaries demanded of their converts the total repudiation of caste. As a result they found that they had dependent on them a number of young people who had no other home and so gradually formed a community isolated from the Hindu world and not fully at home in, or fully accepted by, European society in India. Such groups tended to become introverted, more concerned with their own integrity and survival than with visions of outreach into the non-Christian world.

The majority of missions, whatever their professed theology or background, have in practice found it necessary to recognise in some degree the existence of caste and to adapt themselves to its penetrating reality.

The extreme form of adaptation is based on the assumption that caste distinctions are social in character and have no religious significance; they can therefore be tolerated within the Christian church, though some of the asperities connected with them should be modified by Christian charity.

The Roman Catholic church has probably gone further than any other in this process of adaptation. Until well on in the twentieth century, churches were divided by a wall, so that Christians of the higher castes might be safeguarded against pollution by those lower in the social scale.³⁹ Even when an Indian ordained ministry was growing up outside the Portuguese dominions, no member of the separated communities could hope to be ordained as priest. At the time of the Synod of Pondichéri (1844), the mere suggestion that Paraiyas might be ordained to the priesthood was almost enough to create a schism.⁴⁰

In some areas, such as Tirunelveli, where the great majority of Christians belonged to the same community, difficulties could be less. Yet every single Christian was aware of the community to which he belonged and of the status which would be accorded him in society. In the first half of the nineteenth century, caste titles were in use only for those of the higher castes.⁴¹ It was taken for granted that such titles would be retained by Christians of the higher castes; in all the old records the names of such Christians are printed

together with the caste title, thus marking their superiority to those of other and lesser communities. At the time no one, missionary or Indian, seems to have entered any objection to this custom.

The English-speaking missions had on the whole taken a harsher view of caste than those from the continent of Europe. Various attempts had been made to limit its influence, with varying success. The first attempt to eliminate caste completely from the church is associated with the name of Bishop Daniel Wilson of Calcutta.

The matter had, indeed, been brought to the attention of Bishop Heber, who consulted Christian David, the South Indian whom he had ordained and whose opinion he thought would be reliable. David wrote a lengthy statement, in which he upheld the view that caste, among both Hindus and Christians, was in the main a social rather than a religious concern, and that it could not be wholly eliminated from the church; no matter how far a Paraiyan might improve in educational and financial standing, he would never be acceptable to those of Sūdra origin, to the point at which they would be willing to eat with him.⁴²

This was a position which Wilson was wholly unwilling to accept. Very soon after his arrival in India, he wrote to 'the Rev. Brethren, the Missionaries, in the Diocese of Calcutta, and the flocks gathered by their labours and entrusted to their care', in which he laid it down that 'the distinction of castes . . . must be abandoned, decidedly, immediately, finally'.⁴³ In a letter of the following year (17 January 1834), to the Reverend D. Schreyvogel at Tiruchirāpalli, he laid down under eight heads the points which he regarded as essential. Of these the most important are as follows:

1. That all converts should sit together in church.
2. That they should come without distinction to the Lord's Table.
3. That the country-priest and catechist should receive into his house anyone that came to him on a religious errand, or on business, of whatever caste.
4. That the congregations should admit into their houses the catechists, who are duly appointed to instruct them and read with them.
8. In the churchyard, no separate place should be allotted for the interment of those of the higher castes, as they were called.

The bishop foresaw that his instructions would not readily be followed by all; he was correct in his expectations. When his letter was read in the church at Vepery (Madras), all the members of the higher castes rose and left the church. The majority, however, gradually returned to their loyalty to the Christian fellowship.

In Thanjāvur the commotion was considerable. Of the four Indian priests, one conformed to the bishop's ruling, one was absent, two refused submission. Of the five superintending catechists, three conformed, two

refused. Of the general body of Christians of the higher castes, all refused, with the exception of ten who remained faithful.

The recusants who were in the employ of the mission were immediately dismissed from their posts. When this was reported to the bishop, he expressed strong approval of what had been done: 'The removal of those who refused to yield to the will of our Lord and Saviour . . . I in the strongest manner confirm . . . none of the offices of the Church, none of the funds of the mission, none of the aids intended for the comfort of the faithful, are to be any longer conferred upon them.'⁴⁴

All these steps were carried out in preparation for the bishop's first visitation.

He reached Thaṇjāvur on 10 January 1835, and spent much time with the Christians, trying to draw the dissentients back to the church. He then moved on to Tiruchirāpaḷli, and personally took steps to make sure that his orders were obeyed. 147 believers received Holy Communion – first a Sūdra catechist, then two Paraiya catechists, then a European gentleman, then a Sūdra, then some East Indians. At the special request of a European lady of high rank, a Paraiyan knelt between her and her husband to receive Communion. Without the bishop's presence and insistence such participation could hardly have been secured.

On 28 January Wilson was back in Thaṇjāvur. A congregation of about 600 filled the church, of whom 348 received Holy Communion: 'The Resident and ladies of his family first approached – then some Sūdras and Pariahs intermingled – then some Europeans – then natives and Europeans mingled – then natives and East Indians mingled – then one or two missionaries and natives.'⁴⁵ Of those who received Communion, 62 were Europeans; of the 286 Indian Christians, 43 were of the higher castes. This was not much, but it was a beginning.

Bishop Wilson knew very well that he was only at the commencement of a long struggle. Even after a century and a half it is not possible to say that all caste distinctions have been eliminated from the church. But where it still persists Christians have a bad conscience about it, especially where Hindus have gone beyond Christians in taking action against caste feeling and caste prejudice.⁴⁶

All the Protestant missionary societies, with one single exception, approved of the actions of Bishop Wilson. In 1848 the Madras Missionary Conference resolved that no one should be admitted to baptism until he had shown that he was prepared to break caste by eating food prepared by a Paraiyan. In February 1850 the conference reaffirmed its position in a *Minute of the Madras Missionary Conference*, in which almost all the missionary bodies in South India concurred.⁴⁷

The one exception to the rule was the Leipzig Evangelical Lutheran

Mission. The missionaries, and their supporters among the Indian Christians of this mission, found their hands much strengthened by the presence in India of the director of the mission, Karl Graul. This able man had carefully studied the Indian social scene, and wrote upon it. He was much less favourable to the caste system than has often been supposed. He believed that it must eventually disappear but that time must be allowed for this, and that the process would not be helped forward by precipitate attempts to eliminate immediately what could only be removed by the lapse of time. And even Graul was prepared to recognise that toleration of caste distinctions within the sanctuary would be completely incompatible with the spirit of Christian brotherhood. He wrote:

The supreme principle must be that everything incompatible with life in Christ must be abandoned, while all that does not oppose the recreating energy of the Gospel may remain. Above all, distinctions of caste must never, especially at the Holy Sacrament, be allowed to exist within the church . . . Further, ordination may only be granted . . . to such as specifically promise never to allow themselves to be hindered in discharging the duties of their office through any caste differences, and also that they will especially cultivate fellowship at the Lord's Table with all Christian brethren in any cases where the avoidance of such fellowship would seem to cast a slur upon their brotherly love.⁴⁸

Missionaries of all the other Protestant groups felt deeply grieved and at times outraged by Lutheran policies, especially in the matter of proselytism from among the adherents of other Christian groups. In 1858 nearly 200 of these missionaries, assembled in conference at Ootacamund, voiced their protest in grave and dignified terms. They ended their protest with the words:

We wish not to dictate to others on matters of ecclesiastical polity, so far as the internal arrangements of their own communion are concerned; but when the proceedings of one body of missionaries directly interfere with the internal management of another community of native converts, we feel bound earnestly to protest against such conduct, as a departure from one of the first principles of our common Christianity.⁴⁹

5 CONCLUSION

Henry Venn became general secretary of the Church Missionary Society in 1841 and held that position till 1872. He, together with his American counterpart, Rufus Anderson, did more than any other to change the thinking of the Western world on Christian missionary work and its problems. His aim, often expressed in minutes and other writings, was the creation in Asia and Africa of self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating churches. Venn's own experiments in Sierra Leone and in

Nigeria were less than successful; this does not affect the rightness of his theological and missiological views. Yet his arguments fell to a large extent on deaf ears; missionaries and missionary societies alike were slow to be convinced.⁵⁰

This slowness to change cannot be accounted for by any single cause, but without doubt one of the principal causes was the growth of the colonial mentality in both state and church.

Until 1830 communication between India and the West had been slow and erratic; almost a year must pass before an answer to a communication could be received. As a result the authorities in India could act with a great deal of freedom; they could make war and peace at their own discretion, and experienced only limited control through the power of public opinion in England.⁵¹ The steamship, and still more the electric telegraph, changed all this. When the governor-general could receive instructions from London within twenty-four hours, he could no longer be regarded as an independent potentate, and was in the strictest sense of the term a servant of the state. The good side of this was an increasing sense of responsibility in England for the welfare of India's peoples; the bad side was the increasing subjection of India to the fluctuations and vagaries of party politics at the home base.⁵²

What was taking place in the state was closely paralleled by developments in the affairs of the churches. Everywhere the tendency was towards centralisation, and the loss of even such independence as the churches in India had enjoyed in the past.

The pioneer generation of the Baptists, with their profound conviction, and sworn policy, of the autonomy of the local church, probably came nearer than any other body to the ideal of a truly independent Indian church. But in their later years the Baptist missionary society in London claimed a measure of authority over them which the missionaries could not admit as being in accordance with Baptist principles, or as likely to forward the cause of Christ in India. Hence the bitter contentions of the period of 'the Woe'.

The tendency of the Roman Catholic church has always been in the direction of centralisation. The aim of Propaganda, from its first foundation in 1622, was precisely to bring the missions under the direct control of the pope; vicars apostolic were the pope's own men abroad, responsible to him for their actions and responsive to his directions. Except for the limited autonomy granted to the Romo-Syrians, everything had to be done exactly as it was done in Rome, and there was no thought at all of anything like an independent Indian church. All the bishops were Westerners; the Indian episcopate had ceased to exist.

In almost all the Protestant missions a similar process was taking place. The one notable exception was the mission of the Plymouth Brethren, brought into existence by the gifted and irrepressible Anthony Norris Groves. Wherever this man went, he created division – frequently, it must be

said, with intent. Yet perhaps Groves was nearer to the ideal of independent Indian churches than the established bodies which he so much disliked. Stimulated by him the Palla convert of Rhenius, Arulappan, brought into being at Christianpettai a Christian settlement which more than a century after his time was still in existence, and which has maintained its independence of any other Christian body.

Anglicans in India had obtained a limited freedom in the matter of ordination of Indians to the ministry, and in flexibility relating to such matters of custom as the use of the *tāli* instead of the ring in marriage. But the establishment of the Anglican episcopate in India led to increasing insistence on the observance of every detail of church life as carried on in England. Even so devoted a friend of the CMS as Bishop Daniel Wilson fell out with the Society and its corresponding committee in Calcutta, because of claims to a measure of independence which he could not countenance. Through the wise intervention of three friends in England the difficulties were resolved. On 13 June 1836 the bishop was able to write: 'I return now the full tide of affectionate intercourse . . . with the CMS which I only felt compelled for a time to suspend because my superintendence was refused.'⁵³

The continental missionary societies had mostly grown out of the various pietistic movements. In consequence, relationships with the churches were ill-defined and in a number of cases almost non-existent. It was perhaps in consequence of this lack of clear church connection that the German missions developed those two formidable characters – the mission director and the mission inspector. The director had his office at the centre of affairs in Germany and exercised a highly autocratic measure of control over the missionaries and all their doings. The inspector travelled, it being his business to see to it that the policy decisions made in the West were strictly carried out in the field. The typical mission director was Karl Graul, known to us already in more than one connection. Not content with directing affairs from Germany, he spent four years in India, to acquaint himself with every detail of the work. Great ability, tireless industry and shrewdness of judgement combined to give him more than episcopal authority, at a time at which this above all was needed to give coherence to the Lutheran work in India.⁵⁴

It might have been thought that, with the strong democratic traditions of the United States, American missions would have been organised on a basis of greater freedom than those from Britain and the continent of Europe. In certain cases this may have been true, but it does not seem to have been the general rule. The deputation of the American Board which came to India in 1855, with Rufus Anderson as its chief member, carried things with a high hand, both in South India and in the Bombay Presidency; little weight seems to have been given to the view of the missionaries on the spot.⁵⁵

The Western imprint was being ever more strictly imposed upon the

missions. Venn and Anderson, with their wider perspectives and their insistence on the indigenous church, were still the exceptions. Mission boards and committees in the West, with little understanding of the actual situations in the field, made decisions based on theories rather than on clear appreciation of the facts and expected these to be put into operation, at times to the detriment of the wiser plans made by the missionaries in the light of direct experience. The voice of Indian Christians was hardly heard at all in these deliberations – not unnaturally when educated Indian Christians were still so few; but their voice was, above all others, that which most needed to be heard.

There is reason to think that relations between missionaries and Indian Christians were less easy and intimate at the end of this period than they had been at its beginning. Missionaries were now more numerous, though still very few in relation to the work that had to be done. This meant that in the larger centres it was possible for missionaries to spend a good deal of time with one another, and to be less readily accessible to Indian friends. Europeans of many types and avocations were increasing in numbers. Quite naturally, cultured and well-educated young men, some among them being also devoted Christians, found the society of missionaries agreeable, especially in the remoter stations, where other congenial society was not always to be found. To this no objection could be made, provided that it did not draw the missionaries away from the object for which primarily they had been brought to India. At times it was possible for Indians, both Christian and non-Christian, to feel that they were no longer the primary concern of the missionary.

Many critics doubted the ability of Indian Christians to stand on their own feet. If this view was well founded, the missionaries were certainly in part to blame. They were generous in their concern for their people; this led them at times to do for them things that they ought to have been encouraged, and able, to do for themselves, and thus to grow towards maturity.

Fine churches had been built in a number of places; but in almost every case the funds were provided from European, and not from Indian, sources.⁵⁶ In the south, the pious and wealthy Count Dohna built the solid church in the village in which his name is commemorated, Dohnāvur. At the time of the movement in the Krishnagar area of Bengal, a number of large churches was built with funds raised by the missionaries. But these proved to be white elephants; the congregations did not grow as had been expected, and the maintenance of the churches was a burden which was too heavy for the local Christians to bear.

Most of the church buildings followed a Western, and not an Indian, pattern of architecture. In cases where the entire population of a village had become Christian, the existing Hindu temple was adapted to the purposes of

Christian worship.⁵⁷ This had great advantages in terms of economy, and also as providing a building in Indian style. But if the congregation grew and a larger church had to be built, almost inevitably the congregations desired to have a building modelled on the Western churches which they had seen.

For this there were several reasons. There had been churches in many places in India before there had been Indian Christians. The Indians had for years had before their eyes such fine buildings as St John's Church in Calcutta and the Fort Church in Madras. It was natural for them to conclude that that was what a church ought to look like, and they became wedded to a tradition of nineteenth-century Gothic, the least suited of all architectural forms to a tropical climate.⁵⁸

New Christians do not always wish to be reminded of the old religion to which they have once adhered. It seemed to them suitable that a temple should look like a temple, and a mosque should look like a mosque. Why then should not a Christian church look like a church? They regarded this style of building as not so much foreign as characteristically Christian. A Hindu temple is not built for congregational worship, though crowds will assemble at the time of festivals. A mosque is built for the worship of men, but not of women. The Christian idea of regular worship, in which men, women and children will take part together, was something entirely new. It was not altogether unreasonable to think that the purpose for which a building was being erected should to some extent determine its form. For this the missionaries must not be held too much to blame. Even in the twentieth century the pioneers in the attempt to use Indian architectural forms for Christian worship were in almost every case friendly missionaries rather than Indian Christians.

The one field in which from a very early date the Indian genius began to assert itself was poetry, and the music which in India goes along with it. Before the end of the eighteenth century a considerable number of Western hymns had been translated into Indian languages, notably by the great Philip Fabricius, and were sung to Western tunes. But before the end of that century Vedanāyaga Sāstriār had begun to compose hymns to Indian rhythms intended to be sung to Indian melodies. Throughout a long life (he lived to be about ninety years old) he continued to produce a steady stream of hymns, songs and lyrics, many of which continue to be sung in the Tamil churches to the present day.

Tamil-speaking Christians had taken the lead in the production of Christian literature in the languages of India. But, in the first half of the nineteenth century, Āndra Pradesh, speaking the cognate and singularly mellifluous Dravidic language, Telugu, was not far behind.

Purushottama Choudari was born in Orissa in 1803 to Brāhman parents. An intense search after knowledge of God and union with him along the lines

of Hindu *bhakti* had failed to give this ardent devotee the inward peace which he desired. A chance encounter with a statement of Christian doctrine in a pamphlet in Telugu directed his attention to the Christian way. Thoughtful study, and such intense conflict between the old and the new as has been the experience of a great many converts, led to an uncompromising Christian decision; this led, in October 1833, to baptism at the hands of Baptist missionaries in Cuttack.⁵⁹ Purushottama had gained much experience, as a Hindu, in the writing of devotional poetry, setting forth the desires and hopes of the adherent of the Hindu *bhakti* way; from this time on his talents were devoted to extensive exposition of the Christian *bhakti*, centred on intense adoration of Jesus Christ as Lord.⁶⁰

It seems that Purushottama, as a Christian, combined a biblical and strictly orthodox faith with the conviction that Christian truth could, and should, be expressed for Indian Christians in specifically Indian ways – not disregarding the possibility that Hindu expressions could be converted and serve in the expressions of Christian truth. Many of the expressions that are familiar to the student of Hindu *bhakti* recur constantly in his poems. One note that is recurrent in all forms of Hindu *bhakti* is devotion of the worshipper to the feet of the beloved deity. This emphasis, rather strange though not unknown to Western Christians, is constantly present in the lyrics of Purushottama:

The feet of Jesus Christ . . . are a great blessing to and admirable for worship by those who tread the right path. His feet are the source for the eternal happiness of devotees and purge away the sins of the whole world, therefore, he says, he wants to worship the lotus feet of Christ with pure and blameless devotion . . . He wants to worship Christ by placing his head under his feet.⁶¹

No general study has yet been made of the work of Indian Christian poets in the many Indian languages in which the Gospel was being preached during the nineteenth century. Such a study would be valuable, and might be invaluable as revealing strands in Indian Christianity which are often overlooked. There is a tendency to exaggerate the dependence of Indian Christian thought on the West and its traditions and its consequent lack of originality. This may be true of the theologians; a study of the poets suggests that these devotees, while grateful to the Western friends who had brought them the Gospel, were from the start determined that Indian Christianity should be unmistakably and uncompromisingly Indian.⁶²

18 · The Great Uprising

I THE CLOUDS GATHER

Few among the rulers of India succumbed to the illusion that British rule was popular. It was, indeed, greatly liked by many of the peasants and of the poorer people, to whom peace and equity were more important than prestige or theoretical ideas of independence, but it was distrusted by many in the middle class of traders and landlords, and detested by what was probably a majority among the highly educated and professional elite. Sporadic uprisings in various places had given warning of the extent of discontent that lay below the surface; the more prudent reckoned with the probability that one day there would be a general explosion. But when the general explosion did occur it came in a strange combination of the unexpected with the inevitable.

During the crucial years of the 1850s the reins were in the capable hands of the Earl (from 1849 Marquess) of Dalhousie.¹ This highly gifted man arrived in India at the age of thirty-five and devoted himself with almost fanatical intensity to the improvement of the country of which he regarded himself the chief servant. Many of the measures which he carried through, such as the plan for the development of the railways and the introduction of the electric cable, were of great and permanent service to the country. But Dalhousie, for all his talents and his inexhaustible energy, lacked the essential gift of imagination; he had little feeling for the way in which his actions might be regarded by others, and for the effects they might have on the lives of those whom it was his intention to benefit. Three of the actions which he regarded as being of the greatest value in point of fact increased the resentment which was already simmering in the minds of many.

The 'Emancipation Act' of 1850, which restored rights of inheritance to those whose rights had been forfeited as a result of passing from one religious community to another, did not in point of fact go much beyond the provisions of the act passed by Bentinck in 1832.² But the agitation which it caused was on a far more considerable scale.

Naturally Christians in India were delighted. It was clear that the act was supported by 'all Christian inhabitants in Calcutta'; these stated in their

memorial to the governor-general that 'we hail the promulgation of his measure with joy . . . It offers no premium and inflicts no penalty. It enables the convert who seeks admission to the Christian church to obey the dictates of his conscience free from the dread of forfeiture, while it leaves his relatives precisely in possession of the same property which they had before.'³

The Hindu community viewed the matter in a very different light. Dalhousie supposed that he was doing no more than putting into effect a principle of natural law, in accordance with the policy of toleration to which the government of the East India Company had unceasingly given assent. He was unaware, or had forgotten, that in Hindu society, as in Rome, the family is a religious as well as a sociological entity. The Hindu father needs a son to light the flames on his funeral pyre, and to prepare the *śrāddha* ceremonies which are needed to ensure his passage to a happy life in the other world.⁴ For this reason Hindu society accepts as valid the rite by which a father who has no son of his own may obtain one by adoption, a rite whose validity Dalhousie would not admit, at least among the ruling families.⁵

An act called the Hindu Widow Remarriage Act, drafted by Dalhousie but carried into effect by Canning in 1856, aroused less emotion. The attention of missionaries and others in Calcutta had early been drawn to the special institution of the Kulin Brāhmans in Bengal – polygamy.⁶ An official report of 1867 signed by two European and four Indian experts, refers to known cases of men who had married respectively eighty-two, seventy-two, sixty-five, sixty and forty-two wives, and had had eighteen, thirty-two, forty-one, twenty-five and thirty-two sons, and twenty-six, twenty-seven, twenty-five, fifteen and sixteen daughters.⁷ Some of the young girl wives had hardly so much as seen their putative husbands; but under the law of Hinduism if the husband died such girls were widows and condemned to the miserable existence of the underprivileged Indian widow. No authority has ever contended that Kulinism forms part of any agelong and recognised Hindu system. Educated Hindu opinion was strongly against it, and the convert K. M. Banerjea was not alone in holding that government ought to take action against it.

The general question whether polygamy was in any circumstances legal in British India was left undecided. The act of 1856 dealt with one question: was the marriage of Hindu widows legal or not? The act was permissive only; it merely stated that the marriage of Hindu widows by any recognised or legal ceremony was to be accepted as regular and that the children of such marriages should be accorded all the privileges of family and inheritance. It is probable that few Hindu widows took advantage of this permission; but it proved its value in later years when Christians took up on a major scale the rehabilitation of child widows and their settlement in life.

On one minor question – government aid in the provision of Christian education for the children of English and Indian Christians in the army – Dalhousie took a firm line. When objection was taken to the grant-in-aid to a school constructed for such children, on the ground that it would give alarm to the natives, he replied (Minute of 27 July 1848):

I altogether dissent from the view that the appointment by the English government of a schoolmaster for the education of English or Christian children in any given regiment would be regarded by Hindu or Mussulman with either alarm or disapprobation . . . The Government provides instruction for native children by their own teachers in regiments. Upon what ground can the governing authority refuse to provide aid, at least, to the instruction of children of their own blood and their own creed?⁸

Of all the measures taken by Lord Dalhousie, the most controversial and the most controverted was the annexation of the kingdom of Oudh (Avadh). In 1765 the Wazir (the title of king was later conferred upon the ruler of Oudh) Shujā-ud-daulah had surrendered to Lord Clive. From the time of the first treaty signed by the two powers in that year, and for ninety years, the Company maintained the principle of supporting the ruler of Oudh, interfering as little as possible in the internal affairs of the kingdom, and relying on the ruler for the protection in peace of the western marches of the British possessions. But one revision of the treaty after another failed to produce any improvement; misgovernment seemed to have become endemic, and the impoverishment of one of the richest provinces in India was such as to cause scandal in the eyes of many observers in India, and of public opinion in England.⁹

In 1847 a young man of twenty-seven, Wajīd ‘Alī Shāh, became king of Oudh. His devotion to medieval literature hardly compensated for his addiction to sensual pleasures and his total neglect of the business to which a ruler ought to give his attention. In 1849 W. H. Sleeman, who had won deserved success in the conflict with *thagi*, was appointed resident at Lucknow, with a commission to consider whether the affairs of Oudh could be put in order under the existing system or whether some drastic change in the methods of government must be introduced. Sleeman had a knowledge, rare among British officials of the time, of the Indian peasants, with whom he could talk on the most intimate terms in their own patois. His impressions are recorded in the two volumes of his *Journey through the Kingdom of Oude in 1849–1850*, completed between 1 December 1849 and 27 February 1850.¹⁰ Sleeman had an ingrained sympathy for the Indian which was rare among British administrators of the time, and was concerned to analyse and to understand rather than immediately to judge. That which was clearly evil he

was prepared unhesitatingly to condemn; but he was also willing to recognise and to state that some among the evils were due to British interference in the affairs of Oudh.¹¹

James Outram, to whom was committed the task of drawing up the report on the basis of which subsequent action was taken, in the four months available to him for the completion of his report had checked the accuracy of his data by all possible means, and had corresponded with the magistrates of neighbouring districts to elicit from them their opinions as to the real state of affairs in Oudh.¹² His report confirmed the view of Sleeman that conditions in Oudh were very bad and that improvement was hardly to be expected from the reigning king.

Yet, with all this recognition of the deplorable state of affairs, neither Sleeman, nor Outram, nor Sir Henry Havelock, later resident at Lucknow, nor Dalhousie himself was in favour of the annexation of the kingdom of Oudh. The disorders in Oudh were undoubtedly very grave, but they were probably no worse than British government had put up with elsewhere and in the past; it should have been possible to devise a scheme by which order could be restored without grave infringement of the rights of the ruler, and of the 'native aristocracy'.¹³

Pressure for annexation of the territory came not from India, but from England. For once utilitarians and evangelicals were agreed. The utilitarians held that English institutions, the best in the world, had too long been withheld from those who needed them most. The evangelicals, with their almost exaggerated sense of responsibility, maintained that it would be criminal negligence on the part of the British government to allow the continued existence of evils which it was within its power to bring to an end. The order for annexation went out. The king was to be presented with a new treaty by which his sovereignty, though nominally upheld, was in point of fact to be abrogated. If he refused to sign he would be removed from Oudh, and his territories would become part of British India.

The king resolutely refused to sign the treaty.¹⁴ He was, however, generously treated by the authorities. He was able to settle in one of the pleasant places in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, Garden Reach, with ample revenues, with members of his family and with numerous attendants – but with nothing to do but to carry on futile negotiations in England for the restoration of his rights.¹⁵

The annexation of Oudh must without doubt be reckoned among the causes of the great uprising. Almost all the ruling princes in India felt it as a warning that similar steps might be taken against themselves. Many of the best soldiers in the Company's army were drawn from the area; they were indignant at what they regarded as the abrogation of their privileges and the curtailment of their rights. Landowners were aggrieved, and peasants were

disappointed in their expectations. In this part of India, but nowhere else, what began as a rising of sepoys took on something of the semblance of a people's war.¹⁶

2 A CHRISTIAN CONSPIRACY?

One of the causes of the uprising was undoubtedly the belief in the minds of many Indians that the government was engaged in a conspiracy to change the faith of Hindus and Muslims, and to turn them into Christians.

Two problems arise. Had Indians any solid grounds for entertaining such suspicions as to the intentions of the government? If they had no such grounds, how did the suspicion arise in their minds?

One Indian writer of unimpeachable authority may be quoted as rejecting out of hand the view that there was any such intention on the part of the authorities:

The fear was undoubtedly unfounded, and the British Government had no intention of encouraging, far less seeking, conversions to Christianity. But the Indians of the first half of the nineteenth century did not know what is fully known today, and it is difficult, therefore, to regard the fear and anxiety which the people felt as totally unjustified.¹⁷

During the thirty years prior to 1857 there had been a great increase in the number of deeply committed Christians among officers of the army and other ranks, as well as in the membership of the civil service and of the judiciary. The great majority of these officials kept a strict line of division between their personal convictions and their official actions. But the line of division was not always as clear to observers as it was to the Christians concerned, and some cannot be acquitted of imprudence in the support given to Christian missions.

The case which attracted most attention was that of Lieutenant-Colonel Wheler of the 34th Regiment. Lady Canning commented rather ruefully on the fact in a journal-letter: 'Colonel Wheler of the 34th is terribly given to preach; so even if he does not actually preach to his men (which some say he does, telling them they must inevitably become Christians) he must keep alive the idea that they have not full liberty of conscience.'¹⁸

An official enquiry was directed to Wheler. In his answer, dated 15 April 1857, he claimed that he was entitled to make distinction between his duty to Caesar and his duty to God. His duty to Caesar he carried out by punctilious fulfilment of his military duties; the free time left to him after these duties had been carried out belonged to God. He had never raised the question of religion in areas which belonged to the military. Outside he regarded himself as at liberty to approach all classes of men, including sepoys, with the Gospel.

On this Canning commented, 'It proves to me that he is not fit to be trusted with a regiment'.¹⁹

Wheler's eccentricities do not seem to have had any seriously harmful effects. The sepoy's seem to have regarded them with amusement rather than with resentment. There can be little doubt, however, that by his refusal to listen to advice, Wheler did grave harm to the cause of Christ, in that he lent colour to the view, already somewhat widely held, that deep evangelical conviction was inseparable from fanaticism.²⁰

When the causes of the mutiny were rehearsed, it was natural that the missionaries should come in for a great deal of obloquy. It is probable that some were imprudent in their methods; but the affirmation not infrequently made that the greater part of their preaching consisted of abusive references to the manners and beliefs of the non-Christians does not stand up to investigation. The instructions issued by the missionaries of Serampore to one who was setting out for Orissa in 1809 were probably similar to those issued to many other missionaries of other societies, and would gladly have been accepted by them:

Keep as close as possible to the pure Gospel of Jesus. Proclaim the holiness and justice of God . . . the Glad Tidings of salvation; the ability and willingness of Jesus to save the greatest of sinners; the glorious provision of the Gospel for the justification, sanctification, and glorification of sinners, coming with all their guilt and misery to Jesus.²¹

Writing many years later, a distinguished member of the Indian civil service, Sir Richard Temple, described an interview he had had in 1848 with two experienced missionaries of the CMS at Benares:

The conversation of those self-denying and experienced men was most instructive to a young officer. They impressed me with their charitable considerateness towards the faults of the native character, and their appreciative discernment of its virtues. They showed me what were the ways of native thought, and how those ways could best be approached by moral and religious influences.²²

In 1857 Lord Ellenborough, perhaps the least responsible of all the governors-general sent from England to India,²³ rose in the House of Lords to attack Canning on the ground that he had subscribed to 'every Society which had for its object the conversion of the natives of India'. Canning had no difficulty in showing that he had done no more than had been done by previous governors-general, and that he entirely agreed with the principle that 'the Head of the Government in India ought to abstain from acts that may have the appearance of an exercise of power, authority, solicitation or persuasion towards inducing Natives to change their religion'.²⁴

The clash in Parliament had an interesting and unexpected consequence. When reports of Ellenborough's speech reached Calcutta, a meeting of the British India Association, a fellowship of educated Indian gentlemen, was

called. At this meeting, which was not attended by a single Christian, a resolution was passed affirming that nothing that Lord Canning had done 'could be properly reckoned as an interference with their religion, or could give rise to rebellion'.²⁵ During the debate, one of the members, Bābu Dakinaranjan Mukerji, expressed himself in the following terms:

However we may differ with the Christian missionaries in religion, I speak the minds of our society and generally of those of the people, When I say that as regards their learning, purity of morals, and disinterestedness of intention to promote our weal, no doubt is entertained throughout the land; nay, *they are held by us in highest esteem*. European history does not bear on its record the mention of a class of men who suffered so many sacrifices in the cause of humanity and education as the Christian missionaries in India.²⁶

One activity of an Indian clergyman did attract considerable attention. Gopināth Nandi was the third of the high-caste Hindus brought into the Christian church through the work of Dr Duff's school in Calcutta. He was baptised on 14 December 1832. Later he was sent up-country to Fatehpur to work in a school, came under the influence of the CMS and was ordained to the ministry of the Church of England in India.²⁷ Here is his own account of part of his work in Fatehpur:

The prisoners in the jail were also daily instructed in Christianity and general knowledge by a Christian teacher, and every Sabbath morning the Gospel was preached by me. This privilege was granted by our prison magistrate . . . The judge and the magistrate, as well as the other gentlemen, took a deep interest in the mission, and helped us with their prayers, good advice and pecuniary aid.²⁸

One of the great achievements of the Dalhousie regime was the creation of the Indian railway system. This was regarded with suspicion by high-caste Hindus, since no special provision was made for the seating of the higher caste, and they were exposed to the danger of defilement by the presence of those held to be unclean.²⁹ It was unfortunate that in 1855 one Mr Edmond of Calcutta sent out a circular letter in which he commended the advantages of propinquity:

Steam vessels and the Electric Telegraph, are rapidly uniting all the nations of the earth . . . Is it rational to suppose that each nation is to find out a way for itself by mere guess? or has the one God, who made all, appointed different methods of obtaining present and future happiness to different portions of His family? Surely, this cannot be.³⁰

It would be possible to compile a large book by accumulating details of events of the kind related above. The small selection cited will be sufficient to give an idea of the kind of things which were happening in various parts of India, and which, when they became known, could be used to further baseless suspicions of the intentions of government.

3 THE OUTBREAK

We come now to the vexed question of the 'greased cartridges'. In this matter a few things are certain; many others recede into varying degrees of possibility.

It is certain that, with the replacement of the old 'Brown Bess' by the Enfield rifle, greased cartridges had been issued to a number of sepoys.³¹

Before long word had gone round widely in the ranks that the cartridges were greased with beef-fat, defiling to the Hindu, and hog's lard, defiling to the Muslim. The origin of this rumour is usually described as follows:

One day in January [1857], a low-caste lascar or magazine man, meeting a high-caste sepoy in the Cantonment, asked him for a drink of water from his lotah. The brahmin at once replied with an objection on the score of caste, and was tauntingly told that caste was nothing, that high-caste and low-caste would soon be the same, as cartridges greased with beef-fat and hog's lard were being made for the Sepoys at the Depots, and would soon be in general use throughout the army.³²

The grapevine carried these tidings far and wide throughout the army.

It is certain that some greased cartridges had been issued.

It is uncertain whether any of them had been greased with beef-fat or hog's lard.

It is certain that, when word of the unrest reached the higher command, every possible step was taken to counteract the false reports which had gone round; but those steps were taken too late.

It is certain that it had never crossed the minds of the authorities that their actions could be interpreted as a sinister design to bring about the conversion of the soldiers to Christianity.

No certain answer can be given to the question as to the source and origin of the rumours set to work on the minds of the soldiers. The residence of Wajīd 'Alī at Garden Reach was a massive centre of intrigue; it may well have seemed to him, or to some of his advisers, a good idea to tamper with the loyalty of the Indian troops of the Company. This was the opinion of the usually well-informed Lord Canning:

General Hearsey is confident that they [the 2nd N. I.] have been tampered with, and thinks that he has traced to the king of Oude's people at Garden Reach, or if there has been any attempt to seduce them it is much more likely to have come from the Oude Courtiers than from the Brahmins as was at first suspected by some officers.³³

It was held by many devout Christians in India at that time that the endeavours of the government to segregate the sepoys from all Christian influences had been counter-productive. Had the sepoys possessed any real knowledge of Christianity – had, in fact, steps not been taken to keep that

knowledge from them – they could never have supposed that the English government intended to make Christians of them against their will. This was the view of John (later Lord) Lawrence:

Christian things done in a Christian way will never . . . alienate the heathen. About such things there are qualities which do not provoke, nor excite distrust, nor harden to resistance. It is when unchristian things are done in the name of Christianity, or when Christian things are done in an unchristian way, that mischief and danger are occasioned.³⁴

The government may have been successful in segregating the troops from Christian ideas; they had been far less successful in segregating them from Christians. In the Bengal army there were no Christian sepoys; nevertheless Christians were before the eyes of the troops all the time. One group which frequently meets the reader of the records of the time is the Christian drummers, almost always referred to with this Christian appellation. For instance, there are three references in a few pages of J. A. B. Palmer's vivid account of the first day of the mutiny at Meerut.³⁵ When an officer named Taylor issued an order to the sepoys of the grenadier company, they refused to move; thereupon the Christian drummers and musicians armed themselves with sticks and carried out Taylor's order (to disperse a crowd from the bazaar) (p. 75). A little later, 'the mob could not be dispersed though forced to yield a few yards by the Christian drummers' (p. 88). On p. 89 there is a reference to a Christian pensioner's house.

The drummers were not the lowest of the low. It is often forgotten that European soldiers were provided with servants. The water-carriers and sweepers were in most cases low-caste Hindus; but the personal servants and cook-boys were not infrequently Christians, probably Roman Catholics from Goa, of the type that made itself endlessly useful all over India.³⁶ Almost all these Christians would have been eaters of beef. Some may have been eaters of pork, and therefore consigned, by Hindu and Muslim judgement alike, to the very lowest level of the dregs of Indian society.

It was from those, whom they knew so well, that the sepoys drew their idea of what it meant to be an Indian Christian. They were well aware that, if a Hindu became a Muslim, he would adopt Muslim customs in every particular. It was natural for them to suppose that conversion to Christianity would mean accepting what they understood to be Christian custom; and, conversely, that the acceptance under duress of Christian customs would be equivalent to becoming Christians.

The extreme tenacity of this conviction or prejudice is well illustrated by a note from the pen of Sir Henry Lawrence:

Last night I . . . held a conversation with a Jemadar [Indian officer] of the Oude artillery . . . and was startled by the dogged persistence of the man in the belief that

for ten years past Government had been engaged in measures for the forcible, or rather fraudulent, conversion of all the natives.³⁷

Observers were not slow to note the contrast between the army of Bengal, in which no Christians were admitted to the ranks, and the armies of Bombay and Madras, in which no distinctions of religion were observed. In the Bombay army there were 359 Indian Christians, in the army of Madras 2,021. In the former there were a few signs of disaffection; in the latter there was hardly any tendency towards revolt. Where Indian soldiers were allowed to serve side by side with those of other religious professions, they seem to have found little or no difficulty in working contentedly with them.

So the great explosion took place – sudden, unexpected,³⁸ unplanned and, in its inception, fortuitous. Many attempts have been made to trace, in the events that led up to the violence, a well-articulated and carefully planned conspiracy. These attempts cannot be said to have been successful. That there was widespread unrest is certain; but had there been an organised conspiracy the course of the war must have been different from what it was. On the afternoon of Sunday, 10 May 1857 three Indian regiments at Meerut rose against the British, murdered a number of officers and their wives, released the prisoners in the civil and military jails, and then, perhaps aghast at what they themselves had done, marched to Delhi.³⁹ ‘The mutiny had become a revolt, the Great Mughal its rallying cry and symbol.’⁴⁰

The story of the uprising has been so often told in the fullest detail that there is no need for it to be repeated here. The story of Christianity in India touches that of ‘the mutiny’ at two points only – an account of what happened to Christians during the days of violence, and in an assessment of the permanent effects of ‘the mutiny’ on the relationship between Indian and European, between non-Christian and Christian.

The period during which it appeared to many that the very foundations of the *rāj* had been shaken seemed long but was in point of fact surprisingly brief. Suppression of the revolt in the Punjab, the massacre at Cawnpore, panic in Calcutta, the relief of Lucknow, the fortunately brief period of European hysteria and indiscriminate reprisals, and the siege of Delhi were all going on almost simultaneously; the first attack took place in Meerut on 10 May 1857; by 20 September of the same year Delhi was again in British hands. With this event the war was really over; the mopping-up process was long and painful, but with the fall of Delhi it was clear that the British were once again in control of the destinies of India.

4 THE CHURCHES DURING THE UPRISING

From the outbreak of the conflict, Indian Christians rallied almost unanimously to the side of the government. Later critics have interpreted this as

indicating that Christians had been denationalised by government and by the missionaries and that this explains their lack of loyalty to the Indian nation and to the national movement. But this is to read back into the 1850s a situation which did not at that time exist. In 1857 there was no such thing as an Indian nation; the sub-continent was the scene of local and divided loyalties. The creation of an Indian nation, and of a genuine Indian national movement, fall within the period subsequent to 1858.

In 1857 Indian Christians had no particular reason for loyalty either to Muslim or to Hindu rulers. The Muslims had made it clear that, though Christians might be entitled, as 'people of the Book', to a measure of protection, they could never expect to be more than second-class citizens; the Hindus had placed them in a position of exclusion and total lack of social privilege; the Europeans had brought them safety, a measure of prosperity, new openings for careers, and a sense of personal dignity, and had, late in time, removed most of the injustices and hostile discrimination from which they had suffered even under British rule. Christians were convinced that the success of the revolt would mean the loss of all that they had gained in a century, and a reversion to the situation of oppression and subservience from which they had with difficulty escaped.

Offers of help from Christians poured in on the government. The Christian Kols in Chota Nāgpur offered to send 10,000 recruits for military service. The Karens in Burma were willing to send a battalion of 1,000 Christian soldiers. Christians in South India, representing many thousands of their fellow-believers, memorialised the government of Madras, offering their services to help in any way that was needed. All these offers were disregarded by central authorities, perhaps because it was felt better that Christians as such should not be embroiled with their fellow-countrymen, perhaps because Canning felt that Christians could not in any case be of much use.

Local authorities felt differently. Christians rendered yeoman service to the beleaguered garrisons of Lucknow and other cities. In lower Bengal an official raised a corps of Christian auxiliaries and with their help, unaided by any other forces, put down a riot in a military prison at Chinsurah – he sent to the CMS station at Krishnagar for '75 more Christians'. And just at this time Robert Montgomery in the Punjab took steps to admit Christians to appointments under government from which they had previously been excluded:

The Native Christians as a body have, with some exceptions, been set aside . . . I consider I should be wanting in my duty at this crisis if I did not endeavour to secure a portion of the numerous appointments in the political department for Native Christians; and I shall be happy (as I am) to advance their interests equally with those of Hindu and Mohammedan candidates. Their future promotion must depend on their own merits.⁴¹

Religion cannot be excluded from the list of the causes of the outbreak of violence in 1857.

Suspicion and dislike of 'the Christian West' has been endemic in the Islamic world for at least nine centuries. The Englishman in India tended to get on better with Muslims than with Hindus. But, since all Europeans in India were supposed to be Christians, religious antipathy was added to all the other resentments by which Muslims were activated. The Hindus had become deeply convinced that it was the aim of the government to turn them into Christians and so to deprive them of their caste. The outbreak could be regarded as a pathological reaction of self-defence against a threatened ill: against Christians, as Christians were the common enemy. Any European in the area where the uprising prevailed was at risk. There is no evidence that chaplains or missionaries were specifically the objects of violence on the part of troops or mobs, as though, being professionals or more Christian than other Christians, they were specially objectionable. If such persons died by violence, this was simply because they were caught up in the flood which threatened to sweep away all European landmarks in the Gangetic plain.

It seems that nineteen chaplains and missionaries died by violence during the outbreak, or through the privations endured during that time, together with nineteen women and children connected in one way or another with the life of the church.⁴² The majority of the victims were British, but eleven were American. The Americans seem all to have died together in the large massacre carried out by order of Nānā Sāhīb in the neighbourhood of Bithūr.

Chaplains and missionaries naturally shared in the hardships and dangers endured by all the Europeans; there are many touching notes in the records that have survived of the service that they rendered in keeping up the courage of those who were in imminent danger of death. Thus, the Reverend J. Owen, an American missionary, wrote in his journal for 14 June 1857:⁴³

June 14. *Sabbath*. Mr Spry conducted the services in a very appropriate manner. The Psalms for the day were Psalms lxxi and lxxii. I enjoyed the readings of the word; the 71st was appropriate to me individually, this being my birthday; the 72nd read in glorious contrast to the scene of desolation around us . . . Mr Spry preached a very good sermon from the middle clause of Jer. v.19: 'Wherefore doeth the Lord our God all these things to us?'⁴⁴

Indian Christians, no less than Europeans, were exposed to anger and violence. They were regarded as enemies by Hindus and Muslims alike. How many died during the troubles it is impossible even to estimate; but the number must have been considerable. Here again no attempt seems to have been made to concentrate on those who were in the employ of the missions; only nine names are recorded of catechists and teachers who lost their lives during the days of the troubles.

Efforts were made in a number of places to persuade Christians to renounce their faith and to return to their old ways. Undoubtedly some did so, but the majority seem to have stood firm and to have accepted death rather than apostasy.

The fullest narrative of such experience is that provided by the Reverend Gopināth Nandi. This highly intelligent and well-educated man, together with his wife and three children, fell into the hands of armed men not far from Allahabad, to which they were making their way. They were brought before the moulvie, and the following dialogue took place:

“How many Christians have you made?”

“I did not make any Christians, for no human being can change the heart of another; but God through my instrumentality, brought to the belief of his true religion about a couple of dozens”.

“Tauba! tauba! (repent). What downright blasphemy! God never makes anyone a Christian; but you Kafirs pervert the people. He always makes people Mussulmans; for the religion which we follow is the only true one”.

Later the moulvie said to him:

You appear to be a respectable man. I pity you and your family; and, as a friend, I advise you to become Mohammedans; by doing so, you will not only save your lives, but will be raised to a high rank.

Among those who had fallen into the hands of the insurgents were two ensigns, schoolboys about sixteen years of age, who had recently landed in India to join their regiments. One was killed; the other, Ensign Cheek, was brought in grievously wounded. He listened to the conversation, when a large group of Indians bore down upon the Christian minister and his family with taunts and promise of release if they would accept the faith of Islam. Though suffering intensely from his wounds the boy so far forgot his pain as to call out to his neighbour, ‘Padre, padre, be firm, do not give way.’

On the sixth day of their captivity, troops came out from Allahabad, routed the captors and brought the whole party safely into the fort. Ensign Cheek died the same day: ‘His wounds were so severe and so numerous that it was a wonder how he lived so many days, without any food or even a sufficient quantity of water to quench his burning thirst. It must be a great consolation to his friends to hear that he died in the fort and received a Christian burial.’⁴⁵

Many narratives exist recounting the sufferings endured by Indian Christians. As a specimen we may take a note relating to converts of the Lutheran mission in Chota Nāgpur:

They who in the time of danger determined to face it and not to fly had their hands and feet tied together, and were thrown out into the rain, where they remained for several days. At such a time their captors used to come near and tauntingly ask,

“Where is your Father now? Where is your Jesus? Why does He not come to you when you cry out? Where are the Feringhees (Europeans) now? They have run away, and you have fallen into our hands” . . . Yet God be praised that in this great sea of suffering no one made shipwreck of faith.

When, in January 1858, the missionaries were able to return, they found 140 candidates awaiting baptism, and learnt that there were many others eager to be baptised as soon as they had received the necessary preparation.⁴⁶

The ordeal of the Christians did not last long – in most places not more than a few months; but while it lasted it was severe. Many died, some renounced their faith, but the majority seem to have stood fast. When the missionaries were able to return, they seemed to sense a change in the Indian Christians: they had acquired a new dignity, a new sense of confidence in themselves. No longer willing, as in the past, to depend entirely on the missionaries, they had acquired, at least in a rudimentary form, confidence to stand on their own feet.⁴⁷

5 THE END OF THE UPRISING

From the start it was impossible that the uprising should be successful.

Like so many of their predecessors in Indian wars, the sepoys had seriously underestimated the power and the tenacity of the British people. Reports of British losses in the Crimea had greatly distorted reality, and given the impression that Britain was no longer able to defend itself. And the insurgents had failed to understand the significance of the electric telegraph, an instrument with which they were not familiar, and the use of which they were never able to master.

On the day on which the news of the rising at Meerut reached Calcutta, Canning, who throughout the crisis never lost his head, ordered the immediate return of the troops engaged in Persia, and told the governor of Madras to have two European regiments ready for embarkation. He sent a steamer to Pegu to bring back a regiment from Burma. He ordered John Lawrence to send down to Delhi every man who could be spared from the Punjab. He wrote to England suggesting the desirability of raising three new regiments for service in India. Those who supported the rising were well-trained soldiers, though without experience of the use of artillery, and many of them fought with great courage. But the wiser among them must very soon have seen that they could not hope to stand against the immense forces which would be brought against them.

When the uprising began, those who took part in it had very little idea of what they intended to do or to achieve, apart from the immediate aim of destroying British military supremacy. To march on Delhi and to return to

power the aged and already decrepit Mughul was a sentimental gesture with great appeal to Muslims. But southern India had no interest in the Mughul name; there was little response in the protected states or in the Punjab. Even if the last of the Mughuls had been other than the weary greybeard that he actually was, there was no possibility of turning back the clock by 100 years and more, and making the Mughul name the centre of a newly vitalised and united India. The uprising was the last dying struggle of the old India and not the birthpangs of the new.

After some moments of artificially excited interest, the great independent princes – Holkar, Scindiah, and the rest – sank back contentedly into observance of the pacts that they had made with the paramount power. The Punjab, after some stirrings of resentment, was quickly brought to heel through the decisive action taken by the British rulers on the spot. Madras gave no sign of wishing to join the movement.⁴⁸ Though the army was called the Bengal army, by far the greater number of its soldiers was drawn from other parts of India; it seems that the authorities in Calcutta never had much difficulty in controlling the situation in the great province of which it was the capital. The movement never spread beyond the Gangetic basin; only in Oudh did what had begun as a sepoys' revolt begin to take on the appearance of a national uprising.

Even in Oudh the path of the rebellious soldiers was not by any means easy. For a time it seemed as though the mass of the population was unquestioningly on their side. But before long their lack of administrative experience began to tell; the peasants found that they had not been relieved as they had hoped of the burdens that they carried – in some cases the revenue demands had actually been increased. Many of the sepoys began to be ashamed of what they had done; they had not joined the army in order to slaughter helpless women and children, especially since these were the wives and children of the men whose salt they had eaten. Such men, knowing that the war had already been lost, slunk away to their homes, thinking it wise to disengage themselves before the fighting came to its inevitable end.

Ill-fortune decreed that the uprising should not produce from within itself a single leader of the calibre needed to draw together all the scattered forces in one single allegiance. Tantia Topi was a commander of more than ordinary ability; without his skill and daring the insurrection would probably have collapsed many months before it did. Nānā Sāhīb had the heritage of a great name, and much legend has been built up around him – of hatred on the English side and of veneration in the picture drawn by later Indian historians; but when the legend has been dissipated the figure which emerges is less than heroic. Of all the leaders by far the most attractive is the *rāni* of Jhānsi. She may have been drawn unwillingly into the conflict, but once involved she behaved with a gallantry which drew even from her enemies

unstinted praise. Of her an English author has written that 'this woman was as brave and resolute as any man, and almost alone among them she died a soldier's death in the field. We may . . . allow her in honour and sincerity that place as an heroic leader which the ballads and legends of her compatriots had already marked out for her.'⁴⁹

The lack of leadership showed itself at every turn. The Indians vacillated when they should have acted with decision, stayed still when they should have moved, and so threw away the opportunities which fate, with more than usual generosity, had thrown into their lap.

It was inconceivable that Britain should quit and surrender. Apart from anything else, it was not clear to whom surrender could be offered. But there was more in it than that. Some, no doubt, were activated by a kind of blind imperialism – what we have we hold, and it is not possible that the British army should ever withdraw. Some were concerned only with their own future and with the development of empire to their own commercial advantage. But others were concerned for the welfare of India as they understood it, and believed in the co-operation of two great peoples in a task which would exercise to the full the combined strength of both. Believing Christians thought that it would be treason against God to abandon the responsibility which, as they held, he himself had given them for the well-being of India. They may well have been mistaken; but no one who has read their writings and entered into their minds is likely to accuse them of hypocrisy. And so they held on.⁵⁰

They held on, until the process of pacification ground itself to its unpleasant and undignified end. There is usually a long gap between the moment at which a war is in reality won and that at which hostilities actually come to an end. In the period after the fall of Delhi, undoubtedly a great many injustices and atrocities were committed and many bitter memories left behind. But on the whole peace is better than war, tranquillity than carnage. India was exhausted, but India had survived. On 1 November Queen Victoria was able to make her famous proclamation.

6 WHAT FOLLOWED AFTER

It is known that the queen herself inserted with her own hand the religious clauses of the proclamation:

these obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil. Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity and acknowledging the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects . . . And may the God of all power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these wishes for the good of our people.

For Indian Christians the proclamation was of particular importance, since it gave them for the first time in their history a charter of liberty and of equality of civil rights in the land of their birth:

We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all alike shall enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure.

And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to office in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge . . . we will that generally, in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India.

The Indian Christian was now fully a citizen in his own country. He should not need now to curry favour or to plead for compassion. On the word of the highest authority in the land he was now entitled to claim his rights.

So the great queen assumed dominion, and India began to enjoy the blessings of peace. Wounds were slow to heal, and resentments on both sides lingered long; yet India entered on a period of general tranquillity such as it had not enjoyed for more than 100 years,⁵¹ and developed the myth, which still endures, of the beneficent grandmother at Windsor who loved her Indian people and in whose hands their well-being was fully assured.

Much of the harm of the years of conflict could be repaired. But some things had been destroyed which could never be restored.

The basis of British rule in India was confidence. The English in India had had measureless confidence in their Indian servants. Officers, both civil and military, had to spend long periods away from their homes; they never felt a moment of anxiety concerning the safety of their families. It was often necessary to send children on long journeys across India with no protection other than that of the accompanying servants; as far as the records can be checked, no case is on record in which servants proved unfaithful to their trust. Sir John Kaye does not exaggerate when he writes that 'there was not an English gentlewoman in the country who did not feel measureless security in the thought that a guard of sepoy watched her house, and who would not have travelled, under such an escort, across the whole length and breadth of the land'.⁵² The intense affection of Indian servants for white children is legendary. All the greater was the shock when it became clear that servants and soldiers alike could become possessed by the mania of destruction that swept across India in 1857, and could turn to violence against those whom apparently they had loved, and who had reposed such confidence in them.

The tragedy at Cawnpore cast a deep shadow on relationships in India for a very long time. Doubts still exist as to what exactly happened and as to the responsibility of those present in Cawnpore at the time. It cannot be taken as certain that Nānā Sāhīb gave orders for the massacres, or even that he was aware that they were taking place.⁵³ It remains the fact that Englishmen who, under safe conduct, had embarked in boats on the river were mercilessly shot down from the banks as soon as the boats had been launched into the stream. It remains the fact that at least 150 women and children were murdered in circumstances of extreme barbarity. As the news spread among the British, the reaction was one of sanguinary hysteria. If soldiers could commit such atrocities, was the mere infliction of a comparatively painless death sufficient penalty? Mughul emperors had impassively watched while men were flayed alive in their presence; might not Mughul justice be suitably carried out on those who had reinstated the Mughul emperor of their time? In the eighteenth century, under Muslim law murderers had regularly been flogged to death; might not the reintroduction of this penalty be justifiable in the circumstances?

This has to be recorded with regret. Whatever the provocation, Christian men had no business seriously to propose a regression from the nineteenth century to the barbarities of an earlier age. Fortunately the great leaders – Canning, the two Lawrences, Lord Clyde (Campbell) – did not lose their heads: savagery was checked, and none of these extreme penalties was imposed by authority. But Cawnpore entered into the racial memories of the British people. It played the same part in their thinking as the firing at the Jallianwalla Bāgh played many years later in the thinking of countless Indians. Fifty years after these events had happened, Cawnpore was spoken of in terms of unmitigated horror.⁵⁴ In times of high emotion there is always a tendency to make illogical inferences from the few to the many. In the years after the uprising, it was the unspoken assumption of many among the English people that no Indian was to be trusted, and that a people so volatile and so liable to be swayed by dangerous emotions would never be able to govern itself.

Both sides were involved in the change of attitude. There was a long tale of atrocities committed by Englishmen, both in the short period of hysteria and in the much longer period of clearing up the debris.⁵⁵ It came to be widely believed that the Englishman's assumption of a godlike impassivity was sheer hypocrisy; given the necessary provocation, the Englishman could be relied on to lose his control and to behave with savagery at least equal to that of those whom he had affected to regard as primitive and uncontrolled. Moreover, there were current many accusations against the British of untrustworthiness and of broken promises. Some of these were baseless, some were due to misunderstanding, but all too many had at least some basis

in reality.⁵⁶ Memories linger long. Much of what had been built up in a century was destroyed in a few months; nearly a century later some of the consequences were still to be seen.

Missionaries and their supporters in the West were as deeply horrified as others by the sudden disappearance of peace and by the more tragic aspects of the war. But neither those in India nor those who supported them in England drew back by a single inch from their conviction that the good news of Jesus Christ is to be preached in India and that it is the duty of all Christians to work for the coming of his kingdom in that land. Missionary work in India must not be abandoned or diminished; on the contrary, the challenge must go forth to all the Christian churches to 'make a new and enlarged effort to send forth missionaries to India'.⁵⁷ The committee of the CMS expressed 'an earnest hope that no missionary would withdraw from India except under medical certificate', and 'that new missionaries would be prepared to go forth at once, in reliance upon the Lord'.⁵⁸ They pointed out 'the exceeding importance of not deserting the Native Christians, of animating them by the presence of their leaders, of giving them *increased* spiritual support; also the urgent need for additional ministrations for our own countrymen in India'.

In point of fact in almost every case missionaries remained at their posts and carried on with their work as best they were able.⁵⁹ Exceptionally full information is available about Agra, where Europeans were subjected to a long blockade, but without the disasters which fell upon them in other places.⁶⁰ The Anglican missionary there was T. V. French, at one time fellow of University College, Oxford, and later bishop of Lahore.⁶¹ A vivid glimpse comes from there in May 1857. The uprising had spread to Aligarh, as a little later it was to be extended to Muttra:

Outside the college, all alarm, hurry and confusion – within calmly sat the good missionary, hundreds of young natives at his feet, hanging on the lips which taught them the simple lessons of the Bible. And so it was throughout the revolt – the students at the Government and still more at the missionary Schools kept steadily to their classes; and when others doubted and fled, they trusted implicitly to their teachers, and openly espoused the Christian cause.⁶²

The missionaries had come to India to preach the Gospel of Christ. They stayed on because they had come to love India and its peoples. When peace returned they multiplied their efforts. Of the missionary stations which existed in India in 1947, considerably more than half were founded in the period between 1858 and 1905. In the history of India the great uprising marked an epoch; in the Christian history of India, it was an episode.

Appendices

APPENDIX I THE OTHER EAST INDIA COMPANIES

Indian affairs in the eighteenth century were complicated by the existence of a number of East India Companies which had in one way or another obtained imperial or royal licence, but all of which in reality existed as 'cover' for merchants who wished to evade the still-existing monopolies of the English Dutch companies. Whatever the name and ostensible nationality of those companies, they were all to a large extent staffed and financed by English subjects, and a large part of their profits went into Dutch or English pockets.

The following companies are identifiable:

1. The Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies (1695), more commonly known as the Darien Company from the name of its first and most disastrous enterprise in the Western world (1698–1700). The Act of Union between England and Scotland had not yet taken place, and Scotland therefore provided very convenient cover.

2. The Ostend Company (1722). In this company English interests were dominant, as is evident from the astonishing careers of the Hume family – Robert, Alexander, Abraham, John and David – who were deeply involved in trade with the East. Of these, though all were engaged in illegal trade, Abraham was knighted in 1769, and Alexander (d. 1765) became a director of the East India Company and also Member of Parliament. Opposition from the English and Dutch companies was so strong that the emperor was persuaded to suppress the Ostend Company in 1727. For all that, the Company's settlement at Bankibazar in Bengal was still in existence in 1744, and its second settlement at Covelong, a few miles south of Madras, as late as 1752.¹

3. The Ostend Company had at least a plausible existence. What followed on its suppression belongs almost to the realm of comedy. Those with extensive interests in Asia banded themselves together, and succeeded in forming a *Swedish* East India Company. But, as one observer pungently remarked, 'those gentlemen who call themselves the directors or managers of the Swedish East India Company are chiefly nothing but the factors or agents of the inhabitants of the Austrian Netherlands and other foreigners to

Sweden'.² This company seems to have promoted only one voyage, that of the good ship *Ulrica Eleanore*. The aim was to set up a factory at Porto Novo on the Coromandel Coast. On 1 September 1734, thirty sick seamen were left at the site of the intended factory and told to hoist the Swedish flag, whilst the ship went on to trade successfully in the Hūglī. The life of the factory was exactly three weeks; a small force of English and French descended upon it, and it was no more. In the following year the *Ulrica Eleanore* safely reached Göteborg; but no more was heard of the Swedish East India Company, and the English Company was compelled very unwillingly to pay £12,000 to soothe the injured vanity of the Swedes.

Other companies had an even more transitory and less substantial existence.

In 1729/30 two ships flying the Polish flag managed to reach the Ostend Company's factory of Bankibazar in Bengal. One was captured and the other blockaded, and that was the end of that adventure.

In 1730 a ship, fortified by an imperial passport, sailed from Cadiz – 'It arrived from Trieste as the *Mermaid*, sailed as the *Phoenix*, and returned as the *Syrène*'.³ A scheme to create a Spanish East India Company in Seville collapsed when, under pressure from England and Holland, the Spanish government withdrew its support for the scheme.

The Prussian Company, chartered in 1754, seems to have been founded and supported by English ships' captains and Company servants with a view to remitting funds illegally to England. With the reform of British government in Bengal it seems to have faded away.

The Imperial East India Company of Trieste, founded in 1775, with a charter from the Empress Maria Teresa, fell into bankruptcy when the Seven Years' War ended with the declaration of peace in 1782.

These on the whole very trivial companies provide evidence of the intense interest felt by the West in India, of the rich profits to be made by legitimate trade, especially in tea from China, and of the vigour of the efforts made to break the monopoly of the established companies and to share in the profits. All the 'cover' companies noted above were really the efforts of private traders to break the monopoly and to share in the profits. But in reality they had no chance: none of them was able to stand up against the stamina and power of resistance of the main companies, which could count at least in a measure on the support of their governments.

APPENDIX 2 THE BLACK HOLE OF CALCUTTA

The main contemporary evidence for the events of the Black Hole is the narrative of J. Z. Holwell, who claims to have been imprisoned in the Black Hole and to have been among the few who survived that dreadful night.

According to what has become the canonical story, repeated in countless histories of India, 146 persons, including one woman, were incarcerated in this small room eighteen feet long and fifteen feet wide, and when morning came only twenty-three survivors were carried out. Holwell's narrative is very detailed, giving names and recounting minutely his own experiences.

In recent times doubt has been cast on the reliability of Holwell's narrative. Holwell is known to have been at least imaginative in other narratives, and disingenuous in his representation of his own part in events. The most sweeping attempt to discredit him was made by J. H. Little in *Bengal Past and Present* (July 1915, January 1916). Mr Little tries to show that the episode of the Black Hole never took place at all, the entire story having been fabricated by Holwell and other survivors of the capture of Calcutta by the troops of the *nawāb*. Little's arguments will not stand up to critical historical investigation (see a careful note by H. H. Dodwell in *CHI*, vol. v, p. 156).

A much more careful assessment of the evidence has been made by B. K. Gupta, *Siraj ud dowlah and the East India Company, 1756–1757: Background to the Foundation of British Power in India* (Leiden, 1962); see also *Journal of Asian Studies*, 19:1 (1959), 53–63. Gupta reaches the conclusion that sixty-four persons were incarcerated, of whom twenty-one survived. This figure has been accepted by a number of modern historians, both Indian and English, including Percival Spear, *India: a Modern History* (London, 1961), p. 202; but even today historians are divided in their opinions. N. Barber, *The Black Hole of Calcutta: a Reconstruction* (London, 1965), is content to follow Holwell rather closely and has 'ignored the suggestion that the event never occurred' (p. 19).

Whatever may have happened, Suraj-ud-dowlah cannot be held directly responsible for it; he was capable of great cruelty, but not of such an insane act as the deliberate murder of helpless prisoners of war. The tragedy of the Black Hole, as depicted with imaginative brilliance by the pen of Macaulay, has passed into the mythology of the English, with disastrous consequences for the relations between Indians and Englishmen – consequences which even after two centuries have not entirely passed away.⁴

APPENDIX 3 BARTHOLOMEW ZIEGENBALG'S GENEALOGY OF THE SOUTH-INDIAN GODS

Ziegenbalg signed the preface to his *Genealogy* at Tranquebar on 21 August 1713, adding to it as a compliment the name of his faithful fellow-worker, John Ernest Gründler.

Ziegenbalg intended his work to be published in Europe; he writes in his preface: 'We were content to do the work, thinking that herewith also a service is done to many in Europe; where otherwise we should have regarded this our labour as a punishment and not as a pleasure' (Eng. trans. (Madras, 1869), p. xix).

But fate was against him. When the work reached Halle, Professor A. H. Francke made his famous rejoinder that 'the printing of the "Genealogy of the South Indian Gods" was not to be thought of, inasmuch as the Missionaries were sent out to extirpate heathenism, and not to spread heathenish non-sense in Europe' (p. xv). So the manuscript slept in the archives for a century and a half.

Indology owes a great debt to Dr W. Germann, who, having found the manuscript, at once realised its importance and set himself to make it available to the world. His preface is dated at Madras on 9 September 1867. This appears to have been the first extensive piece of printing in German ever carried out in India. Unfortunately the beautiful illustrations which Ziegenbalg had had prepared could not be reproduced.

Worse is to follow. No one today can read what Ziegenbalg actually wrote without making the pilgrimage to Halle and consulting the original manuscript. The first editor felt himself more concerned with utility than with fidelity, and took liberties with the text such as no editor today would venture to take. He admits in his preface that 'against my own inclination, I have thought it necessary to make such additions as I could, in order to render the work a complete manual of South Indian Mythology' (p. xvi). On this the translator of the English version remarks: 'Dr Germann's additions to almost every single chapter, written in a modern style, impress upon the book the character of patch-work.'

But this translator, the Reverend G. J. Metzger of the Free Church of Scotland Mission in Madras, allowed himself even greater liberties. He has made omissions, mainly, as he complains, of unnecessary repetitions. He has introduced a chapter from Bishop Caldwell's well-known work on the *Tinnevely Shānārs* to replace what he calls Germann's 'fragmental extracts' from that and other works. He has brought in material from the work of such scholars as Professor H. H. Wilson, Fr J. A. Dubois and Professor Max Müller. All these he confidently describes as 'improvements' (pp. xi, xii of his preface, dated Chingleput, 26 September 1868).

As a consequence of all these editorial changes it is difficult for the reader to detect omissions, to identify changes and additions, and to be sure of the extent to which he is in contact with the mind and the words of the original writer. The world of scholarship would be enriched by the publication of an accurate German text, and still more by that of a reliable English translation.

APPENDIX 4 ZIEGENBALG'S APPROACH TO THE HINDUS

Ziegenbalg's manner of approaching Hindus of high caste, and their reactions, are shown in a work published in English in 1719: *Thirty-four Conferences between the Danish Missionaries and the Malabari Brahmans (or Heathen Priests) concerning the Truth of the Christian Religion; together with some Letters written by the Heathen to the said Missionaries*:

One writes:

Indeed, your law seems to be a clear mirror without flaw or blemish; and did you but abstain from your eating Cow's Flesh, spitting in your houses, and some other daily Nastinesses committed by you; and on the contrary, accustom yourselves to washing your bodies more often, and act nothing against Purification and Cleanliness; we assure you the whole Nation would have nothing to say against your Discipline, except your giving out that you eat the Body of Christ and drink his Blood in the Sacrament, which I humbly conceive none of us will ever be able to understand. (Quoted, M. E. Gibbs, *The Anglican Church in India* (London, 1972), pp. 13-14)

APPENDIX 5 PADROADO BISHOPS AND VICARS APOSTOLIC

From the date of the first appointment by the pope of vicars apostolic for service in the Eastern regions, the relationship between bishops appointed by the crown of Portugal under the *padroado* agreement and the vicars apostolic appointed directed by the pope, with episcopal consecration but without territorial jurisdiction, involved endless difficulties, tensions and disputes. These continued through the eighteenth century.

To the credit of Propaganda, it must be stated that its aim was always to maintain a friendly relationship with the court of Portugal, to keep the causes of friction down to a minimum, and as far as was possible to soothe the injured feelings of *padroado* bishops.

Rome never admitted the extreme claims of the Portuguese authorities, who interpreted the *padroado* agreement as giving them in perpetuity the monopoly of episcopal appointment over a vast region in Asia and in Brazil. Commonsense was against such an interpretation; it was clear that Portugal would never be able to sustain so immense a burden. On the other hand there were in India four fully constituted and organised dioceses for the supervision of missionary work among non-Christians and for the care of Portuguese resident in India – Goa, Cochin and Mylapore; and for the spiritual care of the Thomas Christians there was the diocese of the Serra, now called the archbishopric of Cranganore, though previously the Syrian bishops had always resided at Ankamāli. Where vicars apostolic were appointed, as in the territories of the Great Mogul, it was understood that they would operate only in areas which had never been in Portuguese possession and were beyond the limits of Portuguese influence.

To this rule there was one possible exception. It might happen that the regular bishops were prevented from carrying out their responsibilities. In such cases of emergency, the pope might place Christians in the *padroado* dioceses under the care of vicars apostolic. But this would be done only as a temporary measure, and in such a way that the rights of the diocesan bishops were understood to be still in existence, though temporarily in abeyance, and to be restored as soon as the emergency was at an end.

Two areas in particular came into consideration in the eighteenth century – Bombay and Malabar.

At the end of the seventeenth century, when the East India Company took over the island of Bombay from the British government, the care of the Roman Catholics on the island was in the hands of Portuguese Jesuits and Franciscans of the Observant section. The Company, being dissatisfied with the attitude of members of both these orders, instructed them to leave Bombay, and invited the vicar-general of the territories of the Great Mogul, Maurice of St Teresa OCD (1708–26), to leave his residence at Karwar and to transfer himself to Bombay. Bishop Maurice accepted the invitation, and Rome in 1718 gave it approval to the arrangement, going so far as to indicate that the vicar-general was to be regarded as an assistant bishop to the archbishop of Goa.⁵

Later in the century the English took possession of the islands of Salsette and Karanjie, and invited the vicar apostolic of the day to accept responsibility for the Christians in the area. The matter was referred to Propaganda, which in 1777 gave the following answer: in exceptional circumstances exceptional measures must be taken, but these would remain in force only until the normal state of affairs could be restored.

The situation in Malabar was not quite the same. There, as further north, the creation of the vicariate apostolic of Malabar was regarded as no more than provisional. The Dutch made it quite plain that they would have no Portuguese prelate exercising any authority in their dominions, and they required the Christians to accept only the authority of the vicar apostolic. But Rome repeatedly affirmed that the vicars apostolic might exercise such authority only in times and places where the legitimate bishops could not act (rescript of 26 September 1706). In 1724 it was again affirmed that the business of the vicar apostolic was to 'represent the Ordinary, in circumstances in which through the action of the secular powers, or as has occurred in certain cases through the action of the Christian believers themselves, difficulties have been placed in the way of his exercising his pastoral responsibilities, but only for as long as those abnormal circumstances continue to exist'.

After the suppression of the Jesuit order, the king of France requested that a vicariate apostolic should be established to care for the French missionaries of the Paris Mission; he was told that the area in question had belonged since

1606 to the diocese of Mylapore, and that beyond question jurisdiction belonged to that diocese alone.

These signs of consideration from the side of Rome for the susceptibilities of the Portuguese did not alter the fact that the office of vicar apostolic, however provisional in theory, had in fact come to stay, and that the future lay with Rome and the Propaganda and not with Lisbon and the *padroado*. A striking manifestation of this reality occurred in the year 1756, when a new vicar apostolic had to be appointed for the territories of the Great Mogul. The choice fell upon Angelino of St Joseph OCD.⁶ The Portuguese government was notified of the appointment 'only as a matter of courtesy', and the suggestion was made that Angelino, who was at the time resident in Lisbon, should be consecrated there by the papal nuncio. This gave grave offence to the Portuguese; Angelino did in the end secure episcopal consecration, but only after giving a solemn promise that he would never settle in any area in which a *padroado* bishop was exercising jurisdiction.⁷

APPENDIX 6 APOSTASY OF THE REDDIS

It is known that, to the north of the Madura mission and not far from Pondichéri, there had been a considerable population of Reddis, a Telugu caste which had once been Christian but was no longer so. Mgr Laouënan, being in the neighbourhood, took the opportunity of enquiring of a leading man of this community as to the circumstances which had brought about this change of religion, and received the following interesting report. The grandfather of the bishop's interlocutor, when travelling, had been refused admission to a *choultry* (caravanserai). When he enquired as to the reason for this insult, he received the answer: 'As long as you had as your priests men who scrupulously observed the rules of our caste, we had no difficulty in admitting you to a place reserved for pure persons. But now that you receive into your houses a very different type of teachers, who neither know nor observe any of the rules, it is not possible for us to receive or treat you as one who has kept the rules of purity.' The traveller, on his return to his village, assembled the leading men, recounted to them his adventure, and proposed that they should all return to Hinduism. The proposal was accepted, and the apostasy took place. But it is clear that these events, the record of which depends only on oral tradition, took place, if indeed they did take place, after the expulsion of the Jesuits, and that the bull of 1744 had little if anything to do with bringing them about. There is no reason to doubt that, in spite of some distress and some resentment, the majority of the faithful remained faithful to the church of their adoption.

APPENDIX 7 CAPUCHINS IN TIBET: LITERARY WORKS

On the literary activities of the Capuchins, see G. der Reifenberg, 'De studiis linguae Tibetanae a Fratribus Minoribus Capuccinis peractae', *AOMC*, 50 (1934), 15–23 and 43–9; note by L. Petech, *NR*, vol II, 1, pp. lxxxvi–lxxxvii.

We must lament the loss of all their apologetic works, and of a part of their philological works; not that this loss concerns a great mass of labours. A number of Capuchins learnt spoken Tibetan, and some had a certain knowledge of the written language; but only one had made himself completely master of the written language, after four and a half years of concentrated study (1717–21) – Francis Horace della Penna. He alone ventured on the immense task of composing apologetic works in good Tibetan, and of translating a number of Tibetan (Lamaist) works; we cannot withhold our admiration for what he achieved in this field, in spite of the total loss of all his writings. Della Penna is the only Capuchin who in this respect can be compared with Desideri. He had no successor, and his death marked the end of the mission and of the Tibetan studies of the Capuchins.

APPENDIX 8 MISSION IN NEPAL

Tibet was closed, but the Jesuits were slow to believe that their expulsion was permanent. Kathmandu in Nepal had been opened as a transit camp on the way to Tibet; this served as a rallying-point for the Christian forces, and here the Capuchins managed to maintain themselves for another quarter of a century. By 1744 they had set up stations in the three tiny and adjacent kingdoms in the Kathmandu valley – Kathmandu, Bhatgaon and Patan. Although the workers were always too few, 'the humble dedicated life of the missionaries was instrumental in attracting the attention and gaining the confidence of the people, besides being an object lesson in Christianity'.⁸ Adult baptisms were few, but the priests took advantage of their position to baptise a large number of children in the hour of death.⁹ It seemed that fortune was inclined to smile on this small and remote mission.

Everything was changed by the decision of the king of the Gurkhas to conquer Nepal. The war dragged on from 1763 to 1769. By the latter date it had become clear that the position of the mission was untenable. With great regret the priests, together with their small flock of Nepalese Christians, left the valley and, trudging for thirteen days over hill and dale, safely reached Bettiah, a small town which had been occupied by the troops of the East India Company in 1766. Here they were welcomed by Fr Seraphim of Como and about sixty local Christians. In compensation for some losses sustained by the mission, the Company granted to the refugees 200 *bighas* of land tax-free in the village of Chuhari not far from Bettiah. In the twentieth century, it

was reported that descendants of these Nepalese Christians were still cultivating the fields handed over by the British to their forefathers.¹⁰

APPENDIX 9 ANQUETIL-DUPERRON ON EUROPEAN ATTITUDES TO ASIA

At the end of his life, Anquetil-Duperron, aged sixty-seven, produced a book entitled *L'Inde en rapport avec l'Europe* (Paris, 1805), in which he proposed the abandonment of any idea of conquest, this to be replaced by a policy of alliance, friendship, toleration and understanding. The greatest tact should be exercised in replacing Asian by European institutions.

Duperron was opposed to all missions, except to those based on gradual persuasion, the final step in which must be the abandonment of inhuman customs. He did not think that Christianity would ever replace Hinduism:

Hindu power is a majestic tree, often lashed by violent revolutions, whose top bends and curves back upon itself and seems likely to yield to tempestuous winds, but which, being strongly, firmly rooted, resists, recovers, and continually brings forth new branches, and will finally bring under its shade the whole extent of Hinduism.

(p. 122)

APPENDIX 10 KIERNANDER'S MINISTRY: FORMER ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIESTS WHO JOINED THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

1. Francis Bento de Sylvestre, or D'Souza, Augustinian, having joined the church on 7 February 1766, was appointed as catechist on a salary of £20 a year. A good linguist, he is reported to have translated large parts of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer into Bengali.

2. Manuel Joseph da Costa, Jesuit, who had been for some years a missionary in Siam, was received into the Church of England in Madras. He came to Calcutta in 1769 but died after a long illness in March 1771.

3. Francis Joseph Hanson of Vienna, Carmelite (born in 1739), was admitted to the Church of England at a solemn service in Calcutta on 1 January 1773. He is credited with a knowledge of eight languages, and seems to have obtained employment under government.

4. Marcellin Joseph Ramalhete, Portuguese Franciscan, was admitted in 1772 and died in 1783, after ten years' service as a catechist in the mission.

5. Joseph de Monte de Sinai, probably Augustinian, joined the Church of England on 4 August 1782 at the age of twenty-six. Nothing further seems to be known of his work.¹¹

It is interesting that, apparently, none of these former Roman Catholics was permitted to minister as a priest of the Church of England. Anglican policy has been to admit former Roman Catholic priests to the ranks of the

priesthood, with permission from the bishop and after a time of testing. It seems that the chaplains in Calcutta assumed that they had authority to admit these brethren into membership and lay ministry in the Church of England; but, there being no Anglican bishop in India and there being doubts as to the extent of the authority of the bishop of London in that country, they may have hesitated to take the further step of admitting them to priestly ministry.

There was the further problem that, if they had been so admitted, their status would have been extremely dubious. They would have had no licence from the archbishop of Canterbury or the bishop of London, nor would they have had the Company's licence to minister in the Company's dominions. It does not appear that any of them made application to be admitted to the higher ministry.

APPENDIX 11 JESUITS IN SOUTH INDIA

In 1765 it was reported to Propaganda that the Jesuits had abandoned the Fisher Coast. A sharp reply was written by Clement Joseph SJ, the bishop of Cochin (1745-71), who states that the Jesuits had not been compelled to leave the Coast, and that they had no idea of doing so.¹² It seems likely that a small number of parishes had been taken over by Franciscans and Dominicans. In 1778 the Coast was made subject by Propaganda to the Paris Mission with its headquarters in Pondichéri; but it seems certain that that mission, with the onerous responsibilities thrust upon it elsewhere, would not have been able to spare a single missionary for the Coast. It seems possible, even likely, that as late as 1780 there were still six ex-Jesuits in residence and able to carry on the essentials of the work. The trouble was that the Jesuits who died could not be replaced.¹³ But it seems likely that the Coast was not flooded with Goan priests until after 1790, that is to say beyond the limits of the period dealt with in this chapter.

APPENDIX 12 OPIUM

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the Company's government realised the value of a commodity whose sale would yield enormous profits, and the duty on which could not fail to bolster up the shaky finances of government. Opium is exactly the kind of merchandise on which the prudent merchant sets his heart. It is small in compass, moderate in weight; it keeps its quality for a considerable time, and it sells for a price out of all proportion to the cost of producing it. The supply of opium to China, where the demand was insatiable and where Indian opium was preferred to all others, opened up to India a market which resembled a bottomless pit. So it came about that

in 1773 Warren Hastings, who had declared opium to be 'a pernicious article of luxury, which ought not to be permitted but for purposes of foreign commerce', issued the order which made of opium a government monopoly, and this it continued to be for more than a century. Ruler after ruler recognised the evils involved in the traffic; but always Mammon was victorious in the conflict against God, and the traffic went on. As late as 1832 a committee of the House of Commons in London declared that 'it does not appear advisable to abandon so important a source of revenue, a duty upon opium being a tax which falls principally upon the foreign consumer' – who presumably was to be left to care for his own interests as best he could.

The opium poppy had been known in India for many centuries, but the use made of the drug was mainly medicinal. The introduction of the government monopoly led to an enormous increase in the cultivation of it. James Tod, in the year 1820, records from his personal observation the devastation, moral and material, which followed: this drug, he says,

has tended more to the physical and moral degradation of the inhabitants than the combined influence of pestilence and war . . . this execrable and demoralising plant . . . If the now paramount power, instead of making a monopoly of it, and consequently extending its cultivation, would endeavour to restrict it by judicious legislative enactments, or at least reduce its cultivation to what it was forty years ago, generations yet unborn would have just reason to praise us for this work of mercy.¹⁴

Christian opinion, both in India and in England, was steadily opposed to the traffic. Opposition naturally reached its height at the time of the first 'opium war' (1839–42), an infamous business in which Britain was clearly seen to be forcing on an unwilling China a harmful drug, the use of which the Chinese government had been determined to suppress. On 4 April 1843, Lord Ashley (later the Earl of Shaftesbury) introduced in the House of Commons a resolution in the following terms:

That it is the opinion of this House that the continuance of the trade in opium, and the monopoly of its growth in the territories of British India, are destructive of all relations of amity between England and China . . . and utterly inconsistent with the honour and duties of a Christian kingdom; and that steps be taken as soon as possible, with due regard to the rights of governments and individuals, to abolish the evil.¹⁵

At the special request of the prime minister, Ashley did not divide the house, on the understanding that government had the matter in hand. But nothing was done. Once again, Esau had triumphed over Jacob; his triumph went far to render hypocritical the affirmation that the British were in India for India's good, and to tarnish the good name of the Christian missionary enterprise in China. But at least a protest had been made in the name of Christ.

APPENDIX 13 CHARLES GRANT ON THE STATE OF SOCIETY IN
BENGAL

Charles Grant's *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, particularly with Respect to Morals, and on the Means of improving it* seems to have been written in a first draft in 1792, while he was still resident in India, then revised and expanded, and printed for the first time in 1797. It was reprinted in 1812, at the time of the re-enactment of the charter of the East India Company, and is to be found in *Parl. Papers, East India*, vol. X, pt 4, pp. 5-112; it was again reprinted in 1832 at the time of preparation for the renewal of the charter in 1833. That it was reprinted in this way shows that the *Observations* were regarded as reliable and important information on the subject treated in them.

Grant's view of Hindu society is unfavourable. For this reason many Indian writers have taken him to task as prejudiced and unfriendly; others, however, have praised his veracity and his courage in setting down what he had himself experienced. It is true that, as a civil servant, he had little access to the tender and praiseworthy elements in Indian society in private and family relationships; but there is abundant evidence from other sources of the dishonesty and venality which reigned in the world of business and commerce, and of the depravity which marred other areas of life in society. And though Grant is severe in his censures, his aim is recovery and not mere condemnation; if society is as it is, how can it be made other than it is?

Chapter 1 deals with British territorial administration and is introductory in character.

In chapter 2 we come to the heart of the matter: 'View of the State of Society among the Hindoo Subjects of Great Britain, particularly with Respect to Morals'. Grant's thesis is supported by quotations from various writers and from official documents. He ends the chapter: 'If [the author] has given an unfavourable description his wish is not to excite detestation but to engage compassion, and to make it apparent that what speculation may have ascribed to physical and unchangeable causes springs from moral sources capable of correction' (p. 39).

In chapter 3 we proceed to 'Causes which have produced the Present Situation and Character of the Hindoos'. The degradation which the writer has found among the people he attributes in the main to the unlimited power which the Brāhmans have over the other castes, withholding knowledge from all, and keeping certain classes in a state of subjection hardly to be distinguished from slavery.

Chapter 4 sets forth an 'Inquiry into the Measures which might be adopted by Great Britain for the Improvement of the Condition of her Asiatic Subjects, and Answers to Objections'. We must not be passive

spectators, but in no circumstances may we use force; reason and argument alone are the tools to be used.

A prime method is the introduction of the English language:

It is perfectly within the power of the Company, by degrees to impart to the Hindoos our language; afterward through that medium to make them acquainted with our easy literary compositions on a variety of subjects . . . These acquisitions would silently undermine, and at length subvert, the fabric of error; and all the objections that may be apprehended against such a change are, it is confidently believed, capable of a solid answer.

(p. 77)

The Muslim example in the introduction of Persian suggests this. Such information would be profitable to agriculture, and for the furtherance of prosperity. More important than all this is the spread of our religion:

Wherever this knowledge should be received, idolatry, with all the rabble of its impure deities, its monsters of wood and stone, its false principles and its corrupt practices, its delusive hopes and vain fears, its ridiculous ceremonies and degrading superstitions, its lying legends and fraudulent impositions, would fall.

Eight objections to the proposed course are enumerated and answered *seriatim*.

Our danger must lie in pursuing, for ungenerous ends, a course contracted and illiberal; but in following the opposite course, in communicating light, knowledge and improvement, we shall obey the dictates of duty . . . to raise a fair and durable monument to the glory of this country, and to increase the happiness of the human race.

(p. 112)

In the light of later experience, many of the proposals made by Grant proved to be unworkable; but of the generous spirit in which he wrote, and of the sincerity of his desire for the improvement of the lot of the Indian peoples, there can be no doubt.

APPENDIX 14 THE ABOLITION OF *SATĪ*

To pass a decree is one thing; to ensure that it is observed is another. There is no doubt that *satī* was widely practised in India long after its formal abolition.¹⁶ Even in areas controlled by the British government constant vigilance was needed. But in independent areas the government could do no more than advise, protect and encourage those who were prepared to support the government's policy. A case was recorded as late as 1861 in Udaipur on the death of the *mahārāna* of that state. Thompson gives the opinion that 1862 may be taken as the date by which *satī* was illegal everywhere in India,

though not yet in Nepal. That careful observer W. Crooke, quoted by Thompson (p. 127), states that in Nepal the rite still survives, but gives no detailed evidence.

A later case of attempted *satī* that has come to my notice took place at Bahr in Bihar towards the end of 1927. The case came up on appeal early in 1928 before the chief justice of Bihar and Orissa, Sir Courtney Terrell, recently arrived in India. Ten persons were convicted of participation in the crime, and received prison sentences from ten years downwards. There is a fascinating account of the case in R. Terrell, *The Chief Justice: a Portrait from the Raj*, (London, 1979), pp. 136–40, in which a number of extracts of the judgement given by the chief justice is given.¹⁷

So great an event as the abolition of *satī* could not pass without comment and opposition. On 14 January 1830 a deputation of Bengali protesters waited on the governor-general, who pointed out to them that they had a right of appeal to the king in council. The proposal was accepted and a petition was sent. The case was argued before the privy council by the able and eloquent Stephen Lushington, defending the right of Hindus to the unimpeded practice of their religious rites. Rāmmohun Roy, who was in England at the time, was consulted by the privy council; he declared without hesitation that he now wholeheartedly approved of an action which at the time that it was taken he had regarded as premature. The appeal from Bengal was rejected by the council in 1832; not long after the governor-general received a letter from the contrary party in Bengal, thanking him for his services to the freedom of India.

APPENDIX 15 CAMPBELL AND THE KHONDS

Like so many government servants of the time, Campbell was a devout Christian. He writes:

I have not alluded to the great precursor of civilisation – the Gospel – not because I am insensible of its fitness for these wild tribes (who have no predilection for Brahmans) but simply because it is not within the province of the government of India to introduce any agency of the kind. I may, however, express the hope that in due season these poor savages will be visited by the teacher of a higher and purer wisdom than that of men. (*Personal Narrative* (London, 1864), p. 132)

He adds, however:

One hundred and twenty little children have been placed under the care of the missionaries at Berhampore and Cuttack at the expense of the government.

The total number of Meriahs rescued is given as 1,506 – 717 males, 789 females. In his official account the number of children in mission schools is given as 200.

APPENDIX 16 MACAULAY'S MINUTE ON EDUCATION

[Full text in *The Correspondence of Lord William Bentinck, vol. II: 1832-1835* (London, 1977), pp. 1403-13. An extensive and accurate discussion is J. Clive, *Thomas Babington Macaulay* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 369-78.]

Macaulay arrived in India on 10 June 1834. He sent his famous minute to the governor-general on 2 February 1835. He had no time to acquaint himself extensively with the languages and thought of India. On the other hand, when he set out for India, he was by no means ignorant of Indian history, particularly of that history in the period of close contact between Britain and India; and during his months in Calcutta he had studied carefully the controversy about education, and in particular the legal aspects of the question.

Two points must specially be borne in mind. First, Macaulay never intended that his minute should be printed. It was a private memorandum intended for the eyes of a governor-general, whom he had come to know and greatly to admire, and of a few other persons particularly involved in the discussions. In point of fact, it was not published until 1853 when it appeared in C. H. Cameron, *Address to Parliament on the Duties of Great Britain in India*. Secondly, the extent of Macaulay's influence on the debate and the decisions has been enormously exaggerated. He was doing little more than to sum up, in his own dictatorial and rhetorical style, what he judged to be the opinion of the majority of thoughtful people, European and Indian, in Calcutta at the time. The minute seemed to encourage the governor-general to put his views into effect – the decision he had in all probability arrived at some time before the minute reached him.

Under the trappings of rhetoric Macaulay deals with four points, each of considerable importance:

Are the hands of the governor-general tied by the act of 1813, which seemed to incline strongly to the side of the orientalist and of the 'learned natives' of India? Macaulay concludes, perhaps rather by special pleading than by argument, that the governor-general is as free to act in this matter as he is 'to direct that the reward for killing tigers in Mysore shall be discontinued, or that no more public money shall be expended on the chanting at the cathedral' (p. 1405).

Can the education of India be carried on in the languages popularly used, in the form in which they were used at the time of writing? Macaulay was in no way opposed to the refinement and development of those languages; but this must follow as a second stage, and must come after and not before the settlement of the crucial questions of the *content* of Indian education, and of the medium in which it is to be communicated.

Is it true that the English language is so difficult that the acquisition of it by a large number of Indians is hardly to be thought of? Experience shows that this is an entirely untenable argument: 'There are in this very town natives who are quite competent to discuss political or scientific questions with fluency and precision in the English language. I have heard the very question on which I am now writing discussed by native gentlemen with a liberality and intelligence which would do credit to any member of the committee of public instruction' (p. 1411).

Have Arabic and Sanskrit the qualities which will fit them to serve the education of India at the present stage of its development? It is in his answer to this question that Macaulay exposes himself to the disapproval of his fellow-countrymen, and to the fury of his Indian readers. It may be taken as certain that, if he had known that his words were to become public property, he would have expressed himself with greater circumspection: 'I have never found one among [the orientalist]s who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia' (p. 1405). Again, 'The question now before us is simply whether . . . when we can patronize sound philosophy and true history, we shall countenance, at the public expense, medical doctrines which would disgrace an English farrier, astronomy which would move laughter in girls at an English boarding school, history abounding with kings thirty feet high and reigns thirty thousand years long, and geography made of seas of treacle and seas of butter' (pp. 1406-7).

In 1835, the word 'philosophy' was constantly used in the sense now conveyed by the term 'natural science'. In fact, Macaulay himself refers to the distinction between 'physical' and 'moral' philosophy. When he speaks of 'sound philosophy and true history', it is clear that he is not inveighing against the philosophy of the *Upaniṣads*, of which he was probably entirely ignorant; he is pleading that Indian students should be introduced to the 'sound philosophy' of Newton and Laplace, of Faraday and Sir Humphry Davy. Here seemed to him to lie the true hope for 'Indian improvement'.

The orientalist were, naturally, strong against him. But the younger generation of thoughtful Hindus was on his side. John Clive notes that 'his example of time-wasting Hindu theology – which text of the Vedas one had to repeat in order to expiate the crime of killing a goat – was the very one employed by Ram Mohan Roy in his letter to Lord Amherst twelve years earlier'.¹⁸ No doubt the governor-general was encouraged by the opinion of the legal member of his council, but there can be little doubt that, even if Macaulay had never set foot in India, even if he had never taken pen in hand to write his minute, the decision would have gone the same way.

The English language was already launched on its destiny to become the official, and in a very real sense the national, language of India.

APPENDIX 17 SIR PEREGRINE MAITLAND

The story of Maitland's resignation of his post as commander-in-chief, Madras, is still surrounded by much ambiguity. E. Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society*, vol. 1 (London, 1899), p. 298, gives two completely different accounts.

The first is that two Christian privates had refused to fire their muskets in salute to an idolatrous procession. They had undoubtedly disobeyed orders. When the matter came before Maitland, he felt unable to issue the order for punishment for an action which his conscience commended. He saw quite clearly that his refusal to act according to military regulations must lead to his resignation. Supported by the desire of members of his family that he should act according to his conscience, he proceeded to resign.

The other story, which rests on the authority of the Reverend J. H. Gray, a missionary of the CMS who was in Madras at the time of these occurrences, was that shortly after his arrival in Madras Maitland found himself required to sign a document sanctioning the appointment and payment of dancing-girls at a certain Hindu temple. This Maitland felt unable in conscience to do, and he appealed to the East India Company for approval. This the directors refused to grant. Accordingly Maitland resigned.

Neither of these stories fits in with what is recorded in the official documents. It is clear that the resignation of so distinguished an officer caused great embarrassment to the authorities in India; it is probable that the official accounts tell less than the whole truth.

Opinion in India was strongly divided. The Christian forces were naturally almost unanimously on his side. The general feeling in official circles was probably that expressed by the Hon. Emily Eden:

What mischief religion does in a country. George [Lord Auckland] is troubled that an unsensible person like Sir Peregrine Maitland should refuse to give the national festival the usual honour of drums, guns, etc, which they have had ever since the English set foot in India . . . irritation kept up on the pleas of conscience when the soothing system would be much more commendable and much easier.¹⁹

It is clear that military opinion in England, including the all-important opinion of the Duke of Wellington, was against Maitland. It is equally clear that, as the facts became more fully known, opinion swung in his favour. He was completely exonerated. He never again held a military appointment; but the esteem in which he was held was made plain by his appointment to the important post of governor of the Cape of Good Hope (1844), a post which he held until his final retirement at the age of seventy in 1847.

APPENDIX 18 MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE HINDUS BY
WILLIAM WARD IN SERAMPORE

Two defects in Ward's work cannot be overlooked.

His observations were accurate as far as they went, but his opportunities were limited, and he tended to generalise on the basis of inadequate information. F. J. Shore, a civil servant of wide experience,²⁰ wrote: 'Had his work been entitled 'An account of the Bengalee Hindoos, derived from observations in the neighbourhood of Serampore', it might have been correct enough, but to publish the book to the world as a description of the Hindus in general . . . was incorrect and unfair.'²¹

A more serious objection is that he took pleasure in depicting the darker side of Hinduism and of the Bengali character, and overlooked the more cheerful themes on which he could have dilated. This is not wholly true; he could write, 'The Hindoo lawgivers have established several customs which, if separated from idolatry, would be worthy of the highest commendation'; and, in another context, 'It is . . . but justice to the Hindoos, to mention certain of their institutions which would do honour to any country.'²² On the other hand, he did take a low view of the Bengali character, and of the religion by which he believed that character to have been weakened and deformed: 'If vices of lying, deceit, dishonesty and impurity can degrade a people, the Hindoos have sunk in the lowest depths of human depravity'; again, 'If the religious institutions of a country be the prime source of corruption, how should the people be virtuous?'²³ Like most of the missionaries, Ward was shocked and distressed by the unreformed Hinduism which he encountered at every turn. But in this he was not alone. The criticisms of contemporary Hinduism launched by such thoughtful Hindus as Rāmmohun Roy were as scathing as anything written by a missionary.²⁴ Few have doubted the accuracy of Ward's presentation of the facts, though they may have deplored the spirit by which he was actuated.²⁵

APPENDIX 19 WILLIAM WARD'S FAREWELL LETTERS TO A
FEW FRIENDS IN BRITAIN AND AMERICA (1821)

This little book contains twenty-six letters, all of them written within the space of about one month, on board the ship *Hercules*, on which Ward was returning from America to Britain. He was induced to publish them, and the letters speedily became so popular that three editions were called for within a short space of time. This work of Ward thus became more widely known than any other which was produced from Serampore, and from it a great many readers in England derived their most vivid impressions of India, of

the weaknesses of Indian society, and of the difficulties attendant on Christian witness in that country. Unfortunately the book has done more harm than any other to the reputation of missionaries in the judgement of later readers, giving the impression of men so fanatically attached to their Christian beliefs as to have no sense of possible goodness in others, and to be filled with contempt and even hatred for the people to whom they had come to preach the Gospel.

By far the greater part of the contents of Ward's letters is entirely innocuous. The subjects with which he deals are, in the main, the following:

1. The obligation resting on all Christians to preach the Gospel to every creature and to use means for their conversion.
2. The extent to which this duty is neglected in the churches, and the need for a new understanding of the nature of the Christian ministry.
3. The difficulties attendant on Christian missionary work in Bengal, through the intense attachment of the Hindus to their own scriptures and to the institution of caste.
4. The way in which these difficulties have been overcome by divine providence.
5. The measure of success that has been granted to the Christian missions, as evidence that the conversion of the non-Christians, though difficult, is not impossible.

Offence has been given by letters iv–viii, in which Ward deals with the injury done to the Hindu religious system by the intrusion of superstition and by the lack of an understanding of the holiness of God:

with the harm done to the Hindu character by the lack of a clear connection between religion and morality, with the oppression to which Hindu women are subject in India, and the distortion of the female character to which this has given rise.

(letter vi)

Under the last of these headings Ward has written a number of sentences to which grave exception has rightly been taken:

Faithfulness to the marriage vow is almost unknown in India. (p. 68)

On female infanticide:

And does no mother ever interpose her tender entreaties to spare her daughter? . . . oh what need of the enlightening and softening influence of the Gospels, where mothers have become monsters – have sunk below the wolf and the tiger. Through what unknown, unheard of process must the female heart have passed, thus to have lost all its wonted tenderness; thus to have laid hold of a nature not found anywhere else upon earth. (p. 62)

At Saugur island, formerly, mothers were seen casting their living offspring amongst a number of alligators, and standing to gaze at those monsters quarrelling for their

prey, beholding the writhing infant in the jaws of the successful animal and standing motionless while it was breaking the bones and sucking the blood of the poor innocent! What must be that superstition, which can thus transform a being, whose distinguishing quality is tenderness, into a monster more unnatural than the tiger prowling through the forest for its prey? (pp. 79–80)

Many of the practices described by Ward – female infanticide, immolation of widows, etc. – did exist in Bengal at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and had come under the observation of the missionaries. But few who know India would subscribe to the idea that Ward has given a full and fair description of that society.

It may be urged, in Ward's defence, that these letters were written hurriedly on board ship, where he had access neither to books nor to the notes he had himself earlier taken when resident in India. Moreover, it was not his aim to vilify a people whom he regarded as not so much guilty as grievously misled by the devil; he wished to stir the compassion of friends in the West, to engage their interest for missions, and to underline the message he had constantly proclaimed – that in East and West the only power that can produce any notable improvement in society is the Gospels.

But, when all has been said that can be said in defence of Ward, it cannot but be regretted that a man of genial and kindly temperament, of considerable intellectual power and of wide experience allowed himself to be seduced by emotion into writing harsh words which could not but do harm, and did in fact cause great harm to the missionary cause over a period of at least thirty years.

APPENDIX 20 A HINDU WRITER ON CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

The literature of this period has lately been enriched by a valuable book, the work of an Indian scholar – Kanti Presanna Sen Gupta, *The Christian Missionaries in Bengal 1793–1833* (Calcutta, 1971), based on careful and extensive study of the primary sources. This is a welcome indication of the recognition by Indian scholars that the Christian missions have made a notable contribution to the development of modern Indian society, and are a worthy subject of research.

There is an interesting duality in the manner in which Dr Sen Gupta handles his material. He very much dislikes the evangelistic activities of the missionaries, and is sharply critical of their methods and of their alleged achievements. At the same time, he is acutely aware of the contribution made by the missionaries in the fields of education, literature in the Indian languages, journalism both English and Bengali, and others.

Carey, Fort William College, and Serampore, thus became immortal names in the annals of the Bengali language and literature. The Serampore missionaries were the

pioneers in Bengali Journalism and contributed immensely to its growth and development . . . The missionaries were the pioneers in providing mass education for both boys and girls . . . The missionary initiatives in the field of education aroused public interest in the subject of education in Bengal. (pp. 192–3)

Dr Sen Gupta's estimate of missionary achievement should be quoted in full:

Apart from the fact that the number [of converts] shown is insignificant, most of these converts were low class Hindus and a few Muslims, and their behaviour after conversion was scandalous. The missionaries in Bengal thus not only failed to gain enough converts, but also to reform them – a total failure, acknowledged privately by the missionaries themselves without reserve.

The disunity among the missionaries, their ignorance and narrowness, above all their 'zeal without love' may account for their failure. The neutral policy of the Christian government and the determined resistance of the Hindu leaders made missionary success in Bengal even more difficult.

In spite of the failure of the missionaries to gain their main object they made a lasting contribution towards the social progress of Bengal. The socio-religious reforms were the last thing that the missionaries wanted but they were what followed from their activities in Bengal. (p. 194)

It is important for the student of Christian missions to see things 'from the other side'. Dr Sen Gupta's book contains a great deal of valuable information not easily accessible elsewhere. The last sentence of the quotation from p. 194, which is also the last sentence of the book, reveals the weakness of his case. He is right about the primary aim of the missionaries – conversion of the Indian peoples to the faith of Christ; but the wisest of the missionaries always held that the success of their work was not to be judged by the number of actual converts. They valued every sign of social or moral reform that manifested itself among the Hindu population, and believed that every movement in this direction, if followed to its conclusion, must result in allegiance to Jesus Christ. Dr Sen Gupta himself gives evidence for this in his remarks (p. 75) on the *Samachar Darpan*, the weekly Bengali paper edited by John Clark Marshman from 1818 to 1841. He picks out especially the unqualified praises given to the most orthodox Brāhmans, and the praise lavished on donations and charities raised by the people of India for benevolent purposes.

That the missionaries made many mistakes is self-evident. But credit should be given to them not only for their aspirations and achievements, but also for their at times intelligent understanding of the situation, and for their at times generous judgements on the Hindus with whom they had to do and on the converts who often failed to rise to the level of the high hopes which the missionaries had placed in them.

APPENDIX 21 WILLIAM CAREY'S PLEASING DREAM

No better illustration of the vividness of Carey's imagination, and of the amplitude of his missionary ideas, can be found than the proposal he sent to Andrew Fuller in 1806 for a World Mission Conference, to be held at the Cape of Good Hope in 1810 and to be repeated in other conferences to be held at intervals of about ten years. 'We should understand one another better in two hours than by two years of letters.'

In July of that year, Carey threw out the idea in conversation, and his words fell on the appreciative ears of the newly arrived Henry Martyn:

An idea thrown out by Carey pleased me very much, not on account of its practicability, but its grandeur, i.e. that there should be an annual meeting, at the Cape of Good Hope, of all the missionaries in the world.²⁶

Andrew Fuller received the proposal with scepticism. On 2 December 1806 he wrote to Ward:

I admire Carey's proposal, though I cannot say I approve. It shows an enlarged mind, and I have heard say that great men dream differently from others! I consider this as one of bro'r Carey's pleasing dreams. Seriously, I see no important object to be obtained by such a meeting, which might not be quite as well attained without it. And in a meeting of all denominations, there would be no unity, without which we had better stay at home.²⁷

Nothing more was heard of Carey's proposal.

In a pleasant article, published in the *International Review of Missions* for April 1949 (pp. 181–92), Ruth Rouse has worked out what might have flowed from Carey's imaginative proposal, if it had been accepted or acted on.

The difficulties of holding such a conference were much less than has often been supposed. Cape Town was already an entrepôt between Europe and the Eastern world and was readily accessible from America. Missions were already sufficiently developed to have sent a number of notable representatives. India could have sent Carey and Marshman from Bengal, Taylor (LMS) from Bombay and Jacob Kohlhoff, forty years in the Halle-Danish Mission.²⁸ Robert Morrison could have come from China, LMS missionaries from Tahiti. The pious chaplains – Samuel Marsden, Henry Martyn and others – could have been added; likewise mission-board secretaries such as Andrew Fuller (BMS), Josiah Pratt (CMS), and C. F. A. Steinkopf (BFBS); Christian statesmen such as William Wilberforce and Zachary Macaulay; at least one representative of a younger church; the Tamil pastor Sattianadhan, who could preach in English.²⁹

Almost all the subjects debated in missionary circles a century later – the

future of indigenous churches, relations between missions and governments, the training of missionaries – had already raised their heads. The spirit of ecumenical co-operation was by no means unknown.

Miss Rouse believes that, if such a conference had been held, it might 'have heralded not only the advent of an international missionary council, but also the beginning of corporate search for agreement in the realm of faith and order, and the appearance of some form of world council of churches in the mid-nineteenth instead of the mid-twentieth century' (p. 192).

More pleasing dreams. Nothing was done for just a century. The first World Missionary Conference was held in Edinburgh in 1910.

APPENDIX 22 CHARLES RHENIUS' PRINCIPLES OF TRANSLATION

In the year 1826 Rhenius put out 'An Essay on the Principles of Translating the Holy Scriptures with critical remarks on various passages, particularly in reference to the Tamil language'.

In the introduction he remarks truly: 'I conceive that only those who are practically acquainted with the work of translating, can form a suitable opinion on the subject.' He then goes on with the treatment of his theme under four main headings:

1. That the translation ought to be made from the original language, and not merely from another version.
2. That the translation should not be literal, but the idiom of both of the originals, and of the language into which they are to be translated, should be carefully attended to.
3. In countries where there is so great a difference between the language of the learned and of the unlearned, as among the Hindus, the translation of the Bible ought to be made according to the style neither of the one nor of the other, but the middle path should be kept between the two.
4. Passages which have been obscurely or incorrectly rendered in former translations should not be so retained in later versions, if their sense can be more clearly made out upon good evidence.

It is probable that in 1980 all serious translators would agree upon all the four points listed above. In the time of Rhenius it was impossible, and even now it is difficult, to find in the churches of the Third World scholars capable of translating from Greek and Hebrew.

APPENDIX 23 THE RHENIUS AFFAIR

It does not appear that any adequate study of the Rhenius affair has as yet been published. Although all these events occurred in a remote corner of the Christian world, great principles were involved, and much interest and many

strong feelings were aroused not only in England and India, but also in Germany and Switzerland. A rewarding task awaits any scholar who is prepared to engage in rather extensive research in a number of languages.

Of printed authorities pride of place must naturally be accorded to *Memoir of the Rev C. T. E. Rhenius, comprising Extracts from his Journal and Correspondence, with Details of Missionary Proceedings in South India* (London, 1848), by his son. Many original documents are here reproduced. But some important matters are passed over in silence, and at certain points filial piety has led the younger Rhenius into misunderstanding of the facts.

The story is dealt with briefly in

J. Richter, *Indische Missionsgeschichte* (Gütersloh, 1924), pp. 104ff. (English translation of 1st edn, 2nd edn (1908), pp. 158–60).

E. Stock, *History of the Church Missionary Society*, vol. 1 (London, 1899), pp. 318–22.

E. Chatterton, *History of the Church of England in India* (London, 1924), p. 192 – wholly misleading.

M. E. Gibbs, *The Anglican Church in India 1600–1970* (London, 1972) – gives scattered but accurate information.

A much more satisfactory study is

H. Cnattingius, *Bishops and Societies: a Study of Anglican Colonial and Missionary Expansion* (London, 1952) – this is based on extensive study of original documents, and is provided with an excellent bibliography.

J. Aagard, *Mission, Konfession, Kirche*, 2 vols. (Gleerup, 1965), deals with the matter at some length. The bibliography of thirty-five pages contains references to almost all the relevant printed sources, but not to original sources. This work is particularly valuable for its indications as to the extensive controversy on the subject on the continent, and especially in Germany; the references to contemporary periodicals are specially valuable.

Neither of the last two mentioned writers seems to have realised the importance of A. N. Groves in the story, though Aagard refers to him (pp. 192ff. and 356–7).

Documents are to be found in:

Memoirs of the late Anthony Norris Groves containing Extracts from his Letters and Journals, compiled by his widow (London, 1856).

This work does not contain bibliography or index, and is tantalising in its omissions.

The letters and journals of Rhenius have been carefully preserved, and are available in the archives of the Church Missionary Society in London. Valuable materials are also to be found in the library of the United Theological College, Bangalore.

APPENDIX 24 THE PAPERS OF DR W. H. MILL

A number of papers of Dr W. H. Mill, first principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta, are in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Oriental Reading Room). My attention was drawn to these many years ago by Mill's grandson, Professor C. C. J. Webb, who presented the papers to the Bodleian Library. No one who has written on the Thomas Christians appears to have consulted these papers, though a report by Mill, based on them, appeared in the *Missionary Register* for 1823.

The papers in the Bodleian library consist of six small manuscript volumes, containing the diaries which Mill kept during his various journeys in India. He was in Travancore and Cochin from 19 November 1821 to 21 January 1822. This journey is recorded in MS Mill 204. The writing is small and cramped, and exceedingly difficult to read; in places the ink has faded and the writing is illegible. Mill spent much time with the CMS missionaries Fenn, Baker and Bailey. Fenn had been a friend of his from their schooldays together. Mill's primary interest was in Syriac manuscripts in the possession of the ancient church, a number of which he inspected and collated; but he was interested also in Hinduism and in the Sanskrit language, with the study of which he was occupied. Naturally at the same time he took trouble to acquaint himself with the Thomas Christians and their situation. In this he was much helped by younger *caṭṭanārs* who had come under the influence of the missionaries and spoke some English; he mentions with special affection Marcus, who is presumably the same Marcus to whom Fenn referred frequently as 'Marcus my son' (P. Cheriyan, *The Malabar Syrians and the Church Missionary Society 1816-1840* (Kōṭṭayam, 1935), p. 249, n. 1), who was regarded as one of the most brilliant of the students in the seminary.

Mill, as a high churchman, was not likely to be prejudiced in favour of the presence of CMS missionaries in the territory of the Thomas Christians and of their approach to the problem of reform of the ancient church. He probably shared the anxieties of Bishop Middleton, with whom he was working closely in Calcutta, as to the effects of the presence of foreigners in the midst of an ancient Indian church. The impressions of the work of the missionaries recorded by so impartial an observer are therefore of exceptional value. Mill found himself able to report with almost unconditional approval on what was happening:

From their venerable Metropolitan, Mar Dionysius, who is exerting himself in many ways for the improvement of his clergy and people, I had the happiness of hearing very warm expressions of respect and attachment to the Church of England . . . They do nothing but by the express sanction of the Metropolitan consulting and employing them.

APPENDIX 25 MAR ATHANASIOUS, 1825-6

The episode of Mar Athanasius, the prelate sent to Kerala by the patriarch of Antioch in 1825, is fully reported by P. Cheriyan, in *The Malabar Syrians and the Church Missionary Society 1816-1840* (Kōttayam, 1935), pp. 161-74; more briefly by L. W. Brown, *The Indian Christians of St Thomas*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1981), p. 137.

From the moment of his arrival, this foreign prelate claimed to be the only legitimate *metrān* in Kerala. He demanded that Mar Philoxenus and Mar Dionysius must be reduced to the status of simple priests, and that all those ordained by them must be reordained. He managed to secure the support of a small number of priests, and apparently succeeded in reordaining nine of them. The majority of the *caṭṭanārs* stood by their two local *metrāns*, and refused to admit the right of the foreigner to depose them.

It is alleged that Athanasius acted discourteously towards the authorities of the state of Travancore. This may or may not be true; but the government of Travancore soon came to realise that the presence of Athanasius could cause only disturbance and division within the church, and passed against him an order of deportation. His residence in Kerala lasted for less than a year.

The missionaries certainly resisted the attempt of this foreign prelate to take possession of their college; the allegation that they took action in the matter of his deportation from Kerala seems to rest on no foundation. Reports by the missionaries will be found in the *Missionary Register* for 1826 and 1827. In the latter year Bailey wrote to the CMS in London that 'the Travancore government acted with entire independence of us and for the preservation of its own authority' (*Missionary Register* (1827), pp. 600-1).

APPENDIX 26 DEACONS AS PRIESTS

The Reverend R. H. Kerr, who had been ordained deacon by the bishop of Sodor and Man in October 1789, arrived in India in 1790. In 1798, when he was senior chaplain on the establishment in Madras, the junior chaplain, Charles Bell, discovered the fact that Kerr had acted as priest without ever having been ordained to that office. Kerr produced a document signed by the Bishop of Sodor and Man on 18 November 1793 (M. E. Gibbs *The Anglican Church in England* (London, 1972), pp. 41-2, gives the date as 1798), in the following terms: 'We give and grant full leave and licence to our dearly beloved son in Christ Richard Hall Kerr, Clerk, A.B., to perform all the duties of priest, and to discharge all the duties of his function according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England.' In defending himself to

the governor-in-council, Kerr stated that 'the distinctions which prevail in England . . . have not hitherto been considered to apply to this country'. Kerr *was* ordained priest by the bishop of Sodor and Man in 1802.

APPENDIX 27 SOLOMON CAESAR MALAN

In 1837 Solomon Caesar Malan, a Waldensian but a graduate of Oxford, was appointed as senior classical professor at Bishop's College, Calcutta. From the start Malan evinced an astonishing capacity for acquiring languages. A chance meeting with the famous Hungarian scholar Csoma de Körös led him to an interest in the Tibetan language, which he set himself to acquire from the expert. The life by his son (A. N. Malan, *Solomon Caesar Malan DD: Memorials of his Life and Writings* (London, 1897)) includes a reproduction of a specimen of Malan's exquisite Tibetan writing – the master of languages was also a master of calligraphy. A young Chinese having come from Malacca in the company of an Englishman and having entered as a student in the college, Malan took the opportunity to learn from him the elements of the Chinese language.

In 1839 Malan was appointed as secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Unfortunately it soon became clear that his health would not stand the climate of Bengal. In January 1840 he left India, never to return. It is sad that India lost the services of one who made himself master of oriental languages whose number cannot be calculated with certainty – Professor Macdonnell puts it at forty.

An obituary notice of Malan, who had spent forty years of his later life as a country clergyman in Dorset, was contributed by Professor A. A. Macdonnell to *JRAS* for April 1895 (pp. 453–7). In it he states that Malan was by far the most accomplished oriental linguist in England: 'his writing of the Devanāgarī character few have probably ever seen equalled, and his Chinese hand it would be hard to excel'.

APPENDIX 28 ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS AND ORDERS IN INDIA, UP TO 1858

Augustinians	Bengal
Capuchins	Bombay, Nepal, Tibet, Uttar Pradesh
Carmelites (Discalced)	Bombay, Kerala, South Kanara
Congregation of St Anne (Indian)	Tamilnadu
Franciscans	Goa, Kanara, Tamilnadu
Holy Cross Society	Bengal

Jesuits	Agra, Andhra Pradesh, Bengal, Bihar, Goa, Pondichéri, Tamilnadu
Milan Seminary	Hyderabad, Mysore
Paris Mission (Missions Etrangères de Paris)	Andhra Pradesh, Pondichéri, Tamilnadu, Tibet
Salesians (of Annecy, not of Turin)	Andhra Pradesh
Secular priests	Goa, Mysore, Tamilnadu
Sisters of our Lady of Seven Sorrows (Indian)	Tamilnadu
Sisters of St Joseph of Annecy	Andhra Pradesh
Ursulines (briefly)	Pondichéri

APPENDIX 29 LATER HISTORY OF THE MORAVIAN MISSION

The Moravian Mission to Tibet still exists.

In 1885 the missionaries were able to realise their ambition to establish themselves in Leh, and thus to live in a genuinely Tibetan environment. Jaeschke had had to leave the mission owing to ill-health, in 1868, but he continued his work for Tibet in Germany. Before his death in 1883, he had completed the translation of the New Testament into Tibetan, with the exception of the epistle to the Hebrews.

The first baptism of a convert took place in 1865. The number of converts has never been large, but by degrees a genuinely Tibetan church has come into being. The translation of the Bible into Tibetan has been completed. Tibetans by race, though not by political allegiance, have been ordained to the ministry. The mission is unusual in that it uses a tea-house as one of the main instruments of evangelisation. Travellers are constantly passing to and fro, and find a warm welcome in the mission guest-house. Christian literature in the Tibetan language is made readily available to them. It is known that Gospels and other pieces of Christian literature enter Tibet in their hands; it is not known whether, as a result of this indirect method of penetration, groups of Christian believers have come into existence in a land which is closed to any direct form of Christian penetration.

APPENDIX 30 PFANDER AND THE MUSLIMS

The article by A. A. Powell, 'Maulānā Raḥmat Allāh Kairānawī and Muslim-Christian Controversy in India in the Mid-19th Century', *JRAS* (1976), 42-63, is valuable as giving information about the debate between Pfander and his Muslim antagonist from the Muslim side, especially

regarding the later career of Raḥmat Allāh, and the influence of his writings in the Islamic world, not readily available to readers unacquainted with Urdu and Persian.

Pfander's initial mistake was that, before committing himself to public debate, he did not insist on an accurate definition of the subjects to be discussed. He had not been warned that his opponent intended to bring into the arena books, written in English and German, which Pfander had not read and which dealt with areas with which, not surprisingly after nearly thirty years' absence from Europe, he was not familiar. Moreover, the exact meaning to be attached to the technical terms involved in the discussion should have been agreed on in private discussion, and not subjected to argument in the open arena.

The refusal of the Muslim protagonist to take seriously the vital question as to the date at which the Christian Scriptures are supposed to have been corrupted, or to produce in evidence an 'uncorrupted' copy of the New Testament, justified Pfander in breaking off the discussion. Unfortunately, however, this decision could be interpreted as meaning that he felt himself defeated, and was not willing to enter further into the fray. This impression was widely disseminated in the Muslim world, and widely accepted.

Powell has underestimated the part played in the debate by T. V. French, the notable Oxford scholar, who was better instructed theologically than Pfander. French's admiration for Pfander was almost unlimited, and in no way diminished by his supposed ill-success in the encounter in Agra.

No reference is made in the article to those Muslims present at the debate who subsequently became convinced and devoted Christians.

APPENDIX 31 PROTESTANT MISSIONS AT WORK IN INDIA UP TO 1858

ANGLICAN

Church Missionary Society (CMS)

Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK)

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG)

BAPTIST

American Baptist Missionary Union [American Baptist Foreign Mission Society from 1910]

Baptist Missionary Society (BMS)

Free Baptists [American]

General Baptist Mission [British]

BRETHREN (Plymouth)

Christian Missions in Many Lands (CMML)

CONGREGATIONAL

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM)
 London Missionary Society (LMS)

LUTHERAN

American United Lutheran Mission
 General Synod (Lutheran)
 Gossner Missionary Society (GM)
 Leipzig [earlier Dresden] Evangelical Lutheran Mission (Lp)

METHODIST

Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church
 Welsh Calvinistic Methodists Foreign Missions (WCMM) [*see also*
 Presbyterian]
 Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS)

MORAVIAN

Moravian Missions

PRESBYTERIAN

American United Presbyterian Mission (UP)
 Basel Evangelical Mission (B)
 Church of Scotland Foreign Mission (CSFM)
 Free Church of Scotland [United until 'disruption' of 1843, after which
 missions divided between Church of Scotland and Free Church of
 Scotland]
 Irish Presbyterian Mission (IP)
 Presbyterian Church of England (EPM)
 Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (PN)
 [Dutch] Reformed Church in America (RCA)
 Welsh Calvinistic Methodists Foreign Missions (WCMM)

STATIONS OCCUPIED BY PROTESTANT MISSIONS TO 1858

		<i>Abbrev.</i>	<i>Date of Arrival</i>
Agra	Baptist Missionary Society	BMS	1811
	Church Missionary Society	CMS	1813
Ahmadnagar	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions	ABCFM	1831
Allahabad	Board of Foreign Missions of Presbyterian Church in USA	PN	1836

		<i>Abbrev.</i>	<i>Date of Arrival</i>
Almora	London Missionary Society	LMS	1850
Ambala	PN		1848
Amritsar	CMS		1851
Anandapur	Basel Evangelical Missionary Society	B	1857
Arni	Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church in America	RCA	1856
Aruppukkottai	ABCFM		1851
Balasore	Free Baptists (later American Baptist Foreign Mission Society)	AFM	1838
Bangalore	LMS		1820
	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society	WMMS	1821
Bareilly	Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church	MEFB	1856
Barisal	BMS		1828
Belgaum	LMS		1820
Bellary	LMS		1810
Benares/Varanasi	CMS		1817
	LMS		1820
Berhampur	LMS		1824
	BMS		1825
Betgeri	B		1853
Bezwada/Vijayawada	CMS		1858
Bhagalpur (Bihar & Orissa)	CMS		1850
Bishnapur	BMS		1844
Bombay	ABCFM		1813
	WMMS		1814
	CMS		1820
	Foreign Mission Committee of the United Free Church of Scotland	UFS	1823
	Diocese of Bombay (Anglican)	DB	1839

		<i>Abbrev.</i>	<i>Date of Arrival</i>
Burdwan	CMS		1816
Buxar	Gossner Missionary Society	GM	1856
Calcutta	BMS		1801
	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel	SPG	1814
	CMS		1816
	LMS		1817
	Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Committee	CSFM	1830
	Free Church of Scotland		1830
	Church of Scotland Women's Association for Foreign Missions	CSFMW	1840
Calicut	B		1842
Cannanore	B		1841
Cawnpore/Kanpur	SPG		1833
Chapra (Bengal)	CMS		1840
Chapra (Bihar & Orissa)	GM		1840
Cherrapunji	Welsh Calvinistic Methodists' Foreign Missions	WCMM	1841
Chinsura	UFS		1846
Chittoor	RCA		1854
Chombala	B		1849
Codacal	B		1857
Coimbatore	LMS		1830
Conjeeveram	UFS		1839
Cuddalore	Leipzig Evangelical Lutheran Mission	Lp	1856
Cuddapah	LMS		1822
Cumbaconan	LMS		1825
Cuttack	BMS		1822
Dacca/Dhaka	BMS		1816
Daska	CSFM		1857

		<i>Abbrev.</i>	<i>Date of Arrival</i>
Dehra	PN		1853
Delhi	BMS		1818
	SPG		1853
Dharwar	B		1837
Dinajpur	BMS		1794
Dinapore	BMS		1810
Dindigul	ABCFM		1835
Dohnāvur	CMS		1827
Ellore/Eluru	CMS		1854
Erode	LMS		1839
Fatehgarh	PN		1844
Fatehpur	PN		1853
Gauhati	American Baptist Foreign Mission Society	ABF	1843
Ghazipur	GM		1853
Gogha	Foreign Mission of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland	IP	1843
Gooty	LMS		1855
Gorakhpur	CMS		1823
Gubbi	WMMS		1838
Guntur	Board of Foreign Missions of the United Lutheran Church in America	ULC	1842
Hazaribag	GM		1853
Henzada	ABF		1853
Honavar	B		1845
Howrah	BMS		1821
Hubli	B		1839
Hyderabad (Sindh)	CMS		1856

		<i>Abbrev.</i>	<i>Date of Arrival</i>
Jaleswar	ABF		1840
Jessore	BMS		1804
Jubbulpore/Jabalpur	CMS		1855
Jullundur	PN		1847
Kaity/Keti	B		1846
Karachi	CMS		1850
Kolhapur	PN		1853
Kōṭṭayam	CMS		1817
Krishnagar	CMS		1831
Kumbakonam	Lp		1856
Kyelang	Moravian Missions	Mor	1856
Lahore	PN		1849
Landour	PN		1847
Lucknow	MEFB		1858
Ludhiana	PN		1834
Madras	LMS		1805
	CMS		1814
	WMMS		1817
	CSFM		1836
	UFS		1837
	CFSMW		1843
Madura	ABCFM		1834
Mainpuri	PN		1843
Mangalore	B		1834
Mannargudi	WMMS		1835
Martandam	LMS		1828
Masulipatam/Machilipatnam	CMS		1841
Matale	BMS		1837

		<i>Abbrev.</i>	<i>Date of Arrival</i>
Mayavaram	Lp		1845
Meerut	CMS		1815
Melur	ABCFM		1857
Mengnanapuram	CMS		1836
Moolky	B		1845
Motupatti	Lp		1852
Multan	CMS		1856
Mussooree	PN		1847
Muzaffarpur	GM		1840
Mysore	WMMS		1838
Nagercoil	LMS		1829
Nāgpur	UFS		1846
Naini Tal	MEFB		1858
Nallur	CMS		1819
Narasapur	Christian Missions in Many Lands	CMML	1836
Nasik	CMS		1832
Nazareth	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (Mission taken over by	SPCK SPG	1825 1829)
Nellore	ABF		1840
Neyyoor	LMS		1828
Nowgong (Assam)	ABF		1841
Palamcottah/Pālayankotṭai	CMS		1820
Palghat	B		1858
Pallam	CMS		1845
Parassala	LMS		1845
Pasumalai	ABCFM		1845

		<i>Abbrev.</i>	<i>Date of Arrival</i>
Patna	BMS		1816
Peshāwar	CMS		1854
Poona	UFS		1831
	CSFMW		1841
	CSFM		1853
Porayar	Lp		1842
Pudukkottai	(Swedish missionaries in Service of Lp)	SKM	1849
Puri	BMS		1825
Quilon	LMS		1821
Rajahmundry	ULC		1845
Rajkot	IP		1841
Ramnad/Ramanathapuram	SPG		1825
Ranchi	GM		1845
Ranipet	RCA		1853
Rawalpindi	PN		1856
Saharanpur	PN		1836
St Thomas Mount	WMMS		1827
Salem	LMS		1827
Satara	ABCFM		1849
Secunderabad	WMMS		1832
Serampore/Srīrāmpur	BMS		1799
Sialkot	Board of Foreign Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of North America	UP	1855
	Women's General Missionary Society of the United Presbyterian Church	UPW	1855
	CSFM		1857
Sibsagar	ABF		1841

	Abbrev.	Date of Arrival
Sikandra	CMS	1839
Sirur	ABCFM	1841
Surat	LMS	1815
	IP	1846
Sylhet	WCMM	1850
Tanjore/Thañjāvur	SPCK (Danish)	1778
	SPG	1825
	Lp	1858
Tellicherry	B	1839
Tellippallai	ABCFM	1831
Tirumangalam	ABCFM	1838
Tiruwella	CMS	1849
Tranquebar	Royal Danish Mission	1706
	Lp	1841
Trichinopoly/Tiruchirāpaḷḷi	SPCK (Danish)	1762
	WMMS	1847
Trichur	CMS	1842
Trivandrum	LMS	1838
Tumkur	WMMS	1842
Udipi	B	1854
Vadala	ABCFM	1857
Vellore	RCA	1855
Vizagapatam/Vishākhapaṭṇam	LMS	1805

APPENDIX 32 HINDU—CHRISTIAN DIALOGUE

The work of John Muir was known to specialists in the study of the period 1830–50; but a flood of new light has been cast on the whole episode by the work of

R. F. Young, *Resistant Hinduism: Sanskrit Sources on Anti-Christian Apologetics in Early Nineteenth-Century India* (Vienna, 1981).

With commendable diligence (though rather less than adequate knowledge of Christian theology and terminology), Dr Young has traced the careers of the main actors in this highly interesting episode, and has made available in considerable detail the contents of documents never before made generally available.

Muir retired from service in India in 1853. It may be noted that from 1833 to 1837 he served as assistant to the redoubtable Robert Merttins Bird, one of the outstandingly Christian officials of the East India Company. Muir's work did not meet with uncritical approval on the part of the missionary community. Dr W. H. Mill of Bishop's College, Calcutta, wrote that 'the instructor gives no hint to his heathen pupil of anything more being required of him than the isolated mental reception of the philosophy of Christianity . . . no hint of the primary necessity of being joined by baptism to the church as the body of Christ' (R. F. Young, *Resistant Hinduism*, pp. 72-3).

Somanatha, the writer of the first answer (*Mataparīkṣāsikṣā*) was almost certainly Subāji Bapu, a learned student of astronomy, who had been deeply influenced by an English friend, Lancelot Wilkinson, and had become a believer in the Copernican understanding of the solar system. His broad tolerance in matters of religion, unusual in Hindus of that period, may have resulted from his friendship with Europeans, and also from his study of the physical sciences. His work was never printed.

Haracandra Tarkapancanana, the author of *Mataparīkṣottaram: or, An Answer to a Sketch of the Argument for Christianity and against Hinduism*, was a resident of Calcutta. He combined extreme Hindu conservatism, believing in the eternity of the *Veda* ('Only that religion is true which has prevailed on earth since the time of creation, and not one that arose subsequently'), with a somewhat superficial acquaintance with the work of European free-thinkers. The publication of his work caused something of a stir in Calcutta. The *Christian Observer* in 1841 took rather scornful note of it: 'If the enemies we shall by and by have to contend with in India are not more formidable than this brahman, our task will be an easy one' (R. F. Young, *Resistant Hinduism*, p. 93). As noted in the text, K. M. Banerjea composed in Bengali an answer to the work of Tarkapancanana. For an amusing account of a meeting between Banerjea and the pundit, see *Resistant Hinduism*, p. 101, n. 97.

On Nīlakaṇṭha (later Nehemiah) Goreh so much has been written that not much need be added here. K. Baago has included a chapter on him in his work *Pioneers of Indigenous Christianity* (1969). Young's account of the gradual process by which the learned pundit became convinced of the truth of Christianity is excellent. The sixth edition of his Christian work *Ṣaddarśanadarpaṇa* was published in 1950; this was followed by an accurate reprint of his Hindu work *Śāstratattva nirṇ-ayah* at Ujjain in 1951.

APPENDIX 33 FORMATION OF THE DHARMA SABHA

Some modern writers maintain that the year 1830 did mark a polarisation of thoughtful opinion in Bengal.³⁰ According to this thesis, many of those who up to that time had been prepared to go along with moderate measures of reform felt themselves threatened in their identity and compelled to take measures of defence, which meant of course measures of hostility against the reforming party, whether European or Indian. The sign of their unrest was the formation of the Dharma Sabhā in 1830. If these men, the majority of whom were not Brāhmans, 'were bigoted, their hostility was not directed necessarily against modernization as such, but against what they came to fear as intrusive forms of Westernization'.³¹ There was also an element of anti-missionary feeling in the movement. That there was an unfavourable reaction is certain. That it was extensive, and that it was successful in delaying the spread of Western ideas among the population of Bengal, is open to considerable question.

APPENDIX 34 THE NATURE OF THE UPRISING OF 1857

What really happened in 1857?

The uncertainty which prevails in this matter is shown in the variety of names by which the events of 1857 are known. English writers have generally referred to them as 'the Indian Mutiny'. Sir John Kaye gives the slightly more generous title 'the Sepoy war'. Indian writers, on the other hand, have tended to glorify the uprising as a great manifestation of Indian patriotism, as one of the first manifestations of the national spirit which led to the independence of India in 1947.

One of the most notable expressions of the latter point of view is the book by Swatantrya Veer V. D. Savarkar, *The Indian War of Independence* (n.d.; 2nd edn Calcutta, 1930). This highly rhetorical work is based on considerable study of materials, and presents persuasively everything that can be said in favour of the thesis it maintains. But can the thesis be maintained?

Most of the literature on the subject has come from the pens of Englishmen, and, although some of the accounts are quoted even by Indian writers as being sober, temperate and reliable, the point of view of the authors is naturally suspect. It will be more useful to listen to Indian voices, and to consider Indian standpoints which differ from that so eloquently put forward by Sri V. D. Savarkar.

Surendra Nath Sen's *Eighteen Fifty-Seven* (Government of India, 1957) is certainly one of the best books from the Indian side. The author does not hesitate to condemn where condemnation has been deserved; but he attempts to see things as they were seen by contemporaries, to represent

accurately what happened, and to judge it fairly. In his concluding chapter, 'A Review' (pp. 398–418), he raises the basic questions:

Was it a spontaneous outburst of sepoy discontent or a premeditated revolt engineered by clever politicians? Was it a mutiny limited to the army or did it command the support of the people at large? Was it a religious war against Christians or a racial struggle for supremacy between the black and the white? Were moral issues involved in this mutiny and did the combatants unconsciously fight for their respective civilisation and culture?

Dr Sen gives qualified support to the thesis (p. 398) of Sri Savarkar (p. 411): 'What began as a fight for religion ended as a war of independence.'

This position has been subjected to a searching analysis in R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *History and Culture*, vol. ix, pp. 603–25 ('The Mutiny the Outbreak of 1857'). Majumdar writes:

It would be a travesty of truth to describe the revolt of the civil population as a national war of independence (p. 613).

Merely a fight against the English, even with the distinct object of driving them away, cannot be regarded as an Indian war of independence (p. 619).

It is quite obvious that the idea of a common national endeavour to free the country from the yoke of the British is conspicuous by its absence in these proclamations [by the Muslim chiefs in Oudh and Rohilkund] (p. 620).

On the whole it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the so-called First National War of Independence of 1857 is neither First, nor National, nor a War of Independence (p. 625).³²

The controversy will continue. The evidence already available is massive and yet more may be added to it. The views of thoughtful and temperate English writers are not markedly different from those of thoughtful and temperate Indian writers. This augurs well for a right understanding of what happened in 1857–8, of the part played in these events by Christianity and anxiety about conversion and of the consequences for Christians and for the churches of the outbreak which began in Meerut on 10 May 1857.

APPENDIX 35 EXTRACTS FROM THE QUEEN'S PROCLAMATION, MADE ON 1 NOVEMBER 1858

We hereby announce to the native Princes of India, that all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the Honourable East India Company are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained, and we look for the like observance on their part.

We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions; and, while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others.

We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of native princes as our own; and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government.

We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fill.

Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure.

And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to office in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge.

We know, and respect, the feelings of attachment with which the natives of India regard the lands inherited by them from their ancestors, and we desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the State; and we will that generally, in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India.

We deeply lament the evils of misery which have been brought upon India by the acts of ambitious men, who have deceived their countrymen by false reports, and led them into open rebellion. Our power has been shown by the suppression of that rebellion in the field; we desire to show our mercy by pardoning the offences of those who have been misled, but who desire to return to the path of duty.

To those who have willingly given asylum to murderers, knowing them to be such, or who may have acted as leaders or instigators of revolt, their lives alone can be guaranteed; but in apportioning the penalty due to such persons, full consideration will be given to the circumstances under which they have been induced to throw off their allegiance; and large indulgence will be shown to those whose crimes may appear to have originated in too credulous acceptance of the false reports circulated by designing men.

To all others in arms against the Government we hereby promise unconditional pardon, amnesty, and oblivion of all offences against ourselves, our crown and dignity, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits.

It is our royal pleasure that these terms of grace and amnesty should be extended to all those who comply with these conditions before the 1st day of January next.

When, by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer the government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people. (*Parl. Papers* (1859: Session 1) xviii, pp. 296–7).

Notes

I INDIA AND POLITICAL CHANGE 1706–86

- 1 See S. Neill, *A History of Christianity in India: The Beginnings to AD 1707* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 103–6 and 259–69.
- 2 See L. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah* (London, 1938), p. 149.
- 3 Qilich Khān was also the name of his grandfather (d. 1687).
- 4 The establishment of the hereditary principle was a notable departure from what had been customary under Mughul rule.
- 5 On his promotion in 1726 he received the name Shujā ʿ-ud-daula.
- 6 Like so many other Afghan conquerors, he did not stay long in India. On 20 March 1761 he set out on the homeward march.
- 7 The last outstandingly able *peshwā*, Bālāji Rāo (otherwise known as Nāna Sāhīb) died shortly after the battle – 25 June 1761.
- 8 R. Orme, *A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indoostan from the Year MDCCXLV*, 3 vols. (London, 1763–8); quoted in N. C. Chaudhuri, *Clive of India* (London, 1975), p. 107.
- 9 *Begum*: ‘a queen, princess, or lady of high rank in Hindustan’ (*OED*).
- 10 C. C. Davies (*New C. Mod. H.*, vol. VII, p. 562) is, however, probably right in stating that ‘Bussy’s expedition into the Deccan involved a fatal division of forces and a dissipation of military strength, which was the source of the ill-success of Dupleix in later times.’
- 11 For an interesting study of a number of them, see H. Compton, *A Particular Account of the European Military Adventurers of Hindustan* (London, 1892).
- 12 Quoted by N. C. Chaudhuri, *Clive*, p. 92.
- 13 The most vivid account of those days is still that in Macaulay’s famous essay on Clive.
- 14 The French were not actually driven out. They retained their hold in Pondichéri till 1950. But as a political force they had ceased to count, though they continued to oppose the English at every possible turn, as far as their limited resources would permit.
- 15 Report of 1 May 1757.
- 16 On the question of what actually happened at the Black Hole, see Appendix 2.
- 17 Sirāj-ud-daula was captured, and put to death by Mīrān, the son of his successor Mīr Jaʿfar, on the night of 2/3 July. For a competent modern study of the battle, and of what led up to it, see M. Edwardes, *The Battle of Plassey and the Conquest of Bengal* (London, 1963), with good maps.

- 18 N. Chatterji, *Mir Qasim, Nawab of Bengal 1760–1763* (Allahabad, 1935) includes shrewd comments on his character (pp. 311–16).
- 19 See R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, 11 vols. (Bombay, 1951–), vol. VIII, p. 105.
- 20 A most valuable study is P. J. Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes: the British in Bengal in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1976), especially the chapter entitled 'The Boom after Plassey' (pp. 106–28).
- 21 The responsibility for collecting revenue.
- 22 M. E. Monckton Jones, *Warren Hastings in Bengal 1772–1774* (Oxford, 1918), p. 85. But Becher, in another connection, noted 1769 as the very year in which things began to improve.
- 23 Sir John Malcolm, *Life of Robert Lord Clive*, 3 vols. (London, 1836), vol. II, pp. 310–11.
- 24 N. C. Chaudhuri, *Clive*, p. 336.
- 25 *Memoir of . . . John Lord Teignmouth*, 2 vols. (London, 1843), vol. I, p. 39. For a highly judicious and balanced account of the reforms of Hastings, see *CHI*, vol. V, pp. 205–14 (P. E. Roberts).
- 26 Whether justice was done in the celebrated cases of 'Nuncomar' is still a matter of dispute.
- 27 See K. Feiling, *Warren Hastings* (London, 1954), p. 103.
- 28 Rather surprisingly a German translation appeared at Hamburg in 1778: *Gesetzbuch der Gentoos oder Sammlung der Gesetze der Pandits*. Halhed (p. ix) commended 'a well timed toleration in matters of religion and adoption of such original institutes of the country as do not immediately clash with the laws or interests of the conquerors'.
- 29 On this, see Stephen Neill, *A History of Christianity in India: the Beginnings to AD 1707* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 53–4.
- 30 Her divorce from her German husband had taken a very long time in arriving, but was perfectly regular under German law.
- 31 The marriage brought him singular happiness for a period of more than thirty years. His Maria was with him till his last moment, and survived him by eighteen years, dying at the age of ninety in 1836.
- 32 K. Feiling, *Warren Hastings*, p. 396.
- 33 I have tried, without success, to ascertain whether Cleveland was consciously activated in his doings by Christian faith. The pious John Shore was his cousin. There is an attractive short account of him in P. Mason, *Men Who Ruled India* (London, 1953), vol. I, pp. 147–9. See also M. A. Laird (ed.), *Bishop Heber in Northern India*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1971), vol. I, pp. 195, 206. Cleveland is undoubtedly the original of John Chinn in Rudyard Kipling's moving story (in *The Day's Work*), 'The Tomb of his Ancestors'.
- 34 A. P. Dasgupta, in R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *History and Culture*, vol. VIII, pp. 385–6.
- 35 Full text in C. U. Aitchison (comp.), *A Collection of Treaties . . .*, 4th edn, 13 vols. (Calcutta, 1909), vol. IV, pp. 40–4.
- 36 W. Hickey, *Memoirs*, 4 vols. (London, 1913–25), vol. III, p. 238.
- 37 On all this, T. G. S. Spear, *The Nabobs*, (Oxford, 1932), is still unsurpassed; see

especially chapter iii: 'The Later Settlements' (pp. 42–65).

- 38 H. B. Hyde, *Parochial Annals of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1901), p. 82, notes that a chaplain might expect to have to take four or five funerals every week.
- 39 H. B. Hyde, *The Parish of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1899), p. 190.
- 40 W. Hickey, *Memoirs*, vol. II, p. 275. Presumably St James's Church, Piccadilly.
- 41 *CHI*, vol. v, P. 409 (R. B. Ramsbotham).
- 42 Letter of 18 April 1779 (to Laurence Sullivan). The whole of this long letter is quoted in G. R. Gleig, *Memoirs of . . . Warren Hastings*, 3 vols. (London, 1841), vol. II, pp. 260–75.
- 43 A full and clear account of the Bill, of all that led up to it and of its consequences is J. Ehrman, *The Younger Pitt* (London, 1965), pp. 117–27, 189–94, 437–66. For Hastings' opinion of the Bill, and of Pitt's speeches upon it, see G. R. Gleig, *Memoirs of Hastings*, vol. III, pp. 107, 170, 172.
- 44 Quoted in *CHI*, vol. v, p. 195.
- 45 Quoted in S. N. Mukherjee, *Sir William Jones* (Cambridge, 1968), p. 117.

2 THE TRANQUEBAR MISSION

- 1 A remarkably full account of the fortunes of the Tranquebar mission is to be found in J. Hough, *The History of Christianity in India*, 5 vols. (London, 1845–60), vol. III, pp. 107–345.
- 2 The Danish East India Company had been founded in 1616.
- 3 A new charter of the East India Company, dated 20 November 1670, stated that 'it is to be hoped that many of the Indians, if properly instructed, may be converted from heretic error'; but nothing seems to have come of this.
- 4 A. Lehmann, *Alte Briefe aus Indien* (Berlin, 1955) prints many letters addressed by Ziegenbalg to the king and to other royal personages.
- 5 *Disputationes de controversiis christianae fidei*, book IV (*De notis ecclesiae*), C. 12 ('Efficacia Doctrinae'): 'Lutherani vero vix unum aut alterum converterunt'. See C. Mirbt, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums und des römischen Katholizismus*, 4th edn (Tübingen, 1924), p. 362.
- 6 This was the custom until well on in the eighteenth century. Although the missionaries were almost all Germans, it was generally held suitable that for work in a Danish mission they should be ordained by one of the Danish bishops; as all those concerned were Lutherans, there were no confessional difficulties.
- 7 At the time 'pietists' were regarded by orthodox Lutherans as dangerous 'enthusiasts'.
- 8 The missionaries, in addition, taught German to a number of the more intelligent among the younger converts. In the later stages of the mission German and Portuguese were replaced by English.
- 9 A. Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, p. 120.
- 10 A. Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, p. 59: letter of 22 September 1707 (recipient uncertain).
- 11 Ziegenbalg gives no details. Probably what he had was a book of the liturgical Gospels for Sundays. It does not appear that a complete Roman Catholic translation of the Gospels was in existence at that time.

- 12 See S. Neill, *A History of Christianity in India: the Beginnings to AD 1707* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 280–300.
- 13 A. Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, p. 45: letter of 1 October 1706.
- 14 See H. W. Gensichen, 'Verdammliches Heidentum', *EMZ*, 24 (1967), 1–10; also in *ICHR*, 1 (1967), 29–40.
- 15 For details of Ziegenbalg's contributions on Indian subjects, see Appendix 3.
- 16 Preface to the English translation (Madras, 1869), pp. xviii, xix.
- 17 In the English translation, p. xv.
- 18 The first reference to this enterprise seems to occur in a letter of 5 November 1708 to Dr Lange in Berlin: 'Now with the help of divine grace I will set to work on the translation of Holy Scripture, beginning with the New Testament' (A. Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, p. 91).
- 19 A. Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, pp. 98–9: letter of 19 August 1709 (to Dr Lange?).
- 20 It has been noted that in some respects these English translations are more complete than the versions printed in Germany; the English retained a number of passages which the more cautious Germans had suppressed.
- 21 On this translation, see T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, *Historical Catalogue of ... Editions of Holy Scripture ...*, 4 vols. (London, 1903–11), vol. IV, pp. 1233–4, 'O Novo Testamento ... no. 7466, printed at the instances of the SPCK for the use of the Danish Mission at Tranquebar' (1712).
- 22 An English translation of the letter is to be found in J. F. Fenger, *History of the Tranquebar Mission*, Eng. trans. (Tranquebar, 1863), pp. 112–15. The English hardly does justice to the florid and elegant Latin in which 'your faithful fellow-labourer in Christ, William Cantuar' had expressed himself. The letter is dated 1 January 1719, and therefore reached India after the death of Ziegenbalg.
- 23 J. F. Fenger, *Tranquebar Mission*, Eng. trans., pp. 81–2.
- 24 It had been found that the type from Halle was unduly large and exacting in the amount of paper required. Fortunately J. G. Adler, one of the three sent from Germany, proved himself to be adept as mechanic and type-founder, and was able to produce the new fount as required. The letters are much less elegant than those used by the Roman Catholics in the sixteenth century and do not come up to the standard of Dutch printing in Ceylon.
- 25 The best short account of Tamil translations of the Scripture is that by B. Tiliander, 'Tamulische Bibelübersetzungen von Anfang an bis heute. Ein Abriss', in *Fides pro Mundi Vita: Festschrift für H. W. Gensichen* (Gütersloh, 1980), pp. 268–83.
- 26 A. Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, pp. 310–11.
- 27 *Ibid.*, p. 401.
- 28 This section of the Old Testament was published at *Trangambariae* (Tranquebar) in 1723.
- 29 It was noted that, 'as C. F. Schwartz prepared himself for the journey to India in 1750, he provided himself with a spare wig at a cost of four dollars' (W. Germann, *Missionar Christian Friedrich Schwartz* (Erlangen, 1870), p. 26).
- 30 For Ziegenbalg's views, see A. Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, p. 178; his proposals, if accepted, would have put almost dictatorial power into the hands of the provost.
- 31 A. Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, pp. 404–7: letter of 30 September 1714 (to Professors

Trellund and Lodberg in Copenhagen).

- 32 For a table of baptisms, see J. W. Richter, *Indische Missionsgeschichte*, 2nd edn (Gütersloh, 1924), pp. 119–37.
- 33 This is set out in detail in W. Germann, *Ziegenbalg und Plütschau* (Erlangen, 1868), pp. 340ff.
- 34 A letter of 10 September 1712 (A. Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, p. 229) gives details of the staff employed in the mission:
 - A Danish teacher for the Danish school
 - A Portuguese teacher for the Portuguese school
 - Two Tamil teachers for the Tamil schools
 - A matron for the girls' hostel
 - A Tamil catechist
 - A Portuguese catechist
 - Two cooks (female)
 - A matron for the Portuguese girls
 - A house servant, who was also the grave-digger
 - Two water-carriers
 - Two gardeners and a workman
 - Two Tamil clerks
 - An accountant
 - A doctor (The Tranquebar mission was the pioneer in the use of mission doctors, including some from Europe (see A. Lehmann, *It Began at Tranquebar*, Eng. trans. (Vepery, Madras, 1956), pp. 99–101).)
 - A washerman

To those acquainted with Indian conditions this list will not seem unduly long, but the expense of maintaining all these workers was considerable.
- 35 A. Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, pp. 473–4: letter of 7 January 1717 (to Francke). It was in this same year that a seminary was started with sixteen students; but the missionaries had not the time to provide adequate teaching.
- 36 The question is discussed at length by W. Germann, *Ziegenbalg*, pp. 281–93.
- 37 I have found no reference in the early sources to the conversion of a Brāhman.
- 38 An account of these distressing accusations and recriminations is given in J. F. Fenger, *Tranquebar Mission*, Eng. trans., pp. 115–24. See also E. Bachmann, *Die Lebensbeschreibung des Johann Georg Bövingh* (1978); and H. W. Gensichen, 'D. F. Bövingh', *Z. für Mission* (1980), 106–12.
- 39 Fenger, in the original Danish edition of his work (pp. 120–3 and 329–57), gave a full list of all the works written against the mission, and in an Appendix the full text of one of them. These have unfortunately been omitted in the English translation (p. 115n.); but are to be found in the 1845 German translation (pp. 98–9 and 265–87).
- 40 This is generally referred to in the Danish and German sources as the Mission College – its Latin title was *Collegium de cursu evangelii promovendo*; but as the college had nothing to do with education the more usual English term is here adopted.
- 41 Some letters from this lady have been printed by A. Lehmann, *Alte Indien-post. Briefe der Maria Dorothea Ziegenbalg* (Halle–Wittenberg, 1959).

- 42 The generosity of the SPCK had hardly any limits. The mission reports in one year record the welcome arrival of thirteen dozen bottles of good English beer. When the mission printer needed lead for the type, he found a supply in the leaden covers in which Cheddar cheeses reached Tranquebar.
- 43 A. Lehmann, *Alte Briefe*, p. 379. Reports of fifty-four conversations were sent to Halle, and published in German in 1715 and following years. Thirty-four of them were published in English translation in London in 1719. See E. Beyreuther, 'Die Missionspredigt Ziegenbalg', *EMM* (1956), 19–36.
- 44 Ziegenbalg's translations of ninety-nine letters were published at Halle in the annual *Berichte* of the mission in 1714 and 1717, occupying in all 255 pages. Five letters were not translated. See, for a full and scholarly account of these letters, H. Grafe, 'Hindu Apologetics at the Beginning of the Protestant Era in India', *ICHR*, 6 (1972), 43–69, especially the summary on pp. 68–9.
- 45 W. Germann, *Ziegenbalg*, p. 332.
- 46 The exact nature of Ziegenbalg's illness is hard to discover, but the many references to the cough which he was unable to shake off suggests that it was tuberculosis. The mistaken prescription of a Dutch physician probably hastened his end.
- 47 W. Germann, *Ziegenbalg*, pp. 353–67.
- 48 On Schultze, see A. Nørgaard, 'Missionar Benjamin Schultze als Leiter der Tranquebarmission . . . , 1720–1726', *NZM*, 33 (1977), 181–201.
- 49 A. Lehmann, *It Began*, p. 80.
- 50 F. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 3 vols. (London, 1904–22), vol. 1, p. 183; from *SPCK Reports 1718*, pp. 48–9.
- 51 F. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, vol. 1, pp. 191–2.
- 52 Despatch of 11 February 1731/2, § 75; F. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, vol. 1, pp. 193–5.
- 53 The records of the SPCK contain an interesting series of letters from its secretary, Henry Newman, recording a variety of gifts to India, including books, stationery, beer, wine, cheeses, hour-glasses, spectacles and other things (L. W. Cowie, *H. Newman: An American in London* (London, 1956), p. 123).
- 54 See J. F. Fenger, *Tranquebar Mission*, Eng. trans., pp. 53–7.
- 55 Sartorius had arrived in India in 1730; he died in Cuddalore in 1738.
- 56 In the course of the eighteenth century the mission ordained only fourteen Indian pastors. All of these were Sūdras; more than a century was to pass before the first pastor from the scheduled castes was ordained (1890). Only one, Sattianāthan, ranked as high in the general estimation as Aaron. Names and dates are in J. F. Fenger, *Tranquebar Mission*, Eng. trans., pp. 323–4. Further details on Aaron are in R. D. Paul, *Chosen Vessels* (Madras, 1961), pp. 1–24.
- 57 For an extraordinarily interesting letter of C. J. Beschi, SJ, to Walther, with animadversions on the character of Rājānaikan, see W. Germann, *Ziegenbalg*, pp. 195–8.
- 58 A. Lehmann, *It Began*, p. 140.
- 59 A. Lehmann states that in thirty years the number rose from about 300 to 2,200 (*It Began*, p. 159).
- 60 W. Germann, *J. P. Fabricius* (Erlangen, 1865), pp. 261–2.

- 61 *Ibid.*, p. 214. For the Fabricius translations, reference may be made to I. H. Victor, 'Tamil Translations of the Bible by the Danish-Halle Mission during the Eighteenth Century', *ICHR*, 16 (1982), 72-85.
- 62 For details, see Fabricius' long letter of 18 October 1756 to Professor Francke (W. Germann, *Fabricius*, pp. 260-73, especially pp. 266-7).
- 63 W. Germann, *Fabricius*, p. 218. Vadanāyaga Sāstriār appears to have been born about 1770, and lived on into the second half of the nineteenth century. See also A. Lehmann, *It Began*, pp. 161-2.
- 64 The only one for whom a claim might be entered is Thomas Walker of Tinnevely (in India 1886-1912).
- 65 Mention may be made of Fabricius' beautiful calligraphy, as seen in a letter written when he was seventy-two years old, and reproduced by Dr W. Germann at the end of his valuable book.
- 66 Later, when he was in the service of the 'English' mission, he simplified the spelling of his name to Swartz, and this is the form in which the name is found in the later records.
- 67 On a letter in Marāthī addressed to Schwartz from the court of Thaṅjāvur, probably in 1787, see E. Strandberg, 'A Tanjore Marāthī letter in Modī Script to Chr. F. Schwartz', *Acta Orientalia*, 41 (1980), 16-25. In transmitting the letter to the ministry of commerce in Copenhagen, the governor of Tranquebar says of Schwartz: 'besides he understands to perfection all the languages of the country'.
- 68 These can be followed in the lives by Pearson and Germann, both of whom enter into considerable detail in the picture which they give of the innerlife of Schwartz.
- 69 D. Poltzenhagen, who died in 1756, and G. H. C. Hüttemann, who served, mainly in Cuddalore, till 1781.
- 70 Quoted by A. Lehmann, *It Began*, p. 156.
- 71 F. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, vol. 1, p. 587. It is almost impossible to calculate the present value of the salary provided for Schwartz; it seems to me likely that it would be equivalent at the rate of 1979 to about Rs. 1,500 a month. For one used as Schwartz was to living extremely simply and almost in Indian style, this meant if not wealth at least reasonable affluence.
- 72 From the death of Gründler (1720) the mission never had a provost, and it made no attempt to remedy this defect (W. Germann, *C. F. Schwartz*, p. 301n.).
- 73 After the death of Philip in 1788, the missionary Klein wrote of him: 'Oh how willing and unwearied was Philip in visiting the sick and the healthy of his congregation! We have certainly lost a great deal in him, and have no one whom we can put in his place with equal confidence.'
- 74 The name is frequently spelt Tulsi or Tulasi, through confusion with Tamil words. Schwartz regularly used the form Tulossi.
- 75 H. Pearson, *Memoirs of Swartz*, 3rd edn, 2 vols. (New York-London, 1835), vol. 1, p. 170.
- 76 *Ibid.*, p. 185.
- 77 J. F. Fenger, *Tranquebar Mission*, Eng. trans., p. 222.
- 78 H. Pearson, *Memoirs of Swartz*, vol. 1, p. 314.
- 79 *Ibid.*, p. 312.
- 80 *Ibid.*, pp. 317-18.

- 81 The statement often repeated (as by Lehmann, *It Began*, p. 157) that Haider Alī, when he was once more inclined to enter into diplomatic relations with the English, said 'let them send me the Christian; he will not deceive me', appears to rest on no credible authority.
- 82 A number of Indians had learnt German at Tranquebar, but all these seem to have been Christians who were being educated by the missionaries with a view to their becoming useful to the mission in various capacities.
- 83 Later the Right Honourable John Sullivan.
- 84 H. Pearson, *Memoirs of Swartz*, vol. 1, p. 379.
- 85 *Ibid.*, pp. 378ff.
- 86 W. Germann, *C. F. Schwartz*, pp. 261–2.
- 87 For valuable information as to details, see F. Western, 'Tinnevely Church'.
- 88 It is believed by some that the officer had rescued this lady from the funeral pyre of her Brāhman husband, but I have been unable to find confirmation of this romantic story.
- 89 At this point the usually accurate F. Penny goes astray. The church shown in the excellent photograph between pp. 632 and 633 of *The Church in Madras*, vol. 1, is not Clorinda's church, but the later Christ Church, commonly known as the English church. Clorinda's church is a much smaller and not very distinguished building not far away. It is still used from time to time for services. The first church registered of Pālayankottai is of the year 1780. On the accuracy of this register, see F. Western, 'Tinnevely Church' (unpub. MS), p. 49.
- 90 There is some doubt as to the dates of Vedanāyagam's birth. A. Lehmann (*It Began*, p. 157) gives it as 7 September 1774.
- 91 H. Pearson, *Memoirs of Swartz*, vol. II, p. 34.
- 92 It has often been stated that Schwartz was actually *dewān* (prime minister) of Thanjāvur, but this does not seem to have been the case. No doubt, through his long experience in the country and his knowledge of the languages, he was the most influential member of the committee and his word carried great weight in all the affairs of the kingdom.
- 93 Fate had dealt hardly with Tuljajee: he had not a single legitimate male heir on whom the succession could naturally devolve.
- 94 J. Richter, *A History of Protestant Missions in India* (Edinburgh, 1908), p. 127.
- 95 As follows: Tranquebar 20,014; Tanjore 3,000; Trichinopoly 2,463; Madras 4,851; Cuddalore 2,104; Tinnevely 4,538.
- 96 It is not clear why Mathurai, at that time probably the largest city in South India and already famous in Christian history, did not attract the attention of the Lutherans. Schwartz was there in February 1778, and in a letter to his friend Sorge has left a vivid description of the splendour of the temple and its surroundings (W. Germann, *Schwartz*, pp. 301–3). But he stayed only one day and seems not to have returned, perhaps discouraged by the hostility of the ruler and the poverty of the people and also by the strength of the Roman Catholic occupation of the city.
- 97 The Reverend Joel Lakra, in a report of the year 1952, quoted by A. Lehmann, *It Began*, p. 171.
- 98 The last days of Schwartz will be recorded in a later chapter.

3 THE THOMAS CHRISTIANS IN DECLINE AND RECOVERY

- 1 L. W. Brown, *The Indian Christians of St Thomas*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1981), p. 130.
- 2 In many authorities the name is spelt Thozhiyūr.
- 3 From 1741 to 1743 Vasconcellos was administrator of the archdiocese of Goa; he died in that city on 30 March 1743.
- 4 Details in W. Germann, *Die Kirche der Thomaschristen* (Gütersloh, 1877), pp. 514–17. E. Tisserant, *Eastern Christianity in India* (London–Calcutta, 1957), p. 187, gives the name of Pimentel as Manuel Carvalho Pimentel, SJ.
- 5 E. Tisserant, *Eastern Christianity*, p. 92.
- 6 E. Tisserant, *Eastern Christianity*, p. 95, states that he had authority from his superiors in the Order for taking this action, but does not support his statement by the citation of any such authority.
- 7 Kariattil was consecrated in Lisbon on 17 February 1783, reached Goa on 1 May 1786 and died there on 9 September 1786. E. Tisserant, *Eastern Christianity*, p. 96, affirms that he reached *Bombay* on 1 May 1780, and died there on 9 September of that year. 1780 is clearly too early; this appears to be simply a misprint in Tisserant. P. B. Gams, *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae* (Ratisbon, 1873), confirms the date 9 September 1786.
- 8 L. W. Brown, *The Indian Christians*, p. 123, referring to T. Whitehouse, *Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land* (London, 1873), pp. 308–10.
- 9 E. Tisserant, *Eastern Christianity*, p. 97.
- 10 K. P. Padmanabha Menon, *A History of Kerala*, ed. T. K. Krishna Menon, 4 vols. (Ernakulam, 1924–37), p. 102.
- 11 On the difficulty of identifying the various prelates and assigning the right numbers to them, see L. W. Brown, *The Indian Christians*, p. 117, n. 5.
- 12 There are many uncertainties in the whole story of Mar Gabriel. The Nestorian patriarch of the time was Elias X (1702–22), but it is just possible that Gabriel was sent by the *Uniat* patriarch of Babylon. He certainly attempted to secure recognition from the local Roman Catholic authorities, but it is equally clear that they never trusted him. For details, see W. Germann, *Thomaschristen*, pp. 533–62.
- 13 K. P. Padmanabha Menon, *A History of Kerala*, vol. II, pp. 40–7. Visscher gives a number of interesting particulars regarding the Thomas Christians and their way of life.
- 14 It is impossible, from the sources, to reach any reliable figure for the number of parishes and Christians in the Serra. It seems probable that about two-thirds were Romo-Syrians and that the remaining third belonged to the Malankara church.
- 15 K. P. Padmanabha Menon, *A History of Kerala*, vol. II, p. 43.
- 16 J. Hough, *The History of Christianity in India*, 5 vols. (London, 1845–60), vol. II, pp. 390–1. Hough gives no reference in support of this statement.
- 17 J. Hough, who is here closely following La Croze, states that these priests were ‘Roma-Syrians’ (*History*, vol. II, p. 393), but this seems doubtful: the seminary in Ambalakkādu, (formerly in Vaipicotta), was in operation and it is probable that priests of that wing of the church would be both considerably more

prosperous and better educated than those here described.

- 18 Rome 1728. A complete translation in English in G. T. Mackenzie, *State of Christianity in Travancore* (Trivandrum, 1901), pp. 294–5.
- 19 It may be recalled that the first leader of what became the Bahai movement was known as the *Bāb* (Gate). Hastings *ERE*, vol. II, pp. 299ff.
- 20 G. T. Mackenzie, *State of Christianity*, p. 206, provides this quotation, but unfortunately does not give the reference.
- 21 Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo, *India Orientalis Christiana* (Rome, 1794), p. 111.
- 22 Mar Basil died in 1763, Mar Gregory in 1772 and Mar John in 1794.
- 23 This is reminiscent of the agreement made more than a century earlier between Bishop Stephen de Britto and the archdeacon of the time.
- 24 *Memoirs of Adriaan V. Moens* (governor 1771–81); quoted by K. M. Panikkar, *A History of Kerala, 1498–1801* (Annamalainagar, 1960), p. 317.
- 25 L. W. Brown, *The Indian Christians*, p. 121, gives the date as 1760.
- 26 Quoted in G. T. Mackenzie, *State of Christianity*, p. 209. Further testimonies are in E. Malancharuvil, *The Syro-Malankara Church* (Alwaye, 1973), pp. 38–9. A smaller section of the Malankara church was received into the Roman communion in September 1930.
- 27 Mar Dionysius died on 13 May 1808.
- 28 This document is cited, in the original Italian, in G. T. Mackenzie, *State of Christianity*, p. 210.
- 29 This is the account given by G. T. Mackenzie, *State of Christianity*, p. 208. Other accounts vary slightly.

4 ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS

- 1 See W. V. Bangert SJ, *A History of the Society of Jesus* (St Louis, Mo., 1972), p. 327. Bangert notes a number of reasons for the decline.
- 2 Since the Thomas Christians still constituted a people separate from the rest of the population of India, it has seemed convenient to deal with their affairs, whether Romo-Syrian or independent, in a separate chapter.
- 3 He was exactly thirty-eight years old at the time of his appointment (C. C. de Nazareth, *Mitras lusitanas no oriente*, 2nd edn, 2 vols. (Nova Goa, 1924), vol. I, p. 217.
- 4 A. L. Farinha, *A Expansão da fé no Oriente* (Lisbon, 1943), pp. 126–31. Exactly the same figure is reached by Fr A. Meersman in 'Some Eighteenth Century Statistics of Goa and Cochin', *ICHR*, 2 (1968), 97–106. For 1759 the figure of 225,000 is given in S. Delacroix (ed.), *Histoire universelle des missions catholiques*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1780–3), vol. II, p. 382, but without a reason for the decrease.
- 5 This diocese occupied a coastal strip about thirty miles wide from Cannanore on the Arabian Sea almost as far as Negapatam on the Bay of Bengal, where it touched the diocese of Mylapore (San Thomé). Beyond this coastal strip, the interior of the country was in the archdiocese of Cranganore.
- 6 A. Meersman OFM, 'Some Eighteenth Century Statistics', pp. 106–17. See p. 117, n. 17, for the areas in the archdiocese of Goa not included in the above

- survey. In all of them the number of Christians was very small.
- 7 Once again we have to regret the lack of direct evidence from the Indian side; the history is seen through European eyes.
 - 8 L. Besse SJ, *La Mission de Maduré* (Trichinopoly, 1914), p. 477. The stations were Idindakarai, Tālai, Manappādu, Virapāndiyanpatnam, Punnaikāyal, Tuticorin, Vaippār and Periyapatnam.
 - 9 We do hear from time to time of Indian secular priests resident on the Coast. It will be recalled that the Coast was in the diocese of Cochin, with the bishop of which the Jesuits were not always on the best of terms.
 - 10 On the position of this official in Parava society, see S. Kaufmann, 'Popular Christianity, Caste and Hindu Society in South India' (unpublished Cambridge dissertation, 1978), pp. 55–177.
 - 11 L. Besse SJ, *La Mission de Maduré*, pp. 471–2.
 - 12 The term is confusing; the disputes had nothing to do with the rites customary among that section of the Thomas Christians which had remained faithful to the Thomas obedience or with the Romo-Syrians resident in the vicariate apostolic of Malabar. We are once again in the Tamil country, and in the area of Mathurai. The article 'Malabar Rites Controversy' in *NCE*, vol. ix, pp. 97–9 (V. Cronin), is a clear and concise summary of the stages in the dispute.
 - 13 Visselou was a man of considerable distinction as a sinologue. He lived with the Capuchins in Pondichéri for twenty-five years, until his death in 1739.
 - 14 J. Wicki SJ, 'Schwierige Missionsprobleme in Indien', *Mem. Rer.*, 2 (1973), 935. It seems that his name had been put forward by Propaganda. In 1702 he was given the title 'patriarch of Antioch'. In 1710, very shortly before his death in Macao, he was raised to the cardinalate.
 - 15 The best account of Tournon as man and diplomat is that by F. Rouleaux, 'Maillard de Tournon, Papal Legate at the Court of Peking', *AHSI* 31 (1962), 264–323.
 - 16 Pope Clement XI took vigorous action in defence of his legate. On 4 January 1707 he took the archbishop of Goa severely to task, and on 4 March 1711 annulled the decision of the council of Pondichéri.
 - 17 The full title of the work is *Defensio Indicarum Missionum Madurensis nempe Maysurensis et Carnatensis edita occasione decreti ab. Ill. D. patriarcha Antiocheno*. This work, which was printed in Rome in 1707, was widely circulated in India as elsewhere. It is now very rare, and I have not seen a copy.
 - 18 In the bull *Ex Quo Singulari* of 9 June 1742 he had put out a similarly harsh and comprehensive condemnation of Jesuit methods in China. The actions and attitudes of Benedict XIV are expounded by L. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, Eng. trans., 40 vols. (London–St Louis, 1924–53), vol. xxx, pp. 461–9. Pastor supports in full the action of the pope.
 - 19 For the intervention of Fr Norbert, see J. Wicki SJ, 'Schwierige Missionsprobleme in Indien', *Mem. Rer.*, 2 (1973), 933–8.
 - 20 See *Encicl. Cathol.*, vol. x, col. 1005, with references to V. Belgeri, 'L'aboliz. del giuramento circa i. ri. malabarici', *Il pensiero mission.*, 12. iii (1940), 230–4, and P. D'Elia, 'L'abolizione del giuramento contro i r. malabarici in India', *Civ. Catt.*, 2 (1940), 331–40 and 424–31.

- 21 J. Bertrand SJ, *La Mission de Maduré*, vol. IV (1854), pp. 441–3.
- 22 *Ibid.*, p. 447.
- 23 Long extracts from his *Directoire de la mission de Pondichéry* Part II, are given by A. Launay, *Histoire des missions de l'Inde*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1898), vol. I, pp. cx–cxxxviii.
- 24 A. Launay, *Histoire des missions*, vol. I, pp. cxiii–cxvi. For other considerations, see E. Amman in *D. Th. Cath.*, vol. IX (1927), cols. 1735–45.
- 25 Beyond the advice of Gregory the Great to Augustine of Canterbury in AD 602.
- 26 The great authority on this part of the world is M. Courant, *L'Asie centrale aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles: Empire Kalmouk ou empire mantchou* (Lyon, 1912).
- 27 See p. 76 above.
- 28 *NR*, vol. II.1, pp. xxxv–xxxvii.
- 29 To quote the ingenious explanation of L. Petech (*NR*, vol. II.1, p. xxxviii), John Francis was the captain and Francis Mary the pilot – but a pilot neither very skilled nor very discreet.
- 30 L. Petech does not express himself too strongly: 'The first and the second mission alike experienced shipwreck precisely because of this chronic and incurable disorder of the finances' (*NR*, vol. II.1, p. xlv).
- 31 The letter has been published by Clemente da Tenzorio, *Le Missioni dei Minori Cappuccini*, vol. VIII (Rome, 1932), pp. 275–6. See also *NR*, vol. II.1, p. xlix. Not all agreed as to the value of the base at Chandernagore (*NR*, vol. II.1, p. xlii).
- 32 The later narrative of Freyre is printed in *NR*, vol. II.7, Appendix III, pp. 194–207 (Agra, 26 April 1717).
- 33 In a letter to the cardinals of the Propaganda of 21 December 1719 (*NR*, vol. II.5, pp. 63–8).
- 34 The only satisfactory text is that edited by L. Petech, in *NR*, vol. II.3, pp. 3–37. I think that this interesting *Relazione* is not available in English, though it has been translated (badly) into French.
- 35 This last with the special duty of growing grapes 'and providing the mission with mass wine'.
- 36 L. Petech (*NR*, vol. II.1, pp. cix–xx) gives a most valuable list of all the missionaries of the mission to Tibet from 1706 to 1760, and of a selected number from 1768 to 1808.
- 37 In the world his title was Count Lucius Olivieri.
- 38 *NR*, vol. II.3, pp. 47–86. On his Tibetan–Italian dictionary, see *NR*, vol. II.1, pp. xcii–iii, and a valuable article by Fr Felix Finck OFM Cap. (missionary of the diocese of Lahore): 'Remarks on the Tibetan Manuscript Vocabularies in Bishop's College, Calcutta', *JASB*, n.s. 8 (1912), 379–96. See Appendix 7.
- 39 The latter is printed, in translation, by A. Launay, *Histoire de la mission du Thibet*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1904), vol. I, p. 34, and the Latin text of other letters relevant to the same issue in *ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 378–9.
- 40 Quoted by E. D. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* (London, 1932), p. 362.
- 41 He was now alone, his companion Fr Freyre having set out on his return journey, and the Capuchins not yet having re-entered Tibet.

- 42 The 'king' at this time was Lha-bzañ-Khan.
- 43 This was probably the manuscript of 704 pages now in the possession of the Society of Jesus. See C. Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia 1603–1721* (The Hague, 1924), pp. 225, n. 1, and 274.
- 44 C. Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers*, p. 264.
- 45 The first printed edition did not see the light until 1904. The *Relazione* exists in two rather different forms. The second, which is fuller on the subject of religion, is the basis of the English translation by Sir Filippo de Filippi (London, 1931; 2nd edn 1937). The only satisfactory edition of the Italian text is that in *NR*, vol. 11.5. See also G. Tucci, 'The Travels of Ippolito Desideri', *JRAS*, 9 (1933), 353–8. On the merits of Desideri's work, see S. Hedin, *Southern Tibet* (Stockholm, 1917), vol. 1, pp. 277–9.
- 46 S. Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, vol. III, p. 13.
- 47 See *NR*, vol. 11.5, p. xxvi.
- 48 He died at Chandernagore in 1728, being only fifty-four years old.
- 49 A. Launay, *Thibet*, vol. 1, pp. 36–7.
- 50 The seventh Dalai Lāma had succeeded to the position in 1720 at the age of twelve, and he held it until his death in 1757. P'o-lha-nas was never actually king, but he was by far the most powerful man in the kingdom, and it is not surprising that the missionaries gave him the title.
- 51 The phrase is due to A. Launay, *Thibet*, vol. 1, p. 41. The authenticity of these documents is open to some doubt.
- 52 But only a minority of them were actually Tibetan; the majority were Nepalis.
- 53 Fr F. Vannini, *The Bell of Lhasa* (New Delhi, 1976), pp. 342–77, gives a full account of the trials, and grisly details as to the manner in which the punishment was inflicted. See also the account in the *Ragguaglio* of Fr Joachim of St Anatolia (*NR*, vol. 111.3, pp. 235–58). The victims all survived the treatment that they had received.
- 54 The work in those remote areas continued to be known as the Tibetan mission; under this title it was erected as a prefecture apostolic on 14 March 1703. In practice, however, it came to be known successively as the Tibet-Nepal mission, then the Tibet-and-Upper-India mission, and finally as the Tibet-Hindustan mission. In 1845 Tibet was transferred from India to the jurisdiction of the Société des Missions Etrangères of Paris, whose main work was in China.
- 55 A somewhat sentimental account of the life of the saint is M. da Silva, *São João de Brito: Martir da Missionação Lusiada* (Lisbon, 1947).
- 56 L. Besse SJ, *La Mission de Maduré*, pp. 582–4; based on a letter of Beschi to the Jesuit general, 12 January 1715. A much fuller account is L. Besse, *Father Beschi SJ: his Times and Writings* (Trichinopoly, 1918), pp. 45–63, from a letter of Fr Brolias Ant. Brandolini SJ.
- 57 For a full list of the writings of Beschi, see L. Besse, *Father Beschi SJ*, pp. 177–231.
- 58 No fewer than 3,615 quatrains in 36 cantos – considerably longer than the *Divina Commedia* of Dante Alighieri.
- 59 As appears in his satirical attack on protestantism, *Lutherinattiyalbu*, which was

- printed at Pondichéri in 1842. A German translation appeared in *EMM* (1868), pp. 100ff.
- 60 An English translation by A. Crowquill (London, 1861) bears the title *Gooroo Simple, and his Five Disciples Noodle, Doodle, Wiseacre, Zany, and Foozle*.
 - 61 The oldest of these Tamil grammars by Tamils, the *Tolkāppiyam*, is believed by many Tamils to antedate the Christian era. I would myself place it in about the sixth century AD.
 - 62 For details, see Bibliography. The best and most elegant of these works is the 'Key to higher Tamil' – *Clavis Humaniorum Litterarum Sublimioris Tamulici Idiomatis* (Tranquebar, 1876).
 - 63 D. Ferrol, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, 2 vols. (Bangalore, 1939–51), vol. II, pp. 319–22 and 330, n. 1.
 - 64 *Grantham* was the name by which Sanskrit was commonly known in South India.
 - 65 In 1932, on the second centenary of the death of the scholar, a library was opened in his memory at Pazhayur in Kerala.
 - 66 See J. J. Godfrey SJ, 'Sir William Jones and Père Coeurdoux: a Philological Footnote', *JAOS*, 87 (1967), 57–9.
 - 67 The fullest account of all these events is Fr S. Noti SJ, *Land und Volk des Königlichen Astronomen Dschaisingh*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1911). See also G. R. Kaye, *A Guide to the Old Observatories at Delhi; Jaipur; Ujjain; Benares* (Calcutta, 1970).
 - 68 S. Noti SJ, *Land und Volk*, vol. II, pp. 91–104.
 - 69 Bouchet was also much involved in the question of the Malabar rites (see pp. 75–9).
 - 70 For six vital years no single letter from the Carnatic mission has been preserved.
 - 71 These letters are found in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères* (Paris, 1819), vols. VI and VII. It must be remembered that the *Lettres* were subject to considerable revision at the hands of editors.
 - 72 It seems more likely that the two missionaries had been carried off by an attack of the cholera which was prevalent at the time. But, in such cases and at such a distance of time, it is hard to be sure of what actually happened.
 - 73 *Lettres*, vol. v, p. 203.
 - 74 *Ibid.*, vol. VI, p. 200.
 - 75 *Ibid.*, vol. VII (ed of 1819), p. 385 (letter of 20 November 1720). Caron died not long after, on 25 July 1721.
 - 76 Some of the converts were, however, as we have seen, Brāhmans.
 - 77 *Lettres*, vol. VII, p. 506. See also, Anon., *History of the Telugu Christians* (Madras, 1910), pp. 214–15.
 - 78 *Ibid.*, vol. VII, p. 532 (letter of 17 September 1735).
 - 79 *Ibid.*, vol. VII, pp. 510–15; J. Bertrand SJ, *La Mission de Maduré*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1847–54), vol. IV, pp. 303–9.
 - 80 *Ibid.*, vol. VII, pp. 410–11 (letter of 12 January 1722).
 - 81 This is all accurately worked out by A. Meersman OFM, *The Ancient Franciscan Provinces in India 1500–1835* (Bangalore, 1971); but his method of exposition, by areas and even by parishes, makes the book rather difficult to use,

and it is hard to get any general impression of the state of the work in the period now under review.

- 82 In 1700 there were 480 Franciscans in India; by 1779 the number had dwindled to 207.
- 83 A. Meersman OFM, *The Ancient Franciscan Provinces*, p. 150.
- 84 A. Meersman OFM, *The Franciscans in Bombay* (Bangalore, 1957), p. 228, from the (Latin) report of the archbishop of Goa, 4 November 1747. 'Unfairly', because as it seems the Portuguese friars had no choice in the matter – they were simply turned out. It is to be noted that the English captured Bassein from the Marāthās in December 1780.
- 85 *Zend-Avesta*, vol. 1, pp. cccxxvii–xxviii; quoted by J. Gerson da Cunha, *History and Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein* (Bombay, 1876), p. 164. This is a valuable work; the writer is not favourable to the monastic orders.
- 86 See A. Meersman OFM, *The Ancient Franciscan Provinces*, pp. 161–9. It is to be noted that this was the period during which the Marquis de Pombal was in power in Lisbon.
- 87 The decree did not relate to hospices, which remained in the hands of the Franciscans.
- 88 This is clear from a document, referred to by A. Meersman, *The Ancient Franciscan Provinces*, p. 169, in which the leading men of fourteen villages asked that the services of the Franciscans should be retained or restored.
- 89 Meersman makes the interesting point that Pombal did not press for the appointment of Goans to the episcopate, though by a decree of 2 April 1761 the secular clergy had been declared eligible for all ecclesiastical posts. On the hindrances caused by inner dissensions within the Franciscan ranks, see L. Lemmens OFM, *Geschichte der Franziskanermissionen* (Münster in Westfalen, 1929), pp. 101–4.
- 90 See *Mem. Rer.*, 2 (1973), 945–8, and A. Spalle, *Le Missione Teatine nelle Indie Orientali nel sec xviii* (Regnum Dei, 1971–2).
- 91 The name is spelt also Avalor, and De La Valle.
- 92 F. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 3 vols. (London, 1904–22), vol. 1, pp. 228–9. Penny well describes the complexity of the situation, and what at times appears to be the inconsistency of the English authorities in dealing with it.
- 93 Fr Wicki SJ, 'Schwierige Missionsprobleme in Indien', pp. 946–7, gives details, from the Roman side, of disputes between Capuchins and Theatines, with the bishop of Mylapore on the sidelines.
- 94 F. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, vol. 1, p. 231.
- 95 Despatch, 25 January 1715/16.
- 96 F. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, vol. 1, p. 241.
- 97 *Ibid.*, p. 464.
- 98 *NCE*, vol. XIV, p. 491, s.v. Ursulines.
- 99 *NCE*, vol. XIV, p. 493, gives an excellent photograph of their first convent, 'the oldest building in the Mississippi valley'.
- 100 A. Launay, *Histoire des missions*, vol. 1, p. xxxvii.
- 101 K. S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, vol. III (London, 1940), pp. 272–3, mentions the arrival of the Ursulines, but does not record

their precipitate departure. They did not have 'an active share in the personnel of missions in the South and East of Asia'.

- 102 The letters are competently summarised in H. Josson SJ, *La Mission du Bengale occidental*, vol. 1 (Bruges, 1921), pp. 109–25, with references.
- 103 This curious word *topaz* was often understood to mean 'wearers of hats' from the word *topī*. This is certainly wrong. The origin is much more probably to be sought in *do-bhāshiya*, speaker of two languages, a word which was in common use in the sense of 'interpreter'. See H. Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson* (London, 1886), pp. 711–12.
- 104 Summarised by N. Kowalski OMI, *NZM*, 12 (1956), pp. 21–34.
- 105 Anquetil-Duperron (*Zend-Avesta*, vol. 1, p. cciv), like many others, ascribes the decline of Goa to the feelings aroused by the Inquisition.
- 106 Alexis was a Christian of the Latin, Joseph Kariattil one of the Syrian, rite. Both these candidates were sent to Rome at a very early age, and spent so long in Europe as to be thoroughly westernised before their return to India.
- 107 It is to be remembered that the diocese included the large churches of the Fisher Coast.
- 108 An order of Propaganda of 1764 safeguarded the rights of the archbishop of Goa.
- 109 Details are given in E. D. MacLagan, *Jesuits*, pp. 133–40.

5 ANGLICANS AND OTHERS

- 1 F. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 3 vols. (London, 1904–22), vol. 1, pp. 224–5.
- 2 A lac is 100,000. Chunam is lime. *Consultations*, 29 August 1779.
- 3 See chap. 2, pp. 47–9.
- 4 Details in W. Taylor, *The Earliest Protestant Mission at Madras* (Madras, 1847), pp. 33–4. As an illustration of the variety of work undertaken by the missionaries, Taylor mentions that Fabricius and Gericke prepared for death three German deserters who had been sentenced to be shot: 'All three had given tokens of real repentance, and on the last morning received the Sacrament.' The missionaries accompanied these men to the place of execution, where one out of the three, chosen by lot, was shot.
- 5 J. Hough, *History of Christianity in India*, vol. III (London, 1845), p. 501, mentions that Gericke found similar conditions prevailing at Chingleput in 1780: 'There he found some pious and well-behaved soldiers, who had been stationed at Vellore, who possessed and valued Bibles and Prayer Books, and were married to native women, who were well instructed Christians.'
- 6 H. Pearson, *Memoirs of Swartz*, 3rd edn, 2 vols. (New York–London, 1835), vol. II, p. 77.
- 7 F. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, vol. 1, pp. 357–8.
- 8 This letter was published by the SPCK. See *An Abstract of the Annual Reports and Correspondence of the SPCK* (London, 1814), pp. 4–24. Stevenson became a prebendary of Salisbury, and survived until 1760.
- 9 It is clear that Palk was only in deacon's orders. If he had been a priest, he would not have been able to sit in Parliament, priests of the Church of England not

being eligible for election. In the eighteenth century it was not legally possible for a priest to resign his orders or to take secular employment. Palk was created baronet in 1782.

- 10 Quoted by F. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, vol. 1, p. 358.
- 11 This dereliction did not prevent Long from obtaining preferment in England; in 1725 he became vicar of Chieveley, Berkshire (F. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, vol. 1, pp. 151, 670–1).
- 12 Decision of 6 November 1704; quoted by H. B. Hyde, *Parochial Annals of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1901), p. 51.
- 13 Clive and his wife stood as godparents for Kiernander's son Robert.
- 14 Note that the SPCK report refers only to 'the people of Bengal', probably friends of Schwartz in that part of India.
- 15 See Appendix 10 for details of Kiernander's former Roman Catholic priests.
- 16 Kiernander always called his church 'Beth-Tephillah', the house of prayer. But it has passed into history as the Old Mission Church, and is still commonly so called. In 1770 there were eighty-five English communicants, and sixty-nine Indians and Anglo-Portuguese.
- 17 The cost of erecting the building was Rs. 60,000.
- 18 E. T. Sandys, *One Hundred and Forty Five Years at the Old or Mission Church, Calcutta* (Calcutta, 1916), gives a good and sympathetic account of Kiernander (pp. 1–11).
- 19 Quoted by H. B. Hyde, *Parochial Annals*, p. 88.
- 20 It is to be remembered that, though the boys were 'European', many of them could speak more Portuguese than English, and therefore the employment of Portuguese-speaking former Roman Catholics would help to solve the problem of providing instruction for them.
- 21 I cannot interpret the word 'Perpets', which is not found in *OED*.
- 22 Quoted by H. B. Hyde, *Parochial Annals*, pp. 99–100.
- 23 On doubts as to the reliability of Holwell's *Narrative*, see Appendix 2.
- 24 H. B. Hyde, *Parochial Annals*, p. 131. See, further, A. Broome, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army* (London–Calcutta, 1851), vol. 1, pp. 377 and 380.
- 25 A decline seems to have set in from about 1770 on. The situation began to improve with the Cornwallis regime, which began in 1786.
- 26 H. B. Hyde, *Parochial Annals*, p. 83.
- 27 One authority tells us that they walked because the court of directors had rejected the request of the governor that they should supply him with a state carriage to convey him to church!
- 28 Their resolution of 3 March 1758 reads as follows: 'We cannot approve of you so generally interdicting the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion within the whole bounds, as such a step may be attended with many inconveniencings . . . As to Fort William itself, it will be a prudent measure so long as the French war subsists not to suffer any person professing the Roman Catholic religion, priests or others, to reside therein, and this you are strictly to observe.'
- 29 S. C. Grier (ed.), *The Letters of Warren Hastings to His Wife* (Edinburgh–London, 1905), pp. 242–3.

- 30 A very full account of this is H. B. Hyde, *Parochial Annals*, pp. 177–81, including a not very decorous poem.
- 31 The total cost appears to have been upwards of Rs. 150,000.
- 32 No disciplinary action seems to have been taken against him in England. In 1741 he was appointed to the living of Winterbourne in Dorset, and he held this until his death in 1769 (E. Chatterson, *A History of the Church of England in India* (London, 1924), pp. 53–4).
- 33 W. Ashley-Brown, *On the Bombay Coast and Deccan* (London, 1937), pp. 88–98.
- 34 *Ibid.*, pp. 112–13. The cemetery in Bombay seems to have been affectionately known by the sailors as ‘Padre Burrowes’ *godown*’ (*godown*, a word borrowed from the Malay language, means ‘storehouse’).
- 35 Thomas Wilson held the see of Sodor and Man from 1697 to 1755.
- 36 Letter of 17 October 1713; quoted in L. W. Cowie, *Henry Newman: an American in London 1708–43* (London, 1956), p. 114.
- 37 *Ibid.*, p. 115. There is an account of Griffith Jones in *DNB*, vol. x, pp. 991–3. Cowie’s point is that, if Jones, with his great enthusiasm for education, had been let loose on India, he might have anticipated by a century the achievements of Bishop Middleton in Calcutta and of Carey and his friends at Serampore, and that others in England might have followed him into the missionary task in India.
- 38 L. W. Cowie, *Henry Newman*, p. 122.
- 39 Quoted in N. Sykes, *Old Priest and New Presbyterian* (London, 1956), p. 142.
- 40 At the Reformation no attempt was made in Denmark to retain any historic succession. The king ordered Luther’s friend Bugenhagen, who was not a bishop, to commission his new superintendents, and none of the existing bishops took part in the ceremony.
- 41 Ziegenbalg and Plütschau were ordained in Copenhagen, as was Schwartz in 1750. But Sartorius was ordained in London by Ruperti, one of the king’s German chaplains, in 1731, and Geister at Wernigerode in the same year (L. W. Cowie, *Henry Newman*, p. 125).
- 42 N. Sykes, *Old Priest*, pp. 159–60; and see chap. 14, p. 326. An English translation of the sermon, in Ezekiel 33: 11, is printed in *Abstract of . . . the SPCK*, (London, 1814), pp. 325–56.
- 43 Letter of 19 December 1713; quoted in L. W. Cowie, *Henry Newman*, p. 127.
- 44 H. Cnattingius, *Bishops and Societies* (London, 1952), pp. 41, 43, 54.
- 45 *SPCK Report 1791*, p. 110. The suggestion that there should be ‘suffragan Bishops’ was in order to avoid the delicate problem of whether overseas bishops would have a seat in the house of Lords!
- 46 Note the remark of the Dutch chaplain Visscher at Cochin on the difficulty of learning the Malayalam language, the acquisition of which was almost impossible for a chaplain, burdened as he was with other responsibilities (K. P. Padmanabha Menon, *A History of Kerala*, ed. T. K. Krishna Menon, 4 vols. (Ernakulam, 1924–37), vol. II, p. 43).
- 47 Here again we are indebted to the work of Mesrobian Jacob Seth, *Armenians in India* (Calcutta, 1937). The work is somewhat uncritical, but the author has searched out with diligence all that can be known about the Armenian community through the centuries.

- 48 The course of the embassy and its success have been recorded in great detail in C. R. Wilson, *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, 2 vols. (Calcutta, 1895–1911), vol. II.2, pp. i–lvii and 1–254. It is to be noted that not all were agreed as to the character of Khwāja Sarhād; Wilson remarks that the English ‘seem to have had no high opinion of Sarhād’s private character, and to have distrusted him from the start’. It was agreed that he would require careful watching and that the English members of the mission would have ‘to keep one eye on the Mughal and the other on the Armenian’ (pp. x and xi).
- 49 Permission to settle there was granted by a *firmān* of Aurungzīb of the year 1665.
- 50 Another Arathoon was in command of a corps of Sindhia’s army, stationed at Gwalior in 1813 (H. T. Prinsep, *History of . . . Political and Military Transactions in India . . .*, 2 vols. (London, 1825), vol. I, p. 27). No detail is given as to how an Armenian came to be in this position of trust and authority. Also in the service of Sindhia was one Colonel Jacob Petrus, who died in 1850 at the age of ninety-five.
- 51 H. B. Hyde, *Parochial Annals*, pp. 193–4.
- 52 *Ibid.*, p. 172. He adds elsewhere the note that it is generally held that the likeness of the Greek priest Fr Parthenio is to be recognised in the figure of our Lord in the famous painting of the Last Supper by John Zoffany, which was placed in St John’s Church before the consecration (p. 189).

6 THE SUPPRESSION OF THE JESUITS

- 1 A clear and well-documented study of this episode is to be found in O. Chadwick, *The Popes and European Revolution* (Oxford, 1981), chap. 5: ‘The Fall of the Jesuits’ (pp. 346–90).
- 2 The whole story of the Jesuits and the actions taken against them has been set forth at great length by L. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, Eng. trans., 40 vols. (London–St Louis, 1924–53), vols. xxxvii, xxxviii and xxxix. Pastor is not an entirely satisfactory historian, but he has reproduced many official documents which are not available anywhere else, and his account may be taken as reliable at least in its general outlines. A clear and conveniently accessible account of the suppression, naturally rather favourable to the Jesuits, can be found in W. V. Bangert SJ, *A History of the Society of Jesus* (St Louis, Mo., 1972), pp. 363–413.
- 3 From the beginning Jesuits had had no legal existence in England and in a number of the Swiss cantons.
- 4 The text, almost complete, can conveniently be found in C. Mirbt, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums . . .*, 4th edn (Tübingen, 1924), pp. 404–11.
- 5 See L. Pastor, *Popes*, vol. xxxviii, p. 587, and, for judgements on his character and on his career, pp. 549–50.
- 6 W. V. Bangert SJ, *The Society of Jesus*, p. 371, gives the number of those embarked as 142, and of the survivors as 119.
- 7 Most of the detailed information about these events is drawn from a lengthy letter of Fr John Francis Filippi, which Fr Ferroli has used extensively for his account of the suppression in *The Jesuits in Malabar*, 2 vols. (Bangalore, 1939–51), vol. II, pp. 515–21 and 522–7.
- 8 By areas: Malabar and South Canara 6; Mysore and Raichur 8; Mathurai and

Comorin 13; Carnatic 17; Chandernagore 4; Agra 4. Further researches may add some names to the list, but in all probability no very large number (D. Ferroli, *Jesuits*, vol. II, pp. 532–5).

- 9 J. Bertrand, *La Mission de Maduré*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1847–54), vol. IV, pp. 457–63. See also D. Ferroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, 2 vols. (Bangalore, 1939–51), vol. II, p. 552. Fr Lichetta was for a time in Dhārāpuram and seems to have died in or about the year 1790.
- 10 This is dealt with in great detail, with lengthy quotations from original sources, by A. Launay, *Histoire des missions de l'Inde*, 3 vols. (Paris 1898), vol. I, pp. 5–151.
- 11 For a pleasing first-hand description of the Paris Society and its life, by a Carmelite Fr Paul of St Bartholomew, see A. Launay, *Histoire des missions*, vol. I, pp. 9–10. The Carmelite gives us the interesting information that on two days in the week the students were allowed to speak in their own languages; on other days they might converse only in Latin, as had been the rule in Ayuthia.
- 12 Mgr Pigneau de Behaine, who resided at the seminary, had become vicar apostolic of Cochin-China in 1771; he died on 9 October 1799.
- 13 A. Launay, *Histoire des missions*, vol. I, p. 54.
- 14 A. Launay, *Histoire des missions*, vol. I, pp. 61–2. It is to be noted that the mission of the Carnatic had not at the time a single Indian priest. The Jesuits were hardly in a position to complain of the incursion into their territories of the Goan priests of whom they entertained so low an opinion.
- 15 It may be noted that Fr Vernet, referred to above, was still alive in 1790. The last survivor of the Jesuits of Pondichéri was Fr Ansaldo, who died in 1805.
- 16 The work of the mission eventually came into the hands of the Capuchins (E. D. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* (London, 1932)), pp. 136–7.
- 17 An edition in French was published in 1786–9 and a second in 1791.
- 18 There is a good account of Tieffenthaler in E. D. Maclagan, *Jesuits*, pp. 137–41, with excellent bibliographical notes.
- 19 E. D. Maclagan, *Jesuits*, p. 142.
- 20 Fr Wendel compiled for the benefit of the British authorities a notable work on the Jāts, the Pathans and the Sikhs. The section of the Jāts is considered to be of exceptional value and interest. This work has at long last been published: J. Deloche, *Les Mémoires de Wendel sur les Jat, les Pathan, et les Sikh* (Paris, 1978).
- 21 Quoted by A. Launay, *Histoire des missions*, vol. I, pp. cxxxvi–cxxxvii.

7 THE NEW RULERS AND THE INDIAN PEOPLES

- 1 Clear evidence of this is provided by the story of the government's monopoly in the production and sale of opium, and of the relentless liability maintained against this traffic by the evangelical forces. See Appendix 12.
- 2 C. C. Cornwallis, *Correspondence*, ed. C. Ross, 3 vols. (London, 1859), vol. I, pp. 218 and 236. The second letter refers to his being appointed a Knight of the Garter.
- 3 All writers on this period are now indebted to F. and M. Wickwire, *Cornwallis: the Imperial Years* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1980), a careful study based throughout on original sources.

- 4 The Bengal famine of 1770 was one of the worst on record. The disastrous consequences following on it could still be felt when Cornwallis arrived in India. The effects were comparable to those of the Black Death in England in 1349.
- 5 In 1977 a reprint was carried out of translations from *The Poems of Tāyumānavar* made by Sir Mutu Coomāraswāmy, who was knighted by Queen Victoria in 1874 and died in 1879. There is more Sanskrit in Tāyumānavar's language than is pleasing to the Tamil ear in modern times.
- 6 E. B. Cowell (ed.), *The History of India*, 7th edn (London, 1889), p. 94.
- 7 R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, 11 vols. (Bombay, 1951–), vol. VIII, p. 715.
- 8 See Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment* (Oxford, 1964), p. 201, and A. Schimmel, *Islam in the Indian Sub-continent* (Leiden, 1980), pp. 153–60 and 206–9. Walī-Ullah translated the Qu'rān into Persian, and two of his sons translated it into Urdu – a revolutionary procedure.
- 9 Shore had desired a settlement of revenue for ten years, not in perpetuity. For a good exposition of varying views on the subject, see F. and M. Wickwire, *Cornwallis*, vol. II, pp. 67–9.
- 10 C. C. Cornwallis, *Correspondence*, vol. I, pp. 324–5, and vol. II, pp. 167–9. On the simplicity of his manner of life, see vol. I, pp. 237–8.
- 11 On his plea of poverty, the original figure of six crores (sixty million) of rupees was reduced to three crores.
- 12 Malcolm, *The Political History of India*, ed. K. N. Panikkar, 2 vols. (New Delhi, 1970), vol. I, p. 109.
- 13 Various excuses are made for Tipu by those who favour him. Narratives of the prisoners have been collected by A. W. Lawrence, *Prisoners of Tipu* (London, 1929). These are perhaps unreliable in detail, but the general impression is of verisimilitude. The horror felt by the young prisoners at the idea of circumcision seems explicable only if, like the Romans, they confused circumcision with castration.
- 14 On the other hand, Indian rulers could prohibit any Christian propaganda in their dominions. This was the case in, for example, the considerable state of Rīwā in Central India, until the declaration of religious freedom made by the government of independent India in 1947.
- 15 *CHI*, vol. v, p. 372. Note that Phadnavis is not strictly speaking a name but a title, 'chief accountant'.
- 16 The phrase is that of Sir John Malcolm, *A Memoir of Central India*, 2 vols. (repr. London, 1872), vol. I, p. 431.
- 17 An unnamed writer, quoted in *CHI*, vol. v, p. 377. For an incomparable account of the Pindāris, their rise and fall, see J. W. Malcolm, *Central India*, vol. I, pp. 426–62.
- 18 Confusingly this governor-general (1754–1826) was until 1817 Earl of Moira; in that year he was created Marquis of Hastings. He was in no way related to Warren Hastings.
- 19 H. T. Prinsep, *History of the Political and Military Transactions in India . . . 1813–1823* (London, 1825), vol. II, p. 421 (concluding sentences of his 'Political Review – General Result').

- 20 For a good account of the Indian States, see C. Corfield, *The Princely India I knew* (Madras, 1975). Not all would agree with this highly favourable estimate. Compare E. J. Thompson, *The Making of the Indian Princes* (Oxford, 1943). Note that the rise of the Sikh power in the Punjāb was subsequent to 1818.
- 21 Munro: in India 1780–1807, 1814–27, governor of Madras 1819–27 (G. R. Gleig, *The Life of . . . Sir Thomas Munro*, 3 vols. (London, 1830)).
- 22 Malcolm: in India 1782–1822, 1826–30, *Political History of India* 1811, *History of Persia* 1818, *Life of Clive* (3 vols.) 1836, governor of Bombay 1826–30. (J. W. Kaye, *Life of Malcolm*, (London, 1856)).
- 23 Elphinstone: in India 1796–1827, resident of Poona 1810–16, governor of Bombay 1819–27, refused governor-generalship. (*History of India* 1841; T. E. Colebrooke, *Life of Elphinstone*, 2 vols. (London, 1884)).
- 24 Metcalfe: in India 1800–38, resident of Delhi 1811–20, of Hyderabad 1820–7, lieutenant-governor of north-west Provinces 1836–8, governor of Jamaica 1839–42, governor-general of Canada 1843–5. J. W. Kaye, *The life . . . of . . . Lord Metcalfe*, new edn, 2 vols. (London, 1858); E. J. Thompson, *The Life of . . . Metcalfe* (London, 1937).
- 25 E. Stokes, *The English Utilitarians and India* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 8–25, has written perceptively of these four men.
- 26 Munro to Elphinstone, 12 May 1818.
- 27 See T. E. Colebrooke, *Life of the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone*, 2 vols. (London, 1884), vol. II, pp. 41–2.
- 28 Sir John Malcolm, *The Political History of India*, 2 vols. (London, 1826), vol. II, pp. 184–5.
- 29 G. R. Gleig, *Life of Munro*, vol. II, pp. 84–5.
- 30 The article appeared in a Calcutta periodical. I regret that I cannot supply the exact reference.
- 31 *Private Journal of the Marquis of Hastings*, 2nd edn, 2 vols. (London, 1858), vol. II, p. 326. With this compare the speech of T. B. Macaulay on the Charter Act of 1833 (*Prose and Poetry*, sel. G. M. Young (London, 1952), p. 718).
- 32 G. R. Gleig, *Life of Munro*, vol. II, pp. 330–1.
- 33 J. W. Kaye, *Life of Malcolm*, vol. II, p. 621.
- 34 T. E. Colebrooke, *Life of Elphinstone*, vol. II, p. 173; but see also p. 293 on a ‘sermon by Dr Chalmers’, and, for his extensive reading in theology and his commendation of ‘the manly simplicity of Paley and Butler’, see *ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 162–3.
- 35 E. J. Thompson, *Life of Metcalfe* (London, 1937), p. 30.
- 36 J. W. Kaye, *Malcolm*, vol. II, p. 362. The date of the letter is not given, but, as it is in answer to a letter of Marshman requesting a subscription to the college of Serampore, it belongs probably to the year 1817. See also Sir John Malcolm, *Central India*, vol. I, p. xiv.
- 37 T. E. Colebrooke, *Life of Elphinstone*, vol. II, p. 95.
- 38 Wellesley’s ‘Notes of the Foundation of the College of Fort William; and his ‘Regulations’ for the college are printed in *The Despatches etc of the Marquess Wellesley KG* (London, 1836), vol. II, pp. 325–61.
- 39 Teaching actually began on 6 February 1801.

- 40 H. H. Wilson, *Essays . . . on Subjects Connected with Sanskrit Literature* (London, 1865), vol. III, pp. 262–3. The essay ‘Notice of European Grammars and Lexicons of the Sanskrit language’ (pp. 253–304) is a mine of recondite and accurate information. Wilson even includes a note on Paulinus’ edition of the work of Fr Hanxleden (1804).
- 41 Second revised edition (Calcutta, 1961).
- 42 *Ibid.*, p. 115, and see also pp. 106–7. On the controversy as to the origins of modern Bengali prose, see P. Bhattacharya, ‘Rammohun Roy and Bengali Prose’, in V. Joshi (ed.), *Rammohun Roy and the Process of Modernization in India* (New Delhi, 1975), pp. 195, especially n. 1, and the summary on p. 222: ‘his prose, being modelled on the *Sādhu-bhāṣā*, is divorced from the living speech’. Compare with this the work of William Carey.
- 43 An excellent account of the College of Fort William, with full bibliography, is D. Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance* (Berkeley–Los Angeles, 1969), pp. 44–126 and 217–35. The official account of the college in its earlier years is [Captain] T. Roebuck, *Annals of the College of Fort William, from the period of its foundation by His Excellency the Marquis of Wellesley on the 4th May 1800 to the present time* (Calcutta, 1819).
- 44 The attitude of the Company towards Roman Catholic missions had generally been friendly, except in times of extreme political tension.
- 45 Joseph Price, *Some Observations and Remarks . . .* (London, 1782).
- 46 On Grant’s attempt to start missionary work at Malda, see chap. 9, p. 189.
- 47 See H. Morris, *The Life of Charles Grant* (London, 1904), pp. 108–16.
- 48 *Parl. Papers 1812–13*, vol. X, Paper 282, pp. 1–112; *ibid.* 1831–2, vol. VIII, Paper 734, General Appendix No. 1, pp. 3–92.
- 49 Syed Mahmoud, *History of English Education in India 1781–1893* (Aligarh, 1895), p. 3. As the name makes clear, the writer was a Muslim. He gives extensive quotations from Grant’s *Observations*.
- 50 See, further, Appendix 13.
- 51 Quoted in *Life of Wilberforce*, by his sons, 5 vols. (London, 1843), vol. II, p. 392.
- 52 A. T. Embree, *Charles Grant and British Rule in India* (London, 1962), p. 152. This is a correct and perceptive estimate of what the ‘pious clause’ really meant.
- 53 See A. T. Embree, *Charles Grant*, p. 154. Grant discounted this danger, on the ground that the ‘spirit of English liberty is not to be caught from a written description of it, by distant and feeble Asiatics’.
- 54 *Life of Wilberforce*, vol. II, p. 27.
- 55 Full text in J. W. Kaye, *History of Christianity in India* (London, 1859), Appendix IV, pp. 513ff.
- 56 It is almost certain that some of these drummers were Christians. They were drawn for the most part from among the boys in the government school in Calcutta for orphan children of soldiers.
- 57 Interesting details of this process are given by D. Forrest, *Tiger of Mysore: the Life and Death of Tipu Sultan* (London, 1970), pp. 332–3. In 1872 Queen Victoria appointed Ghulam Muhammad, one of the younger sons of Tipu, as a Knight of the Order of the Star of India.
- 58 S. K. Mitra, ‘The Vellore Mutiny of 1806 and the Question of Christian

Missions to India', *ICHR*, 7 (1973), 75–82, is a well-informed and temperate statement. This Indian writer gives it as his view that there is no ground whatever for regarding Christian missions as being in any way a cause for the mutiny.

- 59 See W. J. Wilson, *History of the Madras Army (1882–89)* (Madras, 1882–), vol. III, p. 173. Among easily accessible accounts of the Vellore mutiny, this is the fullest and perhaps the fairest. P. Chinnian, *The Vellore Mutiny 1806* (Erode, S. India, 1982), is valuable for quotations from original and contemporary sources but defective in interpretation.
- 60 For a clear and accurate summary of the controversy, see E. D. Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries* (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 177–92.
- 61 Twining's rhetoric seems to have caught the fancy of the public. A second edition was called for within a year of its publication. He went so far as to recommend the expulsion of all missionaries and the prohibition of the printing of the Scriptures in Indian languages.
- 62 London, 1808.
- 63 The full text can be found in *Minutes of Evidence before Select Committee of House of Commons on Affairs of the East India Company* (London, 1813). An accurate summary is in J. C. Marshman, *Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward*, 2 vols. (London, 1859), vol. II, pp. 1–51. For a rather unsympathetic account, see C. H. Philips, *The East India Company 1784–1834*, 2nd edn (Manchester, 1962), pp. 188–92.
- 64 At a later stage of the proceedings, Sir Henry Montgomery affirmed that in twenty years he had never heard of any Indian becoming a Christian, except one who was converted by 'that very respectable individual Mr Schwartz'. This is a useful indication of the extent of the knowledge of the situation possessed by the leaders of the anti-missionary party.
- 65 No one seems to have noted the fact that Roman Catholic missionaries had been there for a much longer period under the protection of that same government.
- 66 C. H. Philips, *East India Company*, p. 189, gives the number of petitions sent in between February and June 1813 as 837. See also *Missionary Register*, vol. I, p. 235.
- 67 See J. C. Marshman, *Life and Times*, vol. II, pp. 21–2.
- 68 The Earl of Buckinghamshire was at that time president of the board of commissioners.
- 69 It was during the debate in the House of Lords that Wellesley affirmed that he had found the missionaries 'a quiet, orderly, discreet and learned body', and added that 'he had thought it his duty to have the Sacred Scriptures translated into the languages of the East, and to give the learned natives employed in the translation the advantages of access to the sacred fountain of Divine truth. He thought a Christian governor could not have done less; and he knew that a British governor ought not to do more.'
- 70 The assertion that the evangelicals overlooked the evils in England would not be made by any competent historian today, though the methods they believed in for the elimination of those evils might not now be found acceptable. K. E. Heasman, *Evangelicals in Action: an Appraisal of their Social Work* (London,

1962), has drawn up a formidable list of the evils in England against which the evangelicals in England did battle.

8 GOVERNMENT, INDIANS AND MISSIONS

- 1 The works in question are: C. H. Philips (ed.), *The Correspondence of Lord William Cavendish Bentinck*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1977), with an admirable introduction by the editor, and J. Rosselli, *Lord William Bentinck: the Making of a Liberal Imperialist 1774-1839* (Brighton, 1974). See review of the former by K. Ingham, in *BSOAS*, 42 (1979), 158-9.
- 2 E. Stokes, *The English Utilitarians and India*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1963).
- 3 V. Jacquemont, *Letters from India 1829-1832: Being a Selection from the Correspondence* (London, 1936), p. 12. For a charming picture of the Bentincks at home, see *ibid.*, pp. 3-6 and 12.
- 4 The mind contemplates with pleasure the spectacle of the English aristocrat trying to convert the young French scientist (not a very ardent Christian), not apparently with conspicuous success (*ibid.*, p. 13).
- 5 J. Rosselli, *Bentinck*, p. 186.
- 6 He was only sixth on the list of those recommended, and it had seemed unlikely that the nomination would come his way (C. H. Philips (ed.), *Correspondence of Bentinck*, vol. 1, p. xiii).
- 7 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 140-1 ('Bentinck to William Astell. Private'). The whole letter deserves to be read.
- 8 The evidence is well collected and set forth in E. J. Thompson, *Suttee* (London, 1928), pp. 16-17. Max Müller, who affirmed that the line had been 'mangled, mistranslated, and misapplied' called it 'perhaps the most flagrant instance of what can be done by an unscrupulous priesthood' (*Selected Essays on Language, Mythology and Religion* 2 vols. (London, 1881), vol. 1, p. 335). The chapter in *CHI*, vol. VI, pp. 121-43, by Sir H. Verney Lovett, is of great value, on *satī* and a number of other kindred subjects.
- 9 E. J. Thompson, *Suttee*, p. 17. Later Indian writers ascribe almost exclusively to Rāmmohun Roy the credit for the abolition of *satī*; but Rāmmohun Roy advised against immediate abolition as likely to produce serious distrust and dissatisfaction.
- 10 See E. D. Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries in India* (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 144-56.
- 11 C. H. Philips (ed.), *Correspondence of Bentinck*, vol. 1, pp. 335-45. (The minute is a model of candour and temperate argument.)
- 12 *Ibid.*, p. 344.
- 13 *Ibid.*, pp. 360-2.
- 14 S. Pearce Carey, *William Carey*, 8th edn (London, 1934), p. 382.
- 15 The word is derived from a Sanskrit root meaning 'to conceal', in modern vernacular 'to deceive'; hence the *thag* is the deceiver. *The Deceivers* is the title of a novel by John Masters, in which a romanticised but not inaccurate picture of *thagī* is set forth.
- 16 J. N. Farquhar, 'Thags', in *ERE*, vol. XII, pp. 259-61. The quotation is from W.

- H. Sleeman, *Ramaseeana, or a Vocabulary of the Language used by the Thugs, with an Appendix descriptive of the System pursued by that Fraternity* (Calcutta, 1836), pp. 7–8. This is now a very rare book.
- 17 Sleeman was given his special appointment as superintendent in 1835.
 - 18 His book *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, 2 vols. (London, 1844; 3rd edn 1915) is a classic, among the best books ever written by a foreigner in India.
 - 19 The primary authority for all this is *History of the Rise and Progress of the Operations for the Suppression of Human Sacrifice and Female Infanticide in the Hill Tracts of Orissa*, Government of India, Home Department, No. 5 (Calcutta, 1854), supplemented by the writings of two of the officers most concerned in the suppression: J. Campbell, *Personal Narrative of Service amongst the Wild Tribes of Khondistan* (London, 1864), and S. C. Macpherson, *Memories of Service in India* (London, 1865). The former of these two books is much more reliable than the latter.
 - 20 J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 2 vols. (London, 1890), vol. 1, pp. 384–90. Frazer adduces similar customs from among many other peoples, including the Indians of North America. See also a good article by W. Crooke, 'Kandh, Khondh', in *ERE*, vol. VII, pp. 648–51; also a full account in E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, vol. III (Madras, 1909), pp. 356–415.
 - 21 Russell, the civil servant, whose report first drew the attention of government to the problem, wrote: 'For all I have seen of them, I feel convinced that no system of coercion can succeed. Our aim should be to improve to the utmost our intercourse with the tribe nearest to us, using our moral influence rather than our power'; quoted J. Campbell, *Personal Narrative*, p. 60. Campbell was appointed as principal assistant to the commission in December 1837.
 - 22 The main source of information on the subject is the enormous collection of papers published by authority of the House of Commons and dated 12 March 1838. These have been usefully summarised by J. Peggs, *India's Cries to Christian Humanity* (London, 1830), pp. 363–490.
 - 23 J. Peggs, *India's Cries*, p. 459. The best authority on the whole subject is D. R. Banaji, *Slavery in British India* (Bombay, 1933).
 - 24 The address is given *in extenso* by J. Peggs, *India's Cries*, pp. 390–1, from *Parl. Papers (Judicial)* 1828, pp. 9–10.
 - 25 In D. P. Sinha, *Some Aspects of British Social and Administrative Policy in India during the Administration of Lord Auckland* (Calcutta, 1969), chap. 5: 'Steps towards the Amelioration of Slavery in India' (pp. 184–223), there is a valuable account of the discussion, in India and England, which preceded the passing of the act of 1843. The general view was that slavery was in any case on the way out, and that detailed legislation was more likely to hinder than to help the cause of emancipation.
 - 26 On infanticide as practised in Bengal, see E. D. Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries*, pp. 140–1. An Indian writer, N. S. Bose (*The Indian Awakening and Bengal* (Calcutta, 1960), p. 128) gives to William Carey the credit for securing the suppression of this practice – 'the first instance of Government interference into the so-called "religious observances" of the people'.

- 27 Two contemporary works give detailed (and, as it seems, entirely reliable) information on the whole subject: J. Wilson, *History of the Suppression of Infanticide in Western India* (Bombay, 1855), and J. Cave-Browne, *Indian Infanticide: its Origin, Progress, and Suppression* (London, 1857). Dr Wilson was the famous Presbyterian missionary resident in Bombay; Mr Cave-Browne was a chaplain on the establishment.
- 28 Quoted in *CHI*, vol. VI, p. 129.
- 29 J. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, 3 vols. (Madras, 1873), vol. I, p. 547.
- 30 J. Cave-Browne, *Infanticide*, p. 82.
- 31 This delightful letter is printed, in English, by J. Cave-Browne, *Infanticide*, pp. 91–8.
- 32 Reference may be made to A. I. Mayhew, *Christianity and the Government of India* (London, 1929), pp. 126–37, where a number of other examples is cited. Among these is the legalisation by Dalhousie in 1856 of the remarriage of Hindu widows; but this was too far ahead of general Hindu opinion, and the act remained a dead letter.
- 33 This view had been put forward forcibly by Charles Grant in his famous *Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain* (London, 1797).
- 34 See J. Clive, *Thomas Babington Macaulay* (Oxford, 1973), chap. 12: 'Indian Education: the Minute' (pp. 342–99), a comprehensive and reliable survey of the whole question, with excellent bibliography.
- 35 C. H. Philips (ed.), *Correspondence of Bentinck*, vol. II, p. 1287 (letter of 1 June 1834); the name of his correspondent is not given.
- 36 Adam, under the influence of Rāmmohun Roy, had adopted the Unitarian position and therefore ceased to be a missionary. He continued, however, to serve the government in Bengal in a number of useful capacities. His first *Report on the State of Education in Bengal* (Calcutta, 1835), to be followed by others, is a masterpiece; it deals with far more than elementary education, and notes with regret (p. 111): 'Women are not only not educated, but the idea of educating them even in the most elementary knowledge is treated with contempt and even reprobation.'
- 37 Quoted by D. Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance* (Berkeley–Los Angeles, 1969), p. 242.
- 38 Carey's *Bengali Dictionary* contained 85,000 words.
- 39 J. Clive, *Macaulay*, p. 351.
- 40 On this, see, further, A. F. S. Ahmed, *Social Ideas and Social Change in Bengal* (Leiden, 1965), pp. 129–68.
- 41 On what follows, there is an immense amount of information in *Studies in the Bengal Renaissance* (Calcutta, 1958). See especially the chapter on 'Derozio and Young Bengal' (pp. 16–33).
- 42 See Lord Ronaldshay, *The Heart of Aryavarta* (London, 1925), p. 17.
- 43 Quoted *Bengal Renaissance*, p. 18.
- 44 The two Europeans present refrained from voting.
- 45 For many years the minute, though constantly quoted, was not readily available. The full text is now given in C. H. Philips (ed.), *Correspondence of Bentinck*, vol. II, pp. 1403–13.

- 46 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. xlii.
- 47 *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 1412.
- 48 Charles Edward Trevelyan (1807–86): deputy secretary to government in Calcutta 1831–40, brother-in-law of Macaulay, wrote *On the Education of the People of India* (1838), governor of Madras 1859–60.
- 49 C. H. Philips (ed.), *Correspondence of Bentinck*, vol. II, pp. 1413–14.
- 50 Quoted in J. Clive, *Macaulay*, p. 419, from M. Gilbert, *Servant of India: a Study of Imperial Rule from 1905 to 1910* (London, 1966), p. 132. But Andrews proceeds to point out the defects of Macaulay's minute, and some harmful consequences that followed from it (this part of the letter is not quoted by Clive).
- 51 13,699 Hindus, 1,636 Muslims, 236 Christians. (*Parl. Papers 1847–8*, HC 48 (20)). The general refusal of Muslims to opt for education in English was to have dire consequences in the twentieth century.
- 52 See J. W. Kaye, *Christianity in India* (London, 1859), pp. 366–96 and 431–43, especially pp. 379–82.
- 53 Auckland to Hobhouse, 17 November 1836.
- 54 October 1825, pp. 270–71, quoted in E. D. Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries*, p. 163.
- 55 D. E. Smith, *India as a Secular State* (Princeton, NJ, 1963), pp. 75–6.
- 56 Claudius Buchanan had in 1806 been an eye-witness of the ceremonies in the temple of Jagannāth at Puni. His account in *Christian Researches in India*, 8th edn (Cambridge, 1811), pp. 17–35, stirred deep feelings in the mind of many readers.
- 57 D. P. Sinha, *Some Aspects of British Social and Administrative Policy in India during the Administration of Lord Auckland* (Calcutta, 1969), p. 122. Chap. 4 of this work, 'Auckland's Policy Towards Religion', based on original documents, temperate and judicious, is the best survey known to me of this highly complicated subject.
- 58 The despatch did, however, state that 'we are rather holding up a standard to which you are ultimately to conform your policy, than prescribing a rule which you are instantly and without respect of circumstances, to carry into accomplishment'. Details are given in J. W. Kaye, *Christianity in India*, pp. 410–20.
- 59 Quoted in D. P. Sinha, *Aspects of British Policy*, p. 130.
- 60 On obscuration and inconsistencies in the accounts of these events, see Appendix 17.
- 61 The Duke of Wellington at first, disapproved of the action of Maitland, but later changed his mind. Maitland was notably vindicated by his appointment as governor of Cape Colony, a post which he held from 1844 to 1847.
- 62 The order was despatched on 9 August 1838 (D. P. Sinha, *Aspects of British Policy*, p. 151, n. 80).
- 63 A. C. Lyall, *Asiatic Studies, Religious and Social* (London, 1882), chap. 10: 'Our Religious Policy in India', at p. 263. This article was written in 1872.
- 64 This prohibition was not absolute in the armies of Madras and Bombay.
- 65 Full details, including the official text, are given in M. Wilkinson, *Sketches of Christianity in North India* (London, 1844), pp. 248–64. This source alone quotes the statement of Prabhu Din, supported by his fellow-soldiers, that 'the serjeant-major, the quartermaster-serjeant and the drummers are all Christians'

- (pp. 257 and 263). The serjeant and quartermaster-serjeant would be Europeans or Anglo-Indians. On the drummers, see chap. 18. See a further reference by M. Wilkinson, *Missionary Register*, March 1830, p. 149: 'CHUNAR Feb 8, 1829 In the afternoon had a Hindoostanee service for the Drummers and their wives; Among them were 10 Christian Drummers.' A rather different view of the event was set out by J. W. Kaye, *Christianity in India*, pp. 341-4.
- 66 Crawford was heir to a baronetcy, and therefore a person of some consideration in Indian society.
- 67 J. Mill, *History of British India*, 5th edn, 10 vols. (London, 1858), vol. ix, p. 193. This volume was written by Professor H. H. Wilson.
- 68 The more decisive action taken by Lord Dalhousie will be dealt with in a later section.
- 69 J. Mill, *History*, vol. ix, p. 365. The pages dealing with the Charter Act of 1833 (pp. 331-96) constitute an able and impartial account of what went on.
- 70 *Hansard*, 3rd ser., vol. xix, p. 509.
- 71 J. Mill, *History of British India*, vol. ix, p. 391. But, as some later events were to show, Esau was not quite as dead as could have been desired.
- 72 Dated 10 December 1834.
- 73 B. B. Majumdar, *History of Political Thought . . .*, vol. 1 (Calcutta, 1934), pp. 72-5 and 192-5; B. B. Kling, *Partner in Empire: Dwarkanath Tagore and the Age of Enterprise in Eastern India* (Berkeley, Calif., 1976), pp. 24-8. For Bentinck's views on European colonisation, see C. H. Philips (ed.), *Correspondence of Bentinck*, vol. 1, pp. 201-13.
- 74 Quoted by J. W. Kaye, *Christianity in India*, p. 449 n.
- 75 Letter of Sir Charles Napier, January 1843; quoted in Sir W. Napier, *The Life . . . of . . . Napier*, 4 vols. (London, 1857), vol. II, p. 300.
- 76 See F. J. Goldsmid, *James Outram: a Biography*, 2 vols. (London, 1880), vol. II, pp. 5-6. It was his great opponent, Napier, who had given Outram the title of 'the Bayard of India', by which he has become widely known (*ibid.*, vol. I, p. 292).
- 77 L. Griffin, *Ranjit Singh* (Oxford, 1893), p. 91.
- 78 For an account of this period very unfavourable to the British, see R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, 11 vols. (Bombay, 1951-), vol. x, pp. 47-50 (R. C. Majumdar). See also M. Alexander and S. Anand, *Queen Victoria's Maharaja: Duleep Singh 1839-93* (London, 1980), a fascinating work. Duleep Singh had been recognised as his son by Ranjit Singh. He was baptised on 8 March 1853 and lived as a Christian for many years. But in 1884, by which time he had become extremely eccentric, he declared himself to have returned to the Sikh religion. He died on 22 October 1893.
- 79 See chap. 12.
- 80 All the notable men were Anglicans, with the exception of Henry Havelock, who married the daughter of Joshua Marshman, the Baptist missionary, and himself became a Baptist. See J. C. Pollock, *Way to Glory: the life of Havelock of Lucknow* (London, 1957).
- 81 His friend Lewis wrote in his diary for 26 March 1826: 'Lawrence does not seem to comprehend the doctrine of original sin.' In this he was mistaken. Lawrence knew a great deal about original sin in himself and in others.

- 82 J. L. Morison, *Lawrence of Lucknow 1806–1857* (London, 1934), p. 330.
- 83 *Memorials of . . . Sir Herbert B. Edwardes*, by his wife, 2 vols. (London, 1886), vol. II, pp. 32–5. The letter was written from Peshawar to John Nicholson at Delhi.
- 84 There is an excellent article on orphans and other waifs and strays in India: D. Arnold, 'European Orphans and Vagrants in India in the Nineteenth century', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 7 (1978/9), 104–27.
- 85 A pleasant description of a visit to the Sanāwar school is J. Lawrence and A. Woodiwiss (eds.), *The Journals of Honoria Lawrence* (London, 1980), pp. 194–6.
- 86 The expression is that of Sir Richard Temple, *James Thomason* (Oxford, 1893), p. 139.
- 87 [J. Thornton,] 'The Settlement of the N.W. Provinces', *Calcutta Review*, 12 (1849), 413–67, a thorough and able piece of work; it includes a charming and imaginative picture of the work of a settlement officer at that period (pp. 466–7). The article is in part a review of Thomason's *Directions for Settlement Officers* (Calcutta, 1844) and other official publications for which he was responsible.
- 88 Sir Richard Temple, *James Thomason*, pp. 173–4.
- 89 Thomason's refusal to include Christian teaching in his programme was harshly criticised by many of his friends on the ground that merely secular education would do more harm than good. He stuck to his guns.
- 90 Thomason did not venture to preach, but read a printed discourse from one of the many collections of sermons available at that time.
- 91 Note the letter of Lord Dalhousie to Henry Lawrence of 20 February 1849: 'There are more than Major Edwardes in the Residency who appear to consider themselves now-a-days as Governor-General at least . . . I will come down unmistakably upon any of them who may try it on – from Major Edwardes CB, down to the latest enlisted General-Ensign-Plenipotentiary on the establishment' (J. L. Morison, *Lawrence*, p. 42).
- 92 H. B. Edwardes, *A Year on the Punjab Frontier in 1848–49*, 2 vols. (London, 1851), vol. I, pp. 350–2.
- 93 H. B. Edwardes, vol. I, pp. 304–6. A less temperate speech by Edwardes in London in May 1860 led Canning to write to Sir Bartle Frere: 'Really Sir John Lawrence ought to be shut up, and Edwardes have his head shaved. The latter is exactly what Mahomet would have been if born at Clapham instead of Mecca' (J. Martineau, *The Life and Correspondence of the Rt Hon Sir Bartle Frere*, 2nd edn (London, 1895), vol. I, p. 370).
- 94 *Life of Reginald Heber*, by his widow, 2 vols. (London, 1830), vol. II, pp. 317–18.

9 BENGAL 1794–1833

- 1 These two phrases have constantly been quoted in the wrong order. But Carey's theology was correct; great expectations should precede rather than be produced by great enterprises.
- 2 S. P. Carey, *William Carey*, 6th edn (London, 1925), pp. 84–5.
- 3 English writers have tended to exaggerate the importance of these events. This

was not the beginning of modern missions, not even the beginning of Protestant missions – this had come with Ziegenbalg eighty years earlier. Nottingham and Kettering meant that the immense forces of Anglo-Saxon Christianity would now be released for missionary service; this was significance enough.

- 4 G. Smith, *The Life of William Carey* (London, 1885), pp. 45–6.
- 5 S. P. Carey, *William Carey*, pp. 34–5.
- 6 Scott published in 1779 *The Force of Truth*, an account of his own experience in the search for truth, which in the end he found in Christ and in the Scriptures which bear witness to him. It was of this book that John Henry Newman (1802–91) wrote that, humanly speaking, he almost owed to it his soul (J. H. Newman, *Apologia pro Vita sua* (London, 1966), p. 32).
- 7 W. Gardiner, in *Music and Friends*; quoted in G. Smith, *Life of Carey*, p. 45.
- 8 It had long been known that Carey had been won for Christ by a fellow-apprentice, but the latter's name had been completely forgotten until, while S. Pearce Carey was preparing his life of Carey, a bundle of letters (copies) came into his possession and the long-forgotten name was revealed. (S. Pearce Carey, *William Carey*, p. x).
- 9 The work has been exactly reproduced a number of times in facsimile, e.g. by Hodder and Stoughton (London, 1891).
- 10 J. C. Marshman, *Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward*, 2 vols. (London, 1859), vol. 1, pp. 30–3.
- 11 C. B. Lewis, *The Life of John Thomas* (London, 1873), is favourable to Thomas; the biographer of Grant, Henry Morris (1904), takes a highly critical view, in which he is followed by A. Embree, *Charles Grant and British Rule in India* (London, 1962). See E. D. Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries in India* (Cambridge, 1967), p. 9.
- 12 Rām Bāsu showed great interest in the Gospel, and even wrote a number of Christian tracts, but he was never baptised. In later years he was employed at Fort William College and so renewed his association with Carey.
- 13 Grant and Brunsdon died after only short periods of missionary service.
- 14 J. C. Marshman, *Life and Times*, vol. 1, p. 93.
- 15 *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 519.
- 16 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 106.
- 17 Letter of 5 February 1800 (to Andrew Fuller); in E. Carey, *Memoir of Carey* (Boston, Mass., 1836), p. 265.
- 18 Dr A. H. Oussoren has dedicated a whole book to the subject: *William Carey, especially his Missionary Principles* (Leiden, 1945).
- 19 First edition, 1801.
- 20 Andrew Fuller in England could find no better term for the *Rāmāyana* than 'that piece of lumber'. Many supporters in England took a narrower view of the nature of missionary work than did Carey and his friends.
- 21 The title of the edition of 1811 is *An Account of the Writings, Religion and Manners of the Hindoos, including translation from their principal works*. Of later editions the title is *A View of the History, Literature and Religion of the Hindoos, including a minute description of their manners and customs, and translation from their principal works*. Further changes were made in later editions.

- 22 For an estimate of the value of Ward's work, see Appendix 18.
- 23 D. A. Christudoss, in W. S. Stewart, *The Story of Serampore and its Colleges*, 3rd edn (1961), p. 21.
- 24 Ward to the Society in May 1800; quoted in A. H. Oussoren, *William Carey*, p. 206.
- 25 The whole of this classic document is to be found conveniently in A. H. Oussoren, *William Carey*, pp. 274–84. The quotation is on pp. 276–7.
- 26 *Ibid.*, pp. 275–6.
- 27 *DNB*, vol. xvii, p. 669, affirms that this 'remains the best version in any language'. This was certainly true in 1809; it might be disputed today.
- 28 J. C. Marshman, *Life and Times*, vol. 1, p. 249.
- 29 There is a useful map in E. D. Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries in India* (Cambridge, 1967), facing the Introduction on p. 1.
- 30 Chamberlain had found it impossible to adapt himself to the communal style of living adopted by the Baptist missionaries in earlier days.
- 31 In 1803 he and his brother Felix, then little more than children, had combined to start the first Sunday school in India.
- 32 His life was written by W. Yates, *Memoirs of Mr John Chamberlain, Late Missionary in India* (London, 1826). The section occupying pp. 421–50 is entitled 'Delineation of the Character of Mr Chamberlain'. Other estimates are less favourable.
- 33 S. P. Carey, *William Carey*, p. 409.
- 34 On the whole episode, see M. Broomhall, *Robert Morrison: a Master Builder* (London, 1924), pp. 69–73.
- 35 J. C. Marshman, *Life and Times*, vol. 1, p. 245.
- 36 The work was begun under the direction of the notable orientalist John Leyden (1775–1811).
- 37 H. Edwardes, *A Year on the Punjab Frontier in 1848–49*, 2 vols. (London, 1851), vol. 1, pp. 485–7.
- 38 G. Smith, *Carey*, p. 141. In point of fact most converts in India desire to change names which have too close a Hindu connotation.
- 39 *Ibid.*, pp. 137–8. This was the first time that the Lord's Supper was administered in the Bengali language.
- 40 Krishna Prasād continued to wear the sacred thread for three years after his baptism, but then of his own volition gave it up.
- 41 See A. H. Oussoren, *William Carey*, p. 280.
- 42 *Ibid.*, pp. 280–1.
- 43 *Ibid.*, pp. 282–3.
- 44 J. C. Marshman, *Life and Times*, vol. II, p. 173.
- 45 *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 244.
- 46 For Carey's letters to England on the subject of the college, see G. Smith, *Carey*, pp. 387–403.
- 47 For a different view of the situation, see F. A. Cox, *History of the Baptist Missionary Society from 1792 to 1842*, 2 vols. (London, 1842), especially vol. 1, p. 286.
- 48 When Serampore was sold to the British in 1845, a clause was included to the

- effect that the right of Serampore to grant degrees should not be interfered with.
- 49 He spoke the truth; had not Carey once said, 'What does Marshman know about a garden? He only appreciates it as an ox does grass.'
- 50 J. C. Marshman, *Life and Times*, vol. II, p. 476.
- 51 S. P. Carey, *William Carey*, chap. 31 ('The Garden-Grower') is the best account known to me of Carey's activities as a botanist.
- 52 J. C. Marshman, *Life and Times*, vol. I, p. 108. The prime mover in the matter was George Udny, the pious friend of Carey.
- 53 The fullest treatment of the subject known to me is that in E. D. Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries*, pp. 139–69. Generous recognition that there was a strong reforming movement among Indians in Bengal should not be allowed to obscure the part that the Baptists played in all these good works.
- 54 This is the date as given by J. C. Marshman, *Life and Times*, vol II, p. 163. The statement that this was the first Bengali newspaper to appear has been challenged, but apparently without reason.
- 55 P. N. Bose and H. W. B. Moreno, *A Hundred Years of the Bengali Press* (Calcutta, 1920), p. 8; quoted in E. D. Potts, *Baptist Missionaries*, p. 107. The last issue of the *Durpan* appeared on 25 December 1841.
- 56 The later history of *The Friend* falls outside the limits of this chapter. After a lapse of ten years, in 1835 it began to appear as a weekly journal under the editorship of the indefatigable John Clark Marshman, who held the fort until 1852. *The Friend* still exists under its changed title *The Statesman*.
- 57 J. C. Marshman's account of the disaster is moving in its sheer simplicity (*Life and Times*, vol. I, pp. 468–73).
- 58 *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 104.
- 59 G. Smith, *Carey*, pp. 374–5. See also J. C. Marshman, *The Story of Carey, Marshman and Ward* (London, 1864), especially p. i.
- 60 Many of the missionaries' children followed their parents into the service of the mission; but others, naturally, took up secular avocations, and some may have secured positions to which considerable emoluments were attached.
- 61 The account of the last years of Carey in G. Smith, *Carey*, pp. 419–33, is moving in its completeness.
- 62 I suspect that, like his father, he was not an altogether easy man to deal with. But he did earn inclusion in *DNB*; the article gives an exhaustive list of his many works.
- 63 The majority of the Anglican chaplains, but not of the missionaries, were graduates of British universities.
- 64 The quotation is from the *Calcutta Christian Observer* of 1833; see M. A. Laird, *Missionaries and Education in Bengal* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 191–2.
- 65 A memoir of Lacroix was written by Joseph Mullens and published in 1862.
- 66 Not all the twenty-six became permanent centres of Christian work; and in Calcutta and some other centres several societies were at work.
- 67 Letter of 16 November 1818 (to the SPG).
- 68 M. A. Laird's section on 'Schools' in *Missionaries* (pp. 63–176) is uniquely valuable as drawing together the evidences scattered through many sources.
- 69 *3rd Serampore School Report*, pp. 24–7.

- 70 Letter of 12 June 1820; quoted in M. A. Laird, *Missionaries*, p. 89.
- 71 H. Ware and W. Adam, *Queries and Replies on the Present State of the Protestant Missions in the Bengal Presidency* (Calcutta, 1824), pp. 60–1.
- 72 At that time the committee was composed in large part of laymen; the missionaries had no voice in it.
- 73 *Memoir of Bishop Heber*, by his widow (Boston, Mass., 1856), p. 246.
- 74 In 1817. See E. D. Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries*, p. 123.
- 75 The CMS undertook to provide financial support for Miss Cooke's work. Not long after, she married Isaac Wilson, one of the missionaries of the CMS.
- 76 *Life of Reginald Heber*, by his widow, 2 vols. (London, 1830), vol. II, p. 187. Bishop Heber wrote on the subject at greater length to the dean of St Asaph on 16 December 1823 (A. Heber (ed.), *Narrative of a Journey*, 3rd edn, 2 vols. (London, 1828), vol. II, pp. 244–7).
- 77 K. Ingham, *Reformers in India* (Cambridge, 1956), p. 95. The support given to these enterprises by leading Hindu gentlemen should not be passed over without mention. Fuller information is in J. C. Bagal, *Women's Education in Eastern India* (Calcutta, 1956).
- 78 E. D. Potts, *Baptist Missionaries*, pp. 49–50, with references.
- 79 J. C. Marshman, *Life and Times*, vol. I, pp. 460–1.
- 80 It is to be remembered that the Anglican church in India was until 1930 a part of the Church of England. What was legal in England, unless modified by act of Parliament or by order in council, was also legal in India.
- 81 Ward's *Journal*, vol. III (5 May 1807); quoted in E. D. Potts, *Baptist Missionaries*, p. 55.
- 82 J. C. Marshman, *Life and Times*, vol. I, p. 297.
- 83 H. Josson, *La Mission du Bengale occidental*, vol. I (Bruges, 1921), pp. 186, 190–1, refers to Marshman as head of the mission at Serampore, but this was a position to which he never attained, fit as many judged him to be to hold that post.
- 84 On this, see D. V. Singh, 'The Calcutta Missionary Conference', *ICHR*, 13 (1979), 8–16.
- 85 *Indian Evangelical Review*, 5 (1818), 271.
- 86 J. Mullens, *Brief Memorials of . . . Lacroix* (London, 1862), pp. 121–3.
- 87 J. Mullens, biographer of Lacroix, was one of those most responsible for the convening of the 'Conference on Missions' held in 1860 at Liverpool (*Brief Memorials*, pp. 365–76).

10 NEW BEGINNINGS IN THE SOUTH

- 1 H. Pearson, *Memoirs of Swartz*, 3rd edn, 2 vols. (New York–London, 1835), vol. II, p. 202. He adds that 'a resident usually receives seven thousand star pagodas, or £3,000 sterling. I have not received anything, nor have I asked it.' When he had occasion to visit Madras in connection with the affairs of the young *rājā*, 'the expenses of the journey I bore myself'.
- 2 H. Pearson, *Memoirs of Swartz*, vol. II, p. 171.

- 3 *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 106–7. The patience of the new Christians under provocation led after a time to a diminution of the hostility of the Hindus.
- 4 A touching estimate of Schwartz' character by his colleague, Dr C. S. John of Tranquebar, is given by W. Germann, *Missionar Christian Friedrich Schwartz* (Erlangen, 1870), p. 362.
- 5 Quoted by J. F. Fenger, *History of the Tranquebar Mission*, Eng. trans. (Tranquebar, 1863), p. 295.
- 6 There is a long report on his educational work in the *Missionary Register*, 1 (1813), 369–84: 'Experiment in Fifteen Tamil and Five English Native Schools'.
- 7 Quoted in A. Lehmann, *It Began at Tranquebar* (Madras, 1956), p. 175.
- 8 A. Lehmann, *It Began*, p. 177, gives the figure '1900 souls'. This may be more correct than the figure given in the text.
- 9 F. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 3 vols. (London, 1904–22), vol. II, pp. 239–40.
- 10 The SPG was not able to send its first missionary to South India until 1829. But D. Schreyvogel, who had been ordained in Tranquebar in 1813, accepted episcopal ordination in 1826, and died at Pondichéri in 1840.
- 11 J. Richter, *A History of Missions in India*, Eng. trans. (Edinburgh–London, 1908), p. 166. On caste, see, further, chap. 16.
- 12 This translation was later criticised on the ground of Rottler's imperfect knowledge of the English language.
- 13 For an elaborate and accurate analysis of the community and its social position, see the careful work of R. L. Hardgrave, *The Nadars of Tamilnad: the Political Culture of a Community in Change* (Berkeley, Calif., 1969). Hardgrave has written well in this book on the Hindu–Christian schism, dealt with later in this chapter.
- 14 R. Caldwell, *Records of the Early History of the Tinnevely Mission* (Madras, 1881), pp. 71–100.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 79.
- 16 It is to be noted that in 1811 the missionaries ordained as 'country priests' four catechists – Gnanapragāsam, Adaikalam, Vedanāyagam and Abraham (F. Western, 'Early History' (unpub. MS), p. 134).
- 17 James Hough later served the church in India by being the first writer in modern times to write a comprehensive *History of Christianity in India* (see Bibliography). We are fortunate in having his own account of what he was able to achieve in Tirunelveli. Hough's son prefixed to vol. V of his history (1860) a useful biographical account of his father (pp. i–xxxix).
- 18 Hough notes that 270 of these lived over the border in Travancore.
- 19 These had later to be given up; Christian opinion was not yet in favour of the education of girls.
- 20 Hough made his appeal to the CMS only after ascertaining that it was very unlikely that the SPCK would be able to spare a missionary for work in the far south.
- 21 J. L. Wyatt (ed.), *Reminiscences of Bishop Caldwell* (London, 1894), p. 99.
- 22 On Rhenius' principles of translation, see Appendix 22.
- 23 In spite of his German-sounding name, Schaffter was a French-speaking Swiss. He died in 1861, the last of the continentals who served an Anglican missionary

society without having received Anglican orders.

- 24 It is now the cathedral church of the diocese of Tirunelveli of the Church of South India.
- 25 In what is now the Tirunelveli diocese of the CSI, the bell sounds every evening in 700 villages. The only difference is that in the days of Rhenius the service resembled unstructured family prayers; with the introduction of the Anglican prayer book, it took on a more recognisably liturgical form.
- 26 *Memoir of the Rev. C. T. E. Rhenius*, by his son (London, 1841), p. 277. What was all-important was that the great majority of the Christians continued to live in their own villages, though not always without tensions between them and their non-Christian neighbours.
- 27 *Memoir of Rhenius*, pp. 289 and 291. For criticisms of the work of Rhenius and his Indian helpers, see M. E. Gibbs, *The Anglican Church in India* (London, 1972), p. 100.
- 28 *Memoir of Rhenius*, pp. 427–9.
- 29 See *Memoir of the late Anthony Norris Groves*, compiled by his widow (London, 1856), pp. 227–43, and *Memoir of Rhenius*, p. 455.
- 30 *Memoir of Rhenius*, pp. 499–500, where the statement is given in full.
- 31 *Ibid.*, p. 503.
- 32 It can hardly be doubted that one of those who gave this advice was A. N. Groves. A letter quoted on p. 506 of the *Memoir of Rhenius* is exactly in the style of Groves, who also wrote a little later *A Brief Account of the Present State of the Tinnevelly Mission*.
- 33 G. Pettitt, *The Tinnevelly Mission* (London, 1861), p. 120.
- 34 *Ibid.*, p. 433. Charles Rhenius served as a missionary from 1845 to 1852, and as a chaplain from 1854 until his death in 1874. F. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, vol. III, p. 348: ‘an effective preacher, a very good musician, and one of the most gentle and kind-hearted of men’.
- 35 The older Malayālam-speaking stock bears the name Nambūdiris; in the south the Tamil-speaking Iyers and Iyengārs are more numerous.
- 36 The Lord gave him length of days; he died in 1875, being about ninety years old.
- 37 This account is based on that given by R. Caldwell in *Early History*, pp. 125–31, which itself is based on an article that appeared in a Tamil magazine in 1841. The writer was a relative of Vedamānickam, and Caldwell was of the opinion that there was no reason to doubt its general historical accuracy.
- 38 J. H. Hacker, *A Hundred Years in Travancore 1806–1906* (London, 1908), p. 25; W. Robinson, *Ringeltaube the Rishi* (London, 1908), p. 64. The latter work gives lengthy quotations from Ringeltaube’s letters to his sister, from one of which the above description is taken, but it gives no reference to sources.
- 39 S. Mateer, *The Land of Charity: a Descriptive Account of Travancore and its People* (London, 1871), p. 264.
- 40 J. Hacker, *A Hundred Years in Travancore*, p. 24.
- 41 Ringeltaube noted with regret that all the pupils were boys; the time had not yet come at which parents would be willing to send girls to school.
- 42 J. Hacker, *A Hundred Years in Travancore*, p. 28. With a view to securing the future of the mission, Ringeltaube was successful in obtaining through Colonel

Munro a grant of land, the annual revenue from which was reckoned at 350 star pagodas. This area he described as a sort of glebe lands, forming consequently a permanent supply for those wants which are inseparable from a religious establishment.

- 43 F. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, vol. II, p. 388.
- 44 J. Hacker, *A Hundred Years in Travancore*, pp. 31–2.
- 45 The congregation would of course be seated Indian fashion on the floor. This was for many years the largest Protestant church in India.
- 46 On 20 March 1844 Eliza Mault was married to Robert Caldwell. Legend has it that the LMS missionaries, wishing to give Robert a wedding present, handed over to him the LMS congregations on the British side of the border. The transfer of the congregations is historic fact; the connection with the wedding seems to belong to the realm of mythology.
- 47 This was rather an artificial industry, as it served only a Western market; but at that time there was no Indian market to be served.
- 48 At the same time the CMS missionary at Alleppey, the Reverend T. Norton, was also appointed as judge; but Norton, after a short period in office, resigned, for the same reasons that had led to the resignation of Mead.
- 49 See C. G. Hospital, 'Clothes and Caste in Nineteenth Century Kerala', *ICHR*, 13 (1979), 146–56. The missionaries' concern for 'decency' and the Nāḍār women's desire for social elevation both played a part in arousing the wrath of the Hindus. Dr R. N. Yesudas does not exaggerate when he writes: 'For the great majority of the people in Travancore during the nineteenth century oppression was synonymous with the Hindu caste system and Christianity was the major liberating force' – for Hindus no less than for Christians (*The History of the London Missionary Society in Travancore* (Trivandrum, 1980), p. 252).
- 50 S. Mateer, *The Land of Charity*, pp. 277–8, and 281.
- 51 In recognition of these services he was awarded the degree of Doctor of Divinity by the archbishop of Canterbury.
- 52 J. L. Wyatt (ed.), *Reminiscences of Bishop Caldwell*, is a delightful work, full of useful and interesting information.
- 53 The scholarship was transferred to another young man of promise, Archibald Campbell Tait, later archbishop of Canterbury.
- 54 His ordination as deacon took place on 9 September 1841.
- 55 J. L. Wyatt (ed.), *Reminiscences of Caldwell*, p. 54.
- 56 On curious doubts as to the date and place of Sargent's birth, see M. E. Gibbs, *Anglican Church*, p. 99, n. 5.
- 57 He was trained for the ministry at the institute of the CMS in Islington.
- 58 On 11 March 1877 Caldwell and Sargent were consecrated together as assistant bishops for the work of the church in Tirunelveli.
- 59 Thomas died in 1870. His widow continued to live in Megnānapuram until her death in 1899, by which time she had given more than sixty years of service. Their daughter directed the girls' school in the village until 1923. The members of this family between them gave considerably more than a century of service to the church. See A. H. Grey-Edwards, *Memoir of the Rev John Thomas* (London, 1904), a less than satisfactory life of a great missionary.

- 60 But cases are also on record in which the missionaries intervened on behalf of oppressed non-Christians, and others in which the Christians really were guilty of the offences with which they were charged.
- 61 This was published in a Tamil periodical called the *Tesābimāny* (Patriot). See G. Pettitt, *The Tinnevelly Mission*, p. 258.
- 62 G. Pettitt, *The Tinnevelly Mission*, pp. 438–50. John Devasahāyam had been ordained priest by Bishop Spencer in 1836.
- 63 G. Pettitt, *The Tinnevelly Mission*, p. 451. This whole story has been very carefully studied in a paper by R. E. Frykenberg, 'The Impact of Conversion and Social Reform upon Society in South India in the Late Company Period . . . with special reference to Tinnevelly', in C. H. Philips and M. D. Mainwright (eds.), *Indian Society and the Beginnings of Modernisation c. 1830–1850* (London, 1976), pp. 187–243. The writer has gone very deeply into contemporary papers both official and unofficial. He is perhaps a little too kind to Lewin, and a little too critical of the missionaries; but he depicts well the intensity of the feelings aroused and the difficulties which the missionaries had to face, from European no less than from Hindu critics.
- 64 G. J. Spencer, *Journal of a Visitation-Tour in 1843–4* (London, 1845), pp. 85 and 87–8. 'The people are in a state of open rebellion against their minister, and must be treated as rebels.'
- 65 Ragland never married and at the time of his death was senior fellow of the college.
- 66 In 1929, when I was a young missionary, an aged Christian said to me with great pride, 'I was baptised by Ragland.'

11 THE THOMAS CHRISTIANS IN LIGHT AND SHADE

- 1 T. Parameakkal, *Journey of Archbishop Kariyattil* (in Malayālam, published 1936). C. C. de Nazareth, *Mitras lusitanas no oriente*, 2nd edn, 2 vols. (Nova Goa, 1924), vol. II, p. 56, refers to a petition in his favour sent to the king of Portugal on 24 November 1787.
- 2 C. C. de Nazareth, *Mitras*, vol. II, pp. 56–7. The writer goes on to add that Thomas is a proud and vain man, not deserving any favour from the king of Portugal. He died in 1799.
- 3 C. C. de Nazareth, *Mitras*, vol. II.
- 4 Cochin and Mylapore have little relevance for the subject dealt with in this chapter, except in so far as quarrels broke out between the authorities of overlapping dioceses.
- 5 C. C. de Nazareth, *Mitras*, vol. II, p. 50.
- 6 They captured the city of Cochin from the Dutch in 1795 but did not annex the states of Travancore and Cochin.
- 7 See L. W. Brown, *Indian Christians of St Thomas*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1981), p. 125, whose view of the situation is the same as mine.
- 8 C. C. de Nazareth, *Mitras*, vol. II, p. 58.
- 9 For varying estimates, see P. Cheriyan, *The Malabar Syrians and the Church Missionary Society 1816–1840* (Kottayam, 1935), pp. 64–5. Ward and Conner in

their survey (1816–21) give a figure of fifty-five churches with 35,000 members. I have allowed for some increase between 1820 and 1835.

- 10 According to Bishop L. W. Brown (*Thomas Christians*, p. 124), he was sentenced to a fine of Rs. 20,000 which for the time being reduced him to penury.
- 11 *Travancore State Manual*, vol. II, p. 211.
- 12 8th edn, Cambridge, 1811.
- 13 C. Buchanan, *Christian Researches*, 8th edn (Cambridge, 1811), p. 105.
- 14 At a later date Buchanan was able to report that the translation of the New Testament, made naturally from Syriac, had been completed under the supervision of Mar Dionysius, and that arrangements were being made to print this version in Bombay (*Christian Researches*, p. 121). This translation was superseded by versions made directly from the Hebrew and the Greek.
- 15 This noble manuscript is now in the Cambridge University Library. The Reverend J. L. Wyatt, no mean authority, expressed the view that it cannot have been in India for more than 200 years.
- 16 I think that G. B. Howard is correct in suggesting that the term 'union' as used by Buchanan meant inter-communion, a mutual and friendly recognition of one another on the part of two churches, each being acknowledged to be an independent branch of the one universal church, and nothing more (*The Christians of St Thomas and their Liturgies* (Oxford–London, 1864), p. 56).
- 17 P. Cheriyan, *Malabar Syrians*, pp. 81–2, quotes from four Hindu writers, all of whom lavish unstinted praise on Munro.
- 18 Details in W. S. Hunt, *Anglican Church in Travancore and Cochin 1816–1916* (Kottayam, 1920), p. 12; for a very interesting account of Norton, see *ibid.*, pp. 109–19.
- 19 The great Dionysius had died in 1808. The succession of *metrāns* is at this point extremely complicated. The details are set out in P. Cheriyan, *Malabar Syrians*, ch. ix: 'Mar Philoxenus and the Three Malankara Metropolitans Consecrated by him'.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 97.
- 21 C. W. Le Bas, *The Life of . . . Middleton*, 2 vols. (London, 1831), vol. 1, pp. 326 and 327–8. On a later visit Middleton was able to record with satisfaction that 'the Bishop assured me that nothing is done which he has any reason to complain of' (*ibid.*, vol. II, p. 206).
- 22 This was the term constantly used at the time to express what it was hoped to accomplish in the life of the ancient church.
- 23 *Proceedings of the CMS 1817–18*, p. 176.
- 24 On the diaries and papers of W. H. Mill, see Appendix 24.
- 25 *Missionary Register* (1823), p. 398.
- 26 The missionaries seem to have been unaware of the earlier work of the Roman Catholics in this field.
- 27 It may be noted that one Hindu helper of Bailey in the work was so impressed by what he read that he became a Christian.
- 28 The whole Bible became available in 1841.
- 29 CMS Report; quoted in P. Cheriyan, *Malabar Syrians*, p. 194.
- 30 A full account of the method followed is J. Hough, *The History of Christianity in India*, 5 vols. (London, 1845–60), vol. v, p. 395.

- 31 P. Cheriyan, *Malabar Syrians*, p. 113. For a short visit by an Eastern prelate (Mar Athanasius in 1825), see Appendix 25.
- 32 A careful account is W. S. Hunt, *The Anglican Church in Travancore*, vol. 1 (Kottayam, 1920), pp. 80–94; on pp. 99–103 Hunt gives ‘Commendations and Criticisms’ from various sources.
- 33 Bailey returned in October 1834 and Baker in November 1835.
- 34 The details are confused but the central facts seem to be well established. See P. Cheriyan, *Malabar Syrians*, pp. 214–17.
- 35 The contested doctrine seems to have been that of the perpetual virginity of the Mother of Jesus.
- 36 P. Cheriyan, *Malabar Syrians*, p. 403.
- 37 See T. V. Philip and K. Baago, ‘A Document from the Ecclesiastical Crisis in Kerala, 1835–36’, *ICHR*, 1 (1967), 113–22.
- 38 The complete text is in J. Bateman, *Life of Daniel Wilson*, rev. edn, 2 vols. (London, 1861), vol. II, pp. 55–61.
- 39 Full text, in English translation, in P. Cheriyan, *Malabar Syrians*, pp. 390–1.
- 40 *Ibid.*, p. 275. The Madras government wisely disapproved the proposal that the Resident should be a trustee; that part of the agreement therefore lapsed.
- 41 The first baptism of a Hindu (Īzhava) seems to have been carried out by the Reverend Henry Baker, not long after the opening of the church.
- 42 Slavery was abolished in 1855, but this did not very much alter the conditions under which the Pulayas lived.
- 43 *Travancore State Manual*, vol. II, p. 407.
- 44 The numbers are small, but they seem to be divided into twelve or fourteen distinct tribes. See *Travancore State Manual*, vol. II, pp. 407–20. A clear account of the work among the hill Arrians is W. S. Hunt, *Anglican Church in Travancore*, vol. 1 (Kottayam, 1920), pp. 182–94. By 1860, 775 among them had been baptised.
- 45 E. L. TenBrink, ‘The CMS Mission of Help to the Syrian Church of Malabar 1818–1840. A Study in Protestant–Eastern Orthodox Encounter’ (unpublished dissertation); quoted in C. P. Matthews and M. M. Thomas, *The Indian Churches of St Thomas* (Delhi, 1967), p. 71.
- 46 C. P. Matthews and M. M. Thomas, *Churches of St Thomas*, p. 72.
- 47 There were two *malpāns* with the name Abraham; it is the younger of the two, Palakunnathu Malpān, to whom reference is made in the following pages. A life of Abraham Malpān has been written by the Reverend M. C. George.
- 48 A list of the changes is given in F. E. Keay, *A History of Hindi Literature*, 3rd edn (Calcutta, 1960), p. 71.
- 49 Matthew was at this time a deacon. At what point the idea entered the mind of the *malpān* that his nephew might be the next *metrān* of the church seems not to have been clearly established.
- 50 Doubts had been raised as to the validity of the consecration of Mar Dionysius IV.
- 51 Abraham Malpān died in 1845.
- 52 If Mar Dionysius thought that by this action he was strengthening his own position, he was to be sadly disappointed. He gradually fades from the scene and seems to have died in 1855, a discontented, disappointed and frustrated man.

Mention may be made in passing of an attempt by a new patriarch in 1849 to stir up further trouble by sending to Kerala a bishop named Stephen Athanasius. The intruder failed to get a foothold or to play an important part in the affairs of the church.

- 53 This does not seem to be a quite correct statement of the position. The documents were genuine; the use made of them by Mar Cyril was flagrantly improper.
- 54 For evidence of this, see the evidence of Dr Grant quoted in P. Cheriyan, *Malabar Syrians*, p. 303.

12 ANGLICAN DEVELOPMENT

- 1 After the diocese of Calcutta had been formed.
- 2 Miss M. E. Gibbs, *Anglican Church in India* (London, 1972), p. 25, suggests that he 'presumably exercised priestly functions on occasion'. There is no evidence for this, but it is not entirely impossible. (See Appendix 26.) But J. Hough, *The History of Christianity in India*, 5 vols. (London, 1845-60), vol. IV, p. 51, notes that at the Old Mission church Brown was 'occasionally assisted by the chaplains Messrs Blanshard and Owen', presumably for celebrations of the Holy Communion.
- 3 The best student of the year in mathematics.
- 4 Biographers have dealt at length with Martyn's prolonged and endlessly frustrating love affair with Lydia Grenfell. When she finally rejected his offer of marriage, he found it hard to accept the fact that he must learn to live without her. But the candid historian has to reckon with the possibility that, if she had accepted him, life with so sentimental, neurotic, demanding and indecisive a woman might have destroyed his mind and spirit more disastrously than the pain of separation could do. See the excellent treatment of this theme in C. Padwick, *Henry Martyn* (London, 1923), pp. 113-27.
- 5 Quoted in G. Smith, *Henry Martyn* (London, 1892), p. 274.
- 6 T. E. Colebrooke, *Life of the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone*, 2 vols. (London, 1884), vol. I, p. 233.
- 7 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 232.
- 8 An excellent account of the beginnings of Urdu prose literature is to be found in A. Schimmel, *Classical Urdu Literature: a History of Indian Literature*, ed. J. Gonda, vol. VIII, fasc 3 (Wiesbaden, 1975), chap. II, § 5: 'The beginnings of prose literature'. The writer notes the important influence exercised by translation of the New Testament into Urdu, and shows correctly that Fort William college in its brief career was the great centre for the development of Urdu prose literature.
- 9 G. Smith, *Henry Martyn*, pp. 231-2. Martyn's difficulties with him are summed up in one single comment: 'think of the keeper of a lunatic, and you see me'.
- 10 For the ordination of Abdul Masih to the ministry, see p. 268.
- 11 M. E. Gibbs, *Anglican Church*, p. 39.
- 12 It must not be forgotten that there were evangelical chaplains in other parts of India also. In Madras the most distinguished was Marmaduke Thompson (in Madras 1806-25), who had been a schoolfellow of Charles Lamb at Christ's

Hospital. Thomas Carr, who in 1837 became the first bishop of Bombay, was also an evangelical, and a strong supporter of the CMS.

- 13 53 Geo. III cap. 155. All the documents relating to the Indian bishoprics have been conveniently brought together in W. H. Abbott, *A Practical Analysis . . . Bishopricks in the East Indies*, 2nd edn (Calcutta, 1845) (see Bibliography).
- 14 Ceylon was included in the diocese by letters patent in 1817.
- 15 The lengthy and affectionate address was delivered on 23 March 1813, and is printed in full in Middleton's *Sermons and Charges* (London, 1824), pp. 169–88.
- 16 Sir John Kaye's amusing account of the event ends with the words: 'Everything went on as usual, in spite of the bishop and his lawn sleeves, and his sermon on Christmas Day. It really seemed probable, after all, that British Dominion in the East would survive the blow' (*Christianity in India* (London, 1859), p. 290).
- 17 The Presbyterians won that round: the steeple of St Andrew's was and is taller than that of St John's. Bryce's own account of his clash with Middleton appears in his book *A Sketch of Native Education in India* (London, 1839), Note D (pp. 308–11).
- 18 Letter of 20 September 1820 (C. W. Le Bas, *The Life of Middleton*, 2 vols. (London, 1831), vol. II, pp. 402–3).
- 19 Letter of 8 March 1821 (*ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 402–3). This seems to be the only occasion on which Middleton made a joke, or at least a play on words.
- 20 The gravest problem of all was that Middleton had convinced himself that under the terms of the letters patent he was not entitled to ordain Indian nationals to the ministry of the church. See further on this matter, p. 267.
- 21 In C. W. Le Bas, *Life of Middleton*, vol. I, pp. 145–370, there is a full account of the visitation, including much information of great interest, though Middleton was not an observer of the same calibre and acuity as Heber.
- 22 The lengthy prayers and blessing used on this occasion are printed as an Appendix to C. W. Le Bas, *Life of Middleton*, vol. II, pp. 400–7.
- 23 Another candidate for the post had been the learned and pious professor Samuel Lee, who has come before us in another connection. The second professor, Mr Alt, was competent but could not compare in eminence with his chief.
- 24 This is now a very rare book; but the library of the Indian Institute in Oxford contains a copy of the first edition (1831) of books 1 and 2, with introduction, in excellent condition.
- 25 Mill is perhaps a little unkind in his remark that 'the same sacred history has been conveyed, but with singular adulteration, by the genius of the Jesuit Father Beschi' (p. iii).
- 26 *JRAS*, 4.ii (1837), 800.
- 27 Letter of 28 March 1828; quoted in M. A. Laird, *Missionaries and Education in Bengal 1793–1837* (Oxford, 1972), p. 153.
- 28 No objection seems to have been taken by Indians to this practice until a good deal later in the century.
- 29 C. W. Le Bas, *Life of Middleton*, vol. II, pp. 352–3. Even Archdeacon Barnes of Bombay, who was distressed by the bishop's levity in wearing white trousers and a white hat in public, was fain to admire 'his unreserved frankness, his anxious and serious wish to do all the good in his power, his truly amiable and kindly

feelings, his talents and piety, and his extraordinary powers of conversation, accompanied with so much cheerfulness and vivacity' (*Life of Reginald Heber*, by his widow, 2 vols. (London, 1830), vol. II, pp. 298–9).

30 At a rather later date Victor Jacquemont may be held to rank with him.

31 A most useful shortened edition has been put out recently, with an excellent introduction by M. A. Laird, *Bishop Heber in Northern India* (Cambridge, 1971). Mrs Heber joined her husband in Bombay and was with him during the later stages of the visitation.

32 R. Heber, *Sermons Preached in India* (London, 1829), p. 18. See an even more emphatic tribute to the Indians' 'amiable qualities of intelligence, of bravery, of courteous and gentle demeanour', in a sermon preached in Bombay on Whit Sunday 1825 (*ibid.*, pp. 193–4).

33 *Ibid.*, p. 24.

34 G. D. Bearce, *British Attitudes towards India 1784–1858* (Oxford, 1961), p. 85, is in error in describing Heber as 'closely connected with the evangelical wing of the Anglican church'. In other respects his account of Heber (pp. 85–8) is friendly and accurate.

35 See J. C. Marshman, *Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward*, 2 vols. (London, 1859), vol. II, pp. 293–3.

36 *Life of Heber*, vol. II, p. 139.

37 For a vivid account of this ordination, see *ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 363–4. Armenian as well as Anglican priests were present.

38 Heber did not establish any principle with regard to Anglican ordination of those who had received Lutheran orders. One or two Lutheran missionaries of their own accord asked for Anglican ordination, desiring the extension of their ministry which this would make possible. See A. Heber (ed.), *Narrative of a Journey*, 2 vols. (London, 1828), vol. II, pp. 426ff.

39 *Life of Heber*, vol. II, p. 193.

40 This subject will be dealt with in detail in chap. 16.

41 On 24 July 1827 he confirmed nearly 500 candidates. Everything of importance relating to this episcopate has been collected by J. Hough, *History*, vol. V, pp. 593–608.

42 For the events of this episcopate, see *ibid.*, vol. V, pp. 609–52.

43 The present (1981) bishop of Madras, the Right Reverend Sundar Clark, is a great-great-grandson of John Devasahāyam, and is therefore in the seventh generation in direct descent from Aaron.

44 *Letters of Arnold Christian Pears* (privately printed, Madras, 1931). Colonel Pears was inspector of schools and later postmaster-general of Madras. These letters cover the period 1838–1866, and give us some of the most vivid vignettes that we possess of missionaries of the period, from an entirely independent witness.

45 On 18 April 1832, eleven days before his consecration, Dr Daniel Wilson, bishop-designate of Calcutta, made a note: 'Visited the Archbishop and Bishop of London. Considered a scheme for creating additional Indian bishops' (J. Bateman, *Life of Wilson*, vol. I, p. 288).

46 Note that the act did not give to the bishop of Calcutta the title of archbishop,

probably because the church in India was still to be in some degree subject to the authority of the archbishop of Canterbury. Until 1947 the bishop of Calcutta was universally known and addressed as the 'Metropolitan'.

- 47 J. Bateman, *Life*, edn of 1860, vol. 1, p. 279.
- 48 M. E. Gibbs, *The Anglican Church*, p. 106.
- 49 Quoted in *Life*, vol. II, p. 425.
- 50 On his work in Madras, see F. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 3 vols. (London, 1904–22), vol. II, pp. 151–74. It seems that Robinson had hoped for appointment as bishop of Madras. He had been with Bishop Heber at the time of his death.
- 51 The letters patent for Bombay, dated 1 October 1836, departed from the Nicene principle, always and to this day rigidly observed by the Anglican churches, that three bishops are required for the consecration of a bishop, by authorising the two bishops in India to consecrate the third. But, through the untimely death of Bishop Corrie, this irregularity was avoided; Carr had to return to England, for the first time in twenty years, and was consecrated on 19 November 1837.
- 52 E. Eden, *Letters from India*, 2 vols. (London, 1872), vol. 1, p. 101 (letter of 13 March 1836).
- 53 On the rapid increase of the Indian ministry during this period, see chap. 17.
- 54 Quoted in F. Penny, *Church in Madras*, vol. III, p. 141.
- 55 See D. Holmes, *Sikander Sahib* (1961), pp. 231–4, especially p. 231: 'When the Misses Eden knew him in 1838–39, he was a fervent practising Christian.'
- 56 C. W. Le Bas, *Life of Middleton*, vol. II, pp. 119–20 and 338–9. Less typical was the soldiers' meeting-house in Karnal, built entirely by the efforts of the soldiers of an English regiment, and handed over to the chaplain for permanent use. The verandah of the building was broken up into small cubicles where soldiers who desired to do so might engage in private prayer (*ibid.*, vol. II, p. 341).
- 57 The consecration service took five hours in the burning heat of Calcutta (*ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 288–92).
- 58 *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 185.
- 59 This interesting fact is not mentioned in E. S. Purcell's *Life of Cardinal Manning*, 2 vols. (London, 1895).
- 60 For the remarkable career of Solomon Caesar Malan, who for a short time was on the staff of Bishop's College, see Appendix 27.
- 61 For a valuable account of the Brooke dynasty, see the work of Sir Steven Runciman, *The White Rajahs: a History of Sarawak 1841–1926* (Cambridge, 1960).
- 62 A small island which was a British possession, and was therefore deemed suitable to give a title to a bishop of the Church of England. In 1855 Sarawak was added to the title.
- 63 C. W. Le Bas, *Life of Middleton*, vol. II, p. 356. But Wilson was quite wrong in saying that 'it is the first time that such a service has taken place out of England, since the Reformation'. He was forgetting the existence of Scotland, Ireland, Canada and the United States of America. Nevertheless the service was a notable landmark in the development of the Church of England into the worldwide Anglican communion.
- 64 Statement of the committee of the CMS, 14 April 1856.

- 65 The idea of a dual episcopate, with an English bishop controlling the white congregations and an Indian bishop in charge of the Indian congregations, was wholly unacceptable. The confused thinking of the CMS delayed the appointment of an Indian bishop by more than half a century.
- 66 The rigidity of English control over Indian affairs steadily increased, reaching its apogee when telegraphic communication between the two countries was established.
- 67 C. W. Le Bas, *Life of Middleton*, vol. II, p. 354.
- 68 The number of chaplains in the whole of India in that year was 129 – in Calcutta 68, in Madras 35, in Bombay 26 (in each case Presidency is to be understood).
- 69 The term 'non-Roman, non-Syrian' is much too cumbrous; the old term 'Protestant', in its proper and historical significance, is by far the most convenient locution.
- 70 For the first beginnings of Roman Catholic acceptance of this fact, see chap. 13.

13 THE RECOVERY OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS

- 1 A valuable summary is the chapter 'Les Caractères de la reprise de l'activité missionnaire', in S. Delacroix (ed.), *Histoire universelle des missions catholiques*, vol. III (Paris, 1957), pp. 169–72.
- 2 J. A. Dubois, *Letters on the State of Christianity in India* (London, 1823; repr. 1977), p. 72.
- 3 In an excellent introduction Beauchamp gives valuable information as to the life of Dubois, discusses the varied fortunes of his manuscript, and explains why a complete translation of a famous work was so long delayed.
- 4 J. A. Dubois, *Letters*, p. 8.
- 5 The full title is *Letters on the State of Christianity in India, in which the conversion of Hindoos is considered as impracticable, to which is added a vindication of the Hindoos male and female in answer to a severe attack made upon both by the Reverend [William Ward] (1823)*.
- 6 J. A. Dubois, *Letters*, pp. 7–8.
- 7 J. A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies* (Oxford, 1897), p. 72. Naturally the *Letters* of Dubois aroused furious controversy. Extensive answers were written by two Anglicans, the Reverend James Hough and the Reverend H. Townley. It would not accord with the plan of this book to allow more space to controversies now better forgotten. For Roman Catholic comments on the harm done by his writings, see A. Launay, *Histoire des missions de l'Inde*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1898), vol. I, pp. 310–18.
- 8 K. Burton, *Difficult Star: the Life of Pauline Jaricot* (New York, 1947); more fully, D. Lathoud, *Marie Pauline Jaricot*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1937).
- 9 G. Goyau, *Un Grand 'Homme': Mère Javouhey* (Paris, 1929); C. C. Martindale, *The Life of Mère Anne-Marie Javouhey* (London, 1953); G. D. Kittler, *The Woman God Loved* (London, 1959).
- 10 A full and interesting account of this venture is to be found in A. Launay, *Histoire des missions*, vol. I, pp. 333–41.
- 11 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 339.

- 12 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 340.
- 13 This title has also been claimed for Pius IX.
- 14 See J. Schmidlin, 'Gregor XVI als Missionspapst 1831–1846', *ZM* (1931), 209–27.
- 15 Very much lower figures are given by some authorities. Even relative certainty is not attainable.
- 16 Until 1836 the superior in Pondichéri, though carrying out the duties of a vicar apostolic, did not have the title. Colombo (1836) does not fall within the scope of this work. It is to be remembered that vicariates apostolic are not dioceses; the inauguration of a regular hierarchy for India had to wait for another fifty years.
- 17 There is a full and accurate account of all these circumstances in N. Kowalski OMI, 'Die Errichtung des Apostolischen Vikariates Madras', *NZM*, 8 (1952), 36–48, 119–26 and 193–210.
- 18 *The Catholic Encyclopaedia* vol. XIII (New York, 1912), pp. 382–7 (Doyle: a most valuable article) tells us that Dr O'Connor drove to the church of St Mary of the Angels, wearing cocked hat and buckled shoes, long black coat and knee breeches, a costume familiar to Anglicans but totally unknown to Roman Catholics in Madras.
- 19 Apparently the students had grounds for complaint. It seems that no student of the seminary in Pondichéri could hope for ordination under the age of thirty-five.
- 20 O'Connor and others freely used the term 'schism'. The question whether there ever really was a Goanese schism will come up for discussion later on.
- 21 For all this we are indebted to three able articles by N. Kowalski OMI: *ZMR*, 36 (1952), 117–27 and 187–201; 37 (1953), 207–28. See also H. Josson, *La Mission du Bengale occidental*, vol. 1 (Bruges, 1921), pp. 165–276. The last six words are somewhat mysterious; it may have been felt by the cardinals that lingering suspicions of the Jesuit order in the English mind might make imprudent the constitution of a formally Jesuit vicariate.
- 22 A valuable article by Professor K. A. Ballhatchet on the English Jesuit mission, based on original sources (*Journal of Imperial and Colonial History*, 7 (1978), 18–34) gives valuable insights into the period and some amusing additions to knowledge, without radically changing the picture as known to us from other sources.
- 23 N. Kowalski, *ZMR*, 36 (1952), pp. 196–7.
- 24 The bishop had, very unwillingly, to agree to this scheme. He was, however, able to secure in 1844 the appointment as principal of A. M. W. Christopher, later the redoubtable vicar of St Aldate's Church, Oxford (1820–1901). In 1844 Christopher was still a layman, and held the position of principal for five years. See the excellent biography by J. S. Reynolds (Abingdon, 1967). For entertaining details about the school, see pp. 28–35.
- 25 See H. Josson, *Mission du Bengale*, vol. 1, pp. 174–6; also E. Chatterton, *A History of the Church of England in India* (London, 1924), pp. 167–8.
- 26 It was alleged that his brother John, who is described as a hothead and an impassioned Irish nationalist, was a main source of the trouble.
- 27 St Leger never attained to the episcopal consecration he had so greatly desired.

- On his return to Ieland he was re-appointed as vice-provincial of the Jesuits in that country. He died in Dublin in 1865.
- 28 See *CHI*, vol. v, p. 173.
- 29 From that time on her full title was the Begum Zabunissa Joanna Sumru. Zabunissa seems to mean 'ornament of her sex'.
- 30 *Multa Praeclare* is often wrongly referred to as a bull. It was a *breve*. Its full title is 'The apostolic letter of his holiness Pope Gregory XVI concerning the Institution of Vicars Apostolic in the East Indies'. English trans in E. R. Hull SJ, *Bombay Mission History*, 2 vols. (Bombay, 1927-30), vol. 1, pp. 238-44.
- 31 E. R. Hull, *Bombay Mission History*, vol. 1, p. 249.
- 32 J. Metzler OMI, 'Die Aufnahme des apostolischen Breves *Multa Praeclare* in Indien', *ZMR*, 38 (1954), 295ff.
- 33 At the time of his consecration Louis seems to have been just thirty years old.
- 34 In 1839 Salsette was joined to the vicariate of Bombay. The saintly vicar apostolic Peter of Alcantara was perhaps ill advised to secure this transfer. On the other hand the British authorities had never allowed the archbishop of Goa to exercise jurisdiction in Salsette (J. H. Gense SJ, *The Church at the Gateway of India 1720-1960* (Bombay, 1960), pp. 87-9).
- 35 The text of the letter was long unknown, but Fr J. H. Gense SJ was able after a long search to obtain a photostat copy; this is printed in full both in Latin and in English in *The Church at the Gateway of India*, pp. 97-110.
- 36 The number of those whom he ordained is given as 800, but this seems to be a great exaggeration. Fr M. D'Sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India*, 2 vols. (Bombay, 1910), vol. II, p. 167, gives a figure of 321, many of whom had long been waiting for ordination owing to the vacancy of the see. This seems a much more probable figure. Fr D'Sa writes as a strong supporter of the *padroado*.
- 37 E. R. Hull, *Bombay Mission History*, vol. 1, pp. 353-5.
- 38 Fr Fulgentius OFM cap., *Bishop Hartmann* (Allahabad, 1966), p. 34.
- 39 Scandalous stories were circulated as to the number of and quality of those ordained by him. A careful investigation cited by E. R. Hull, *Bombay Mission History*, vol. 1, p. 469, shows that there is no truth in these allegations. The number of ordinations was large, but so also was the number of trained and qualified candidates. The offence of the bishop of Macao was that he had no business to ordain anyone at all in Bombay.
- 40 Full text in E. R. Hull, *Bombay Mission History*, vol. 1, pp. 441-5. Chap. 4 ('Execution of Probe Nostis') gives further details of the careers of the truculent priests, to whom the Portuguese government had given the title *bene meritos de patria*.
- 41 Legal proceedings naturally followed. The verdict of the judge was that the bishop had not made out a good case for the possession of the church, and that it must remain in the hands of the parishioners. Fr Hull SJ is hardly fair in attributing this to 'the blundering good nature of an English judge' (*Bombay Mission History*, vol. 1, p. 453). English law is English law, and one declaration after another has made it plain that, except in purely spiritual affairs, Roman canon law had no status in areas under British control.
- 42 Details are given in Fr Fulgentius OFM cap., *Bishop Hartmann*, pp. 350-99.

- 43 Fr Steins was later vicar apostolic of Poona and of western Bengal (1861-78). Finally he was asked to take over the administration of the diocese of Auckland in New Zealand.
- 44 See, e.g., A. Jean SJ, *Le Maduré*, 2 vols. (Bruges, 1894), vol. 1, p. 241: 'Legions of ministers, belonging to all the sects of the so-called Reformation, hurled themselves on India as on their prey.' In 1838 there were fewer than 200 Protestant missionaries in the whole of India; but Jean is right inasmuch as the coming of the Protestants led the Roman Catholic authorities to call in question the methods so far followed in the training of Indian priests, and to find them at a number of points gravely defective. See, further, p. 296
- 45 See A. Jean, *Le Maduré*, vol. 1, p. 248.
- 46 There is a life of Mgr Canoz by Pierre Suau (Paris, 1891). It is said that at the time of his appointment there were 160,000 Christians in his vicariate. I think that this number must be much exaggerated. An accurate assessment for the Fisher Coast gives only 40,000 for that area.
- 47 A. Jean, *Le Maduré*, vol. II, p. 129.
- 48 Note that Vadakkankulam lies inland and not on the coast. This explains the presence of high-caste members in the congregation. For details of the early history of the area, and on the disorders among the Paravas, see Susan Kaufmann, 'Popular Christianity, Caste and Hindu Society' (unpublished dissertation, Cambridge, 1978).
- 49 L. Besse SJ, *La Mission de Maduré* (Trichinopoly, 1914), pp. 479, 732-6.
- 50 A. Launay, *Histoire des missions*, vol. II, pp. 351-7.
- 51 It is interesting to note that Mgr Bonnand thought it necessary to have permission from the king of France to proceed to the consecration. The letter of the bourgeois King Louis Philippe is given in A. Launay, *Histoire des missions*, vol. II, pp. 359-60.
- 52 The most important work of Brésillac will come before us in another connection. For a rather unfavourable estimate of him and his methods, see a letter of the future bishop F. J. Laouënan in A. Launay, *Histoire des missions*, II, p. 727.
- 53 These French Fathers are sometimes called Salesians; this causes them to be confused with the Italian Salesians of Don Bosco, a society which was being formed about the same time (1859).
- 54 I have not had the English original before me, and have had to translate from the Italian of Fr J. B. Tragella, *Le Missioni Esteri di Milano nel Quadro degli Avvenimenti Contemporanei*, 3 vols. (Milan, 1950-63), vol. 1, pp. 349-50.
- 55 Mgr Murphy left India for reasons of health in 1866; but he later became vicar apostolic of Hobart in Tasmania, and died in 1907 at the age of ninety-three. He had been a bishop for more than sixty years. His place was left vacant until 1870, when John Dominic Barbero, one of the first Italians to arrive in Hyderabad, was appointed vicar apostolic. When this good man received notice of his appointment, he supposed that this was a joke played upon him by one of his colleagues (J. B. Tragella, *Le Missioni Esteri di Milano*, vol. II, p. 150).
- 56 A second party was sent from Milan to work with Mgr Carew in the vicariate of Central Bengal.
- 57 The Irish brotherhood, founded in 1802, is to be distinguished from the older,

- larger and much better-known, Institute of the Christian Brothers for Schools.
- 58 As there was no diocese, this cannot properly be called a diocesan synod, as was Diamper. The use of the term 'synod' may have caused some embarrassment in Rome. I note that the letter of the authorities of Propaganda dated 26 July 1845, refers to 'la réunion tenue a Pondichéri, *en forme de synode*' (A. Launay, *Histoire des missions*, vol. II, p. 292).
- 59 It is unlikely that the almost excessive emphasis laid on the baptism of non-Christian children *in articulo mortis* will commend itself to Christians of a later generation.
- 60 The energy of Fr Luquet was recognised by his appointment as coadjutor of Pondichéri and his consecration as bishop of Heshbon *i.p.i.* Unfortunately some of his suggestions regarding the ordination of Pariahs to the priesthood produced panic in the missions, and he had to resign his office almost as soon as he had taken it up.
- 61 A full account of these proceedings is *Mem. Rer.* 3 (1974), 388–436 (Metzler). It seems that Propaganda did take part in the negotiations but was not informed of the result until after the decision had been taken (*ibid.*, p. 423).
- 62 Full text in *Jur. Pontif.*, vol. I, 7, pp. 316–22 (in Portuguese and Italian).
- 63 E.g., A. da Silva Rêgo, *O Padroado Português do Oriente* (Lisbon, 1940), p. 200.
- 64 It seems doubtful whether the concordat was ever ratified by the pope.
- 65 Fr Bühlmann, *Pionier der Einheit* (Zurich, 1966), p. 182, shows how energetically Bishop Hartmann opposed the idea of a concordat, in a long memorandum with forty-two points in it!
- 66 The decree of appointment is signed as of 6 August 1858.
- 67 Unfortunately Mgr Bonnand was not able to complete his investigations. Death claimed him at Benares on 21 March 1861. The visitation was completed by Mgr Stephen Louis Charbonnaux, vicar apostolic of Mysore, who had been the coadjutor of Mgr Bonnand. What was revealed by the report of the visitation, and the actions taken upon it, will be discussed in a later chapter.
- 68 Hartmann's translation of the New Testament into Urdu should be mentioned; this seems to have been acceptable to ordinary readers, but it is doubtful whether it would have gained the approval of scholars.

14 EDUCATION AND THE CHRISTIAN MISSION

- 1 The listener was Alexander Duff, himself in later days a master of no mean eloquence. The life of Chalmers has been written many times, first by his son-in-law W. Hanna, *The Life and Writings of T. Chalmers*, 4 vols. (London, 1849–52).
- 2 Dr Bryce's book *A Sketch of Native Education in India* (London, 1839) is the authority for these proposals.
- 3 His Latin prize was for the best translation into Latin of Plato's *Apology*. Truly students in Scotland aimed high in those days.
- 4 G. Smith, 2 vols. (London, 1879), *The Life of Alexander Duff*, vol. I, p. 105.
- 5 Duff gave an expanded account of his views and plans in his book *India, and*

Indian Missions (Edinburgh, 1839), pp. 510–73. This account is fuller than any other of the plans and of the early days of the school.

- 6 For a study of 'the complex development of the encounter between Western science and Hindu faith, far different from Alexander Duff's hope that the former would eventually destroy the latter', see D. L. Gosling, *Science and Religion in India* (Madras, 1976).
- 7 Quoted in G. Smith, *Life of Duff*, vol. 1, pp. 108–9. This is the first use of the metaphor of the mine, which was to be constantly used in later defences of educational missions.
- 8 There are a number of differences, none of them of any great significance, between Duff's own account in *India and Indian Missions* and the account given in G. Smith, *Life of Duff*, vol. 1, pp. 120ff.
- 9 Duff in his account does not name Rāmmohun Roy, perhaps because of the prejudice against him which was widespread in Christian circles. He gives the impression that it was he himself who used the *argumentum ad hominem* (*India and Indian Missions*, p. 541). Smith does not give references to his sources.
- 10 A. Duff, *India and Indian Missions*, pp. 533–4.
- 11 With an excellent brief biography by Dr Mahadevaprasad Saha. Lāl Behāri Day became a Christian in 1843, and was ordained to the Presbyterian ministry in 1855.
- 12 G. Macpherson, *Lāl Behāri Day* (Edinburgh, 1900), p. 509.
- 13 *Ibid.*, pp. 511–14.
- 14 Why was a convert of the Scottish mission baptised in an Anglican church? I think the answer is that Duff, although an ordained minister, had no status in St Andrew's church. Would the Scottish chaplain have permitted the baptism of an Indian in his church? The second convert was baptised in a lecture room in the college.
- 15 G. Smith, *Life of Duff*, vol. 1, pp. 159–60.
- 16 A. Duff, *India Missions*, p. 653.
- 17 *Ibid.*, p. 654.
- 18 In his book *India and Indian Missions*, pp. 682–4, Duff quotes part of a long letter received from Gopee Nath Nundy, expressing his joy at having Christ always with him, and of having fellowship with him. See also chap. 18, p. 419.
- 19 Both of these promising young men died in 1845.
- 20 *Recollections of School-Days*, pp. 492–3.
- 21 The exact date at which Day was writing his *Recollections* is uncertain, but most probably it was after 1872, the year in which he became editor of the *Bengal Magazine* in which the *Recollections* originally appeared.
- 22 Missionaries of this voluntary society were later incorporated into the mission of the established Church of Scotland, and later still at their own desire into that of the Free Church of Scotland.
- 23 *Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis*, 2nd edn (1878), Essay 1 ('The European Researches'), p. 32.
- 24 G. Smith, *The Life of John Wilson DD, FRS* (London, 1878), p. 205.
- 25 He also engaged frequently in debate and discussion with learned representatives of the various non-Christian religions.

- 26 G. Smith, *Life of Wilson*, p. 225.
- 27 For Dhanjibhai Naoroji's account of his conversion, see J. Wilson, *The Parsi Religion* (Bombay, 1843), pp. 85–7.
- 28 G. Smith, *Life of Wilson*, p. 234.
- 29 The third candidate, Framji, had been removed by his relations from all contact with the missionaries. Seven months later Wilson was able to renew contact with him and found him still firm in his desire to become a Christian.
- 30 On the 'Anti-Conversion Memorial', and events arising from it, see J. Wilson, *The Parsi Religion*, pp. 90–3.
- 31 See chap. 3.
- 32 C. Sorābji, *Susie Sorābji* (Oxford, 1932), p. 21.
- 33 One son became a distinguished lawyer and professor; a daughter became an outstanding educationist in Poona; another daughter, Cornelia, qualified in England as a lawyer. One who was greatly helped by Sorābji was Pandita Ramabai (1858–1922). Cornelia wrote a most moving account of her father's death, *How an Indian Clergyman Died*, quoted in part in E. Stock, *History of the CMS*, 4 vols. (London, 1899–1916), vol. III, pp. 463–4.
- 34 It should be noted that in 1971 Nāgpur had nearly a million inhabitants. It was long the headquarters of the National Christian Council of India.
- 35 See chap. 15, § 7.
- 36 G. Smith, *Stephen Hislop, Pioneer Missionary* (London, 1889), p. 65.
- 37 See *Life*, pp. 283–4.
- 38 G. Smith, *Hislop*, p. 229.
- 39 *Papers relating to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces left in MSS by the late Revd Stephen Hislop*.
- 40 *Ibid.*, pp. ii, viii.
- 41 *The Administration of the East India Company: a History of Indian Progress* (London, 1853), p. 614.
- 42 Quoted in J. Braidwood, *True Yokefellows, in the Mission Field*, 2nd edn (London, 1865), pp. 54–5. See also the almost lyrical account of Anderson in Bishop Caldwell's *Reminiscences* (Madras, 1894), pp. 52–3.
- 43 J. Braidwood, *True Yokefellows*, p. 61.
- 44 This was not specifically a Christian school, but it was managed by European gentlemen who regarded themselves as Christians.
- 45 J. Braidwood, *True Yokefellows*, p. 152.
- 46 *Ibid.*, pp. 158–9.
- 47 This can be inferred from a photograph of considerably later date, reproduced between pp. 330 and 331 of J. Braidwood, *True Yokefellows*. But the habit of wearing Western dress was growing rapidly among educated Indians in Madras, and perhaps the three were less conspicuous there than they would have been in Calcutta or Bombay. W. T. Sattianādhān, by contrast, seems always to have worn Indian dress, until he went to England in 1878.
- 48 For an elaborate and moving account of the restoration of Rāmānjulu to the fellowship of the church, see J. Braidwood, *True Yokefellows*, pp. 255–60.
- 49 For the actions taken by the Hindus in this case, and for the decisions of the judges, see chap. 16, pp. 379–80.

- 50 This worked out very well; but naturally the only language in which bride and bridegroom could talk to one another was English.
- 51 J. Noble, *A Memoir of the Reverend Turlington Noble* (London, 1867), p. 158.
- 52 When Noble's disciple Jani Ali introduced the Koran into the curriculum of the school for Muslim boys in Calcutta, strong objection was taken by the CMS corresponding committee in that city. Jani Ali was in charge of Muslim work in Calcutta from 1864 to 1894.
- 53 There is a study of Manchala Rutnam and his friend in R. D. Paul, *Chosen Vessels (Indian Christian Pastors)* (Madras, 1961), pp. 112–37.
- 54 All this is faithfully chronicled in M. E. Gibbs, *The Anglican Church in India* (London, 1972), p. 154; but the details need not be recorded in this account of Noble's educational work.
- 55 The term 'boys' has to be used. The education of girls from these well-to-do communities had still to wait for a long period.
- 56 *CM Intelligencer*, July 1849, p. 58. The school still exists; at the time of writing it has more than 1,000 pupils, nearly all non-Christians.
- 57 The Naidus are a Telugu caste; but many members are scattered far and wide through the Tamil country.
- 58 A highly romanticised version of the conversion of Tiruvengadam has been given by his daughter, Mrs Krupabai Sattianāthan, a ready writer both in Tamil and in English, in the *Madras Christian College Magazine* (1891), pp. 354–62 and 422–34. A more sober account can be read in the letters of T. G. Ragland, at that time secretary of the CMS in Madras, up to the point at which Tiruvengadam disappears and is replaced by William Thomas Sattianādhān. The original letters are in the CMS archives; but photostat copies are in the libraries of the Union Theological College, Bangalore, and of Serampore College.
- 59 For a charming pen-picture of WTS in old age and of his remarkable wife, see M. E. Gibbs, *Anglican Church*, p. 216.
- 60 The Vellāḷas are the great land-holding class in Tamil Nādu; they are usually reckoned to stand next after the Brāhmins in the hierarchy of Hindu castes, and are the natural guardians of the great traditions of Tamil culture.
- 61 It is to be remembered that, in the period under review, the Roman Catholic contribution to higher education in India was in its first beginnings. Anglicans and Methodists were catching up, but were still a good way behind the Scots.
- 62 *Calcutta University Commission Report*, vol. v (1919), p. 40.

15 PROTESTANT EXPANSION IN INDIA

- 1 R. Lovett, *History of the LMS*, 2 vols. (London, 1899), vol. II, p. 136.
- 2 For the Bible the languages were Sanskrit, Bengali, Oriya, Hindi, Urdu, Marāthī, Gujarāti, Tamil, Malayālam, Telugu, Kanarese; for the New Testament only, Assamese, Punjābi, Sindhi, Tulū. Work was in progress in a number of the less widely spoken languages.
- 3 For interesting examples, see J. S. M. Hooper, *The Bible in India* (London, 1938).
- 4 The work of the LMS began in Salem in 1827.

- 5 This is recorded in chap. 17 of this volume (pp. 397–401).
- 6 J. Bateman, *Life of . . . Daniel Wilson* (London, 1860), p. 530.
- 7 J. Long, *Handbook of Bengal Missions in Connection with the Church of England* (London, 1848), p. 185.
- 8 See J. Long, *Handbook*, p. 162. See also the valuable work of T. Duka, *Life and Works of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös* (London, 1885). Duka, of the Bengal Medical Service, was also of Hungarian origin.
- 9 For the further progress of the Moravian Mission in Ladakh, see Appendix 29.
- 10 Quoted in R. Clark, *A Brief Account . . . of 30 Years Missionary Work . . . in the Punjab and Sindh* (Lahore, 1883), p. 9.
- 11 Pfander left India in 1858. After some years of work in Constantinople (Istanbul), he died there in 1865. He desired that no biography of him should be written; this request appears to have been honoured as far as the English language is concerned. The only work dealing with him in some detail that I have come across is C. F. Eppler, *D. Karl Gottlieb Pfander. Ein Zeuge der Wahrheit unter den Bekennern des Islam* (Basel, 1888).
- 12 There is a good account of Abdul Masih in R. D. Paul, *Chosen Vessels* (Madras, 1961), pp. 59–81.
- 13 See chap. 12.
- 14 Bishop Middleton thought, rightly or wrongly, that the letters patent under which he was sent to India did not authorise him to ordain Indians to the Anglican ministry. It was for this reason that the ordination of Abdul Masih by Lutherans was arranged. Bishop Heber, having got the matter settled before he left England, felt no hesitation in ordaining Abdul Masih according to the Anglican order. This action aroused much controversy, into the details of which it is not necessary to enter here.
- 15 D. Corrie, *Memoirs* (London, n.d.), p. 275.
- 16 *Missionary Register* (1826), p. 397.
- 17 Of these various enterprises the one really outstanding success was the printing press.
- 18 J. Long, *Handbook*, p. 59.
- 19 For similar problems that arose at Gorakhpur between 1824 and 1840, under a very able missionary, M. Wilkinson, see *Memorials of an Indian Missionary* (London, 1859).
- 20 H. Birks, *The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Valpy French*, 2 vols. (London, 1895), vol. 1, p. 47.
- 21 First published in Persian in 1835, in English in 1867; revised edition by W. C. Tisdall, 1910.
- 22 H. Birks, *Life of French*, vol. 1, pp. 70–1.
- 23 For Pfander's account of the confrontation, see *CMI*, November 1854. See also Appendix 30. Imad-ud-dīn was baptised in 1866 and ordained deacon in the Anglican ministry on 6 December 1868.
- 24 The work met with a mixed reception. Among those who supported it warmly was Professor Augustus de Morgan of University College, London.
- 25 Chimman Lāl was one of those who perished in the great uprising. Rām Chandra was hidden by Hindu relatives and escaped with great difficulty to the British camp. After nine years his wife decided to rejoin him. He continued in various

forms of valuable service until his death in 1880. See R. D. Paul, *Triumphs of his Grace* (London, 1967), pp. 186–215.

- 26 C. F. Pascoe, *200 Years of the S.P.G.* (London, 1901), p. 616.
- 27 Duncan became Resident in Benares in 1788, and held the office till 1795, when he became governor of Bombay.
- 28 Jay Narain's letter to the CMS is given in full in J. Long, *Handbook*, pp. 68–80.
- 29 For an amusing account of Goreh's visit to Oxford in 1854, see N. C. Chaudhuri, *Scholar Extraordinary: the Life of Max Müller* (London, 1974), pp. 292ff. Goreh opened the conversation by an eloquent greeting in Sanskrit, of which the eminent Sanskrit scholar did not understand one single word.
- 30 E. G. K. Hewat, *Christ and Western India* (Bombay, 1950), p. 210.
- 31 R. Hunter, *History of the Missions of the Free Church of Scotland* (London, 1873), p. 238.
- 32 A useful short study of Seshādri is to be found in R. D. Paul, *Chosen Vessels*, pp. 168–94.
- 33 B. Padmanji, *Once Hindu*, trans. J. Murray Mitchell (New York, [1889?]), Appendix, pp. 151–4.
- 34 *Ibid.*, p. 149. Bāba Padmanji was ordained to the ministry in 1873 and was later in the service of the Bible Society and of the Tract Society of Bombay.
- 35 For a well-planned study of the Khāsis, and of missionary work among them, see Natini Natarajan, *The Missionary among the Khasis* (New Delhi, 1977).
- 36 J. H. Morris, *The Story of our Foreign Mission* (Liverpool, 1930), pp. 62–3.
- 37 *Ibid.*, pp. 132–5.
- 38 There are excellent articles on Mundas and Orāons in Hastings *ERE* ss.vv.
- 39 L. S. S. O'Malley, *Bengal Census Report* (1911), p. 220ff.
- 40 In course of time, however, the small Badaga Christian community has produced a bishop.
- 41 Roman Catholic missionaries of foreign origin may have been about equal in number to the Protestants. There were in this period few foreign women in missionary service; the exceptions were to be found mainly in Pondichéri and Calcutta. Indian priests outnumbered foreigners, but mostly in the Portuguese dominions.
- 42 J. Richter, *History of Missions* (Edinburgh, 1908), pp. 408–9, reckons that during the period 1851–1901 the increase in the Protestant population in each decade was about fifty-four per cent. The number of Christians increased ten-fold in the period, and the number of communicants multiplied itself twenty-fold. These figures are based on calculation rather than on guesswork.

16 INDIAN SOCIETY AND THE CHRISTIAN MESSAGE

- 1 This has been discussed on the basis of extensive knowledge of the literature of the time by K. S. Bhattacharya, 'Social and Political Thinking of Young Bengal', *Journal of Indian History*, 57 (1979), 129–61.
- 2 Shrewd Hindu observers realised that the real danger to Hinduism began when Christian women began to penetrate the *zenanas* and to teach those who lived in them.

- 3 London (1914), pp. 113–14 and 120. Note that Devendranāth was the son of Dwarkanāth, but in many matters did not agree with his father.
- 4 Briefly on Dwarkanāth, R. Murphey, *The Outsiders: the Western Experience in India and China* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1977), pp. 73–6. See also Bibliography, p. 560
- 5 On Dwarkanāth's rather pronounced hostility to those whom he called the 'black-coated Brahmins', meaning the Anglican clergy and missionaries, see N. C. Chaudhuri, *Scholar Extraordinary: the Life of Max Müller* (London, 1974), pp. 50–1.
- 6 Rāmmohun Roy was given the title *rājā* by the Mughul emperor at whose behest he carried out the journey to London which led to his death.
- 7 It is said that he spent four years in Benares, but this statement rests on no satisfactory evidence.
- 8 Among the writings of Rāmmohun Roy is a translation of the *Kena Upaniṣad*, together with a summary of the teaching of the *Veda* in English, Bengali and Hindustani. This was reprinted in London in 1817.
- 9 *The Father of Modern India: Centenary Celebration* (Calcutta, 1935), p. 199.
- 10 From a letter to John Digby in England, almost certainly of the year 1817. See S. D. Collett, *Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy* (London, 1900), p. 37. Rather surprisingly, Roy continued to attend St Andrew's church, Calcutta, almost to his life's end.
- 11 P. K. Sen, *Biography of a New Faith*, 2 vols. (Calcutta, 1950), vol. 1, p. 87.
- 12 S. D. Collett, *Life and Letters of Roy*, p. 61.
- 13 As reprinted in the *English Works* (Calcutta, 1885). It seems that much of the *Final Appeal* was contributed by Roy's friend William Adam, the former Baptist missionary. For a very acute study of the whole story, see O. Wolff, *Christus unter den Hindus* (Gütersloh, 1965), pp. 10–47.
- 14 *Rajarshi Rom Mohun Roy* (Rajkot, 1927), p. 50. Why did they not remember the word of the Lord, 'He that is not against us is on our side'?
- 15 P. K. Sen, *Biography*, vol. 1, pp. 111–12.
- 16 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 127. William Adam was the Baptist missionary whose conversion to Unitarianism had caused scandal in the Christian ranks. Roy had written hopefully of Adam's work in 1822 (*English Works*, p. 880) and again on 9 December of that year (*ibid.*, p. 990); but these hopes all came to nothing. Adam died in England in 1853.
- 17 From the Introduction to the translation of the *Īsopaniṣad*. See P. K. Sen, *Biography*, vol. 1, p. 67. The whole chap. 4 'Rammohun the Interpreter of Hindu Theism' (pp. 62–84), is excellent. The constant reference to the use of reason is characteristic of Roy's approach. Max Müller, though yielding to none in his admiration of Roy, was sceptical of his competence as an expounder of the *Veda*: 'Vedic learning was then at a low ebb in Bengal, and Rammohun Roy had never passed through a regular training in Sanskrit' (*Biographical Essays* (London, 1884), pp. 18–19).
- 18 There is a bewildering variety in the spelling of this name.
- 19 This extremely prolix document, replete with legal phraseology, is printed in full in P. K. Sen, *Biography*, vol. 1, Appendix IV (pp. 363–71).

- 20 J. N. Farquhar goes so far as to say that 'the form of the service arranged by Rām Mohun Roy is Christian' (*Modern Religious Movements* (London, 1915), p. 39). This, I think, goes too far. It is important not to forget the influence on the mind of Roy of his Muslim contacts; Islam is like Christianity and unlike Hinduism in having regular congregational worship.
- 21 Roy has been called the father of the Indian national movement. This is a little anachronistic. But he was very conscious of the inherited dignity of the Indian people, and anxious that they should assert it (as he asserted it in his protests against the law limiting the freedom of the press) (S. D. Collett, *Life and Letters of Roy*, pp. 100ff.).
- 22 J. N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements*, pp. 37–8, draws an interesting contrast between the original principles of the Samāj and the definition of the nature of worship given in *The Religion of the Brahmo Samāj*, a manual used in that section of the movement which came to be known as the Sadhara Brāhma Samāj.
- 23 P. K. Sen, *Biography*, vol. 1, p. 191.
- 24 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 191–3.
- 25 *Autobiography of Tagore* (Calcutta, 1909), p. 72. This delightful book introduces the reader to the very heart of the reforming movement in Hinduism.
- 26 *Ibid.*, pp. 89–90.
- 27 *Calcutta Review*, 2 (1844), 267.
- 28 *Christian Herald*, 31 December 1844, p. 207. It seems that the chief contributors on the Christian side were Alexander Duff and Joseph Mullens of the LMS.
- 29 *Autobiography of Tagore*, p. 5. This is in the introductory chapter by Satyendranāth Tagore. It is a summary of a process which extended over a considerable period. A number of different stages can be identified.
- 30 This translation direct from the Bengali is given by Dr M. M. Ali, *The Bengali Reaction to Christian Missionary Activities* (Chittagong, 1965), p. 30. Another rendering is 'filled with the light of intuitive knowledge'.
- 31 *Autobiography of Tagore*, p. 13. But Devendranāth probably owed more to Jesus Christ than he knew or recognised.
- 32 It must have been highly disturbing to him when a cousin of his own, Babu Gyandranāth Mohun Tagore, became a Christian (*C. M. Intelligencer*, December 1851, p. 269). This conversion seems to have taken place without the intervention of any missionary, and after ten years of searching.
- 33 *Autobiography of Tagore*, p. 99.
- 34 In this Devendranāth was mistaken. The flow of conversions may have become less, but young men did not cease to look for a new life in Christ. In 1851 five of the pupils of the LMS Institution at Bhowānipur came forward as enquirers. See CCO, May 1851, pp. 226–31: 'A narrative of events connected with five enquirers in connection with the London Missionary Society's Institute Bhowānipur.'
- 35 For fuller information on these answers, see Appendix 32.
- 36 It is to be noted that the Dharma Sabhā was as much opposed to those whom it regarded as disloyal Hindus as it was to government or to the missionaries. Throughout this history three parties were involved – orthodox Hindus, 'young

Bengal' and the missionaries. Each of these parties was vigorously opposed to the other two.

- 37 See chap. 18, pp. 414-15.
- 38 Quoted in M. M. Ali, *Bengali Reaction*, p. 125. The tribute paid to the impartiality of government is notable.
- 39 CCA, 21 June 1845.
- 40 For a complete list of the periodicals, Christian and non-Christian, in which this warfare was carried on, see M. M. Ali, *Bengali Reaction*, pp. 220-1.
- 41 Morton had joined the LMS in 1837 but had previously worked with the SPCK.
- 42 See M. M. Ali, *Bengali Reaction*, p. 38.
- 43 M. A. Sherring, *The History of Protestant Missions in India from their Commencement in 1706 to 1871* (London, 1875), p. 112. Sherring refers also to *The Enquirer*, conducted by an educated Hindu and vigorous in its attacks on Hindu superstition; but only six numbers of the paper seem to have appeared, all in 1835. It appears that this educated Hindu was none other than K. M. (later the Reverend K. M.) Banerjea. See chap. 14, p. 310-11.
- 44 This is discussed by M. M. Ali, *Bengali Reaction*, pp. 94-100 ('Readmission of Apostates into Caste').
- 45 I have not found any record of the names of these six applicants.
- 46 CCA, 4 September 1852, p. 424.
- 47 On the law covering such matters, see J. D. Mayne, *A Treatise on Hindu Law and Usage*, 7th edn (Madras, 1906), pp. 272-83.
- 48 J. Braidwood, *True Yokefellows in the Mission Field* (London, 1862), pp. 310ff.
- 49 *Ibid.*, pp. 341-2.
- 50 In 1854 the Hindus hoped to obtain a contrary judgement from the chief justice, Sir Christopher Rawlinson, who was believed to be unfavourable to the Christian cause. But, after careful questioning of the young men involved, Sir Christopher stood by the principle of free choice accepted by his distinguished colleagues.
- 51 J. Braidwood, *True Yokefellows*, p. 350.
- 52 The case is fully reported by M. M. Ali, *Bengali Reaction*, pp. 87-8, from the CCO for 1837.
- 53 The case was reported in *The Friend of India* for 1841.
- 54 *The Friend of India*, 8 (1841), 356. See M. M. Ali, *Bengali Reaction*, p. 141, n. 4.
- 55 J. C. Page, 'The Zemindary System and Christianity', in *Proceedings of the General Conference of Bengal Protestant Missionaries, 1855*, p. 108; quoted in M. M. Ali, *Bengali Reaction*, p. 161.
- 56 See 'Prospectus of the Native Christian Protection Society', CCO, 7 (1839), 409.
- 57 *The Friend of India*, 8 (1841), 115.
- 58 See M. M. Ali, *Bengali Reaction*, p. 151.
- 59 Reported in C. M. *Intelligencer*, 3 (1852), 254-5.
- 60 The story of the indigo-planters is told in distressing detail in R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *History and Culture*, vol. IX, pp. 914-38. He quotes the saying of a British official that 'not a chest of indigo reached England without being stained with human blood'.

- 61 The petition is printed in *Parl. Papers H/C 1852—3*, vol. xxvii, paper 426, pp. 416—19. The European Community and the British India Association sent petitions at the same time, taking up positions wholly different from those of the missionaries. The petitions were referred to a select committee of both houses but no action was taken on any of them.
- 62 *Parl. Papers H/C 1857*, session 1, vol. II, pp. 8—11. It should be said that such complacent ignorance was rare among the higher ranks of the British civil service in India.
- 63 *DNB* (s.n.) notes that, when in the House of Commons, he spoke often of Indian affairs of which he had a special knowledge. His speech of 11 May 1857 was separately printed and widely circulated.
- 64 M. M. Ali, *Bengali Reaction*, p. 187. We shall have to return again in another context to the saga of the missionaries and the indigo-planters.

17 TOWARDS AN INDIAN CHURCH

- 1 See chap. 4.
- 2 It should be noted that there was some teaching, rather amateurish, of Asian languages.
- 3 One of the merits of Karl Graul was that he desired to have only university graduates as missionaries; but he was able only in part to give effect to this excellent intention (H. Hermelink, *Des Christentum in der Menschheitsgeschichte*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1951—5), vol. II, p. 509).
- 4 As he never married, under the old regulations he was able to hold his fellowship until the day of his death (see T. T. Perowne, *A Memoir of T. G. Ragland* (London, 1861)).
- 5 See H. Birks, *The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Valpy French*, 2 vols. (London, 1895).
- 6 He could not take up the scholarship awarded to him, on the ground that he had been born in Ireland and not in Great Britain.
- 7 This is two years after the end of the period assigned to this volume; but Thomas had been at Megnanapuram since 1838, and this picture could have been drawn at any time between 1845 and 1860.
- 8 *Letters of Arnold Christian Pears* (Madras, 1931), p. 128. Mrs Thomas was an exceptionally good manager. Eighty years later the garden at Megnanapuram was still famous.
- 9 This was a principle accepted in all the English-speaking missions; much less so in those from the continent of Europe.
- 10 The habit of parting with children at an early age seems to have grown up only after the introduction of steam navigation.
- 11 Of the great dynasty of the Scudders in Arcot, the majority seem to have been educated in America.
- 12 A few, such as Alexander Duff and T. V. French, had by reason of serious ill-health to break their service in India by long periods of service in the West.

- 13 Quinine had long been known as the specific remedy for malaria; but the secret of the transmission of malaria through the anopheles mosquito was revealed by Sir Ronald Ross only in 1897/8.
- 14 This information we owe to the diligence of Dr K. Ingham, *Reformers in India* (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 125–32. Dr Ingham rightly claims that ‘there has never been, hitherto, any similar compilation’ (p. 14). Dr. K. P. Sen Gupta, in *The Christian Missionaries in Bengal* (Calcutta, 1971), pp. 195–201, has made use of Dr Ingham’s information, as far as Bengal is concerned, with some additional information. For the period 1706–93, full information is in J. F. Fenger, *History of the Tranquebar Mission* (Tranquebar, 1863), pp. 312–20. Fenger makes it clear that of fifty-four missionaries sent out by the Danish society forty-one died in India, but some of these after many years of service.
- 15 Absolute accuracy cannot be guaranteed, as the missionary societies were not always agreed as to the connotation of the term ‘missionary’. In some cases, but not in others, printers, schoolmasters and other helpers were included. But in any case the number of these was not very large.
- 16 The development of hill stations such as Darjeeling and Ootacamund made such permanent residence easy. Evidence for this is to be found in the graveyards of such stations.
- 17 I have come across only one case of sexual irregularity, though probably there were others which remained concealed. I have noted two clear cases of alcoholism. J. F. Fenger, *History of the Tranquebar Mission*, p. 319, describes one missionary sent out in 1799 as a vicious man and gives (pp. 296–7) a rather hair-raising account of his misdemeanours. More often the trouble was financial mismanagement; this was usually dealt with by replacing the offender by one more skilled in the commerce of mammon.
- 18 This expression is actually used by L. Besse SJ in his *Life of Beschi* (Trichinopoly, 1918).
- 19 See chap. 13, pp. 283–4.
- 20 But Noble had been provocative in going against what the chaplains regarded as their rights.
- 21 Deacon 1851, priest 1853, Lambeth DD 1880, d. 1884 (see F. Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 3 vols. (London, 1904–22), vol. III, pp. 372–3).
- 22 The first general missionary conference seems to have been that held in Calcutta in 1855.
- 23 It was of this book that the philosopher C. D. Broad, who was not a believer, remarked that it would convince any jury.
- 24 G. Smith, *The Life of Alexander Duff*, 2 vols. (London, 1879), vol. I, p. 161–2.
- 25 On this, see, interestingly, O. Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, 2 vols. (London, 1966), vol. I, p. 539.
- 26 Quoted in J. M. Todd, *African Mission* (London, 1962), p. 19.
- 27 Only a small minority of the priests in France held the position of *curé*. The great majority were either curates, or *desservants*, priests in charge of a chapel of ease.
- 28 J. M. Todd, *African Mission*, p. 22.
- 29 Brésillac’s later heroic enterprise in Sierra Leone and his death in Freetown in June 1859 do not belong to the history with which this chapter deals. They are

- recorded by J. M. Todd, *African Mission*, pp. 33–8.
- 30 In point of fact both John's son and his son-in-law were ordained to the priesthood.
- 31 A. H. Grey-Edwards, *Memoir of the Rev John Thomas* (London, 1954), surprisingly, does not deal in detail with this, the greatest of all his achievements.
- 32 The names of those in the first group were: Paramānandam Simeon, Muthusamy Devaprasādam, Madurendran Savarināyagam, Sreenivāsagam Mathuranāyagam, Abraham Samuel. George Pettitt came over from Ceylon to preach the ordination sermon (see P. Appasamy, *Centenary History of the CMS* (Palamcottah, 1923), pp. 118–20).
- 33 E. Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society*, 4 vols. (London, 1899–1916), vol. II, pp. 183–8. Paul Daniel died in 1860. Both his sons entered the ordained ministry. Samuel Paul was one of three Anglican clergy honoured by government with the title Rāo Sāhib; the others were the Reverend M. Asirvātham and the Venerable R. V. Asirvādam.
- 34 G. Smith, *Life of . . . Wilson* (London, 1878), p. 403.
- 35 *Ibid.*, pp. 404–5.
- 36 G. Macpherson, *Life of Lāl Behāri Day* (Edinburgh, 1900) p. xvii. Macpherson's account is on pp. 70–1, and is less clear. The missionaries may well have been constitutionally in the right; they might have saved themselves a good deal of trouble if they had not stood so strictly on the legal point.
- 37 G. Macpherson, *Life of Day*, pp. 96–7.
- 38 *Ibid.*, pp. 49–50. This lecture was not delivered until 1871, but it is clear that ideas expressed in it had been in the mind of Day, at least in rudimentary form, at a considerably earlier date.
- 39 This was certainly the case in Tiruchirāpalli and Vaḍakkankulam; in each of these centres the removal of the wall was carried out in the face of intense opposition from the high-caste section of the community.
- 40 G. Goyau, *La France missionnaire*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1948), vol. I, p. 404. Note the remarkable expression, 'Le bruit courut que les prêtres des Missions Etrangères voulaient tout parianiser'.
- 41 In the twentieth century the use of caste titles has spread in South India to all sections of the population.
- 42 The statement is printed in full in the *Life of Reginald Heber*, by his widow, 2 vols. (London, 1830), vol. II, pp. 222–8.
- 43 Letter of 5 July 1833 (J. Bateman, *Life of Daniel Wilson*, rev. edn, 2 vols. (London, 1861), vol. I, pp. 437–43). Some concessions in favour of older Christians were to be permitted.
- 44 J. Bateman, *Life of Wilson*, vol. I, p. 453.
- 45 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 452.
- 46 The movement initiated by E. V. Ramaswami Naicker will come before us at a later point in the narrative.
- 47 J. Richter, *Protestant Missions* (Edinburgh, 1908), p. 270. Richter gives a well-informed and judicious discussion of the question on pp. 166–73 and 255–6 of his work.
- 48 Quoted in J. Richter, *Protestant Missions*, p. 260. See especially K. Graul,

Explanations Concerning the Principles of the Leipzig Society with Regard to the Caste-Question (Madras, 1851); and *RE*, vol. VII, pp. 70–4.

- 49 See M. A. Sherring, *Protestant Missions in India*, 2nd edn (London, 1884), p. 357.
- 50 On Venn, see M. A. C. Warren, *To Apply the Gospel* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1970), and T. E. Yates, *Venn and Victorian Bishops Abroad* (London, 1976), especially pp. 28–43.
- 51 This independence extended far down into the British system of government in India. Lord Trevelyan has written amusingly and aptly of the position of the district magistrate as it existed in the days of his great-uncle, C. E. Trevelyan.
- 52 See, for details, S. Gopal, *British Policy in India, 1858–1905* (Cambridge, 1965). Gopal shows the working out of tendencies which had been set in motion before 1858.
- 53 The controversy is recorded in M. E. Gibbs, *The Anglican Church in India* (London, 1972), pp. 121–5, and in J. Bateman, *Life of Wilson*, vol. II, pp. 10–24. See also, for details, T. E. Yates, *Venn*, pp. 28–43, and, for Lord Chichester's letter to Bishop Wilson, especially p. 32.
- 54 Graul is highly respected in Germany as the founder of missiology and as the first professor of missions in a German university. This aspect of his work is dealt with by O. G. Myklebust, *The Study of Missions in Theological Education*, vol. 1 (Oslo, 1955), pp. 93ff.
- 55 R. Pierce Beaver, *To Advance the Gospel* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1967) gives a good selection from the writings of Anderson.
- 56 An exception were the churches built by the wealthy Begum Sumroo of Sardhana.
- 57 Many examples are recorded in older books, such as G. Pettitt's *The Tinnevely Mission of the Church Missionary Society* (London, 1851).
- 58 Roman Catholics naturally tended to adopt or adapt a Portuguese model.
- 59 Oriya is the principal language of Orissa, but Telugu is widely spoken in the southern part of that province.
- 60 See an excellent article by R. Joseph, 'The Christology of an Indian Christian', *Bangalore Theological Forum* (1982), 69–81. Joseph refers to the *Andhra Christian Hymnal* (ed. 1967), and to a life by Babu John Choudhari, *Rev. Purushottam Choudhari* (Kakinada, 1935).
- 61 R. Joseph, 'Indian Christian', pp. 78–9.
- 62 It is interesting to note that Kai Baago, in his work *Pioneers of Indigenous Christianity* (Bangalore–Madras, 1960), does not include any of the poets among the pioneers.

18 THE GREAT UPRISING

- 1 Sir James Andrew Broun Ramsay, 10th Earl and first Marquess of Dalhousie (1812–60); governor-general of India 1847–56. He pronounced the name 'Dalhoosie', and not as it has come to be pronounced in common usage in India.
- 2 The actual text is: 'So much of any law or usage now in force . . . as inflicts upon any person forfeiture of rights or property, or may be held in any way to impair or

affect any right of inheritance, by reason of his or her renouncing, or having been excluded from, the communion of any religion, or being deprived of caste, shall cease to be enforced as law in the Courts of the East India Company, and in the courts established by Royal Charter in the said territories.'

- 3 W. Lee-Warner, *The Life of the Marquis of Dalhousie KT* (London, 1904) vol. I, p. 298. The memorialists imprudently add: 'we doubt not that in future and not distant years the wisdom and the righteousness of your policy will be acknowledged by all men'. They were wrong.
- 4 On the *śrāddha* ceremonies, see, conveniently, Hastings, *ERE*, vol. I, pp. 452-4 (W. Crooke).
- 5 For a clear statement of the principles involved, see W. Lee-Warner, *Life of Dalhousie*, vol. II, pp. 152-67.
- 6 For a first-hand account of Kulinism, see 'The Kulin Brahmins of Bengal', *Calcutta Review*, 2 (1844), 1-32. The editor's note on p. 31 makes it clear that the writer was a Christian clergyman, the Reverend Krishna Mohun Banerjea, who before his conversion had been a member of the Kulin brotherhood. The accuracy of his delineation has never been challenged.
- 7 See W. J. Wilkins, *Modern Hinduism* (London, 1857), p. 189. The whole chapter, 'Kulinism and Polygamy' (pp. 178-90) is valuable. Note especially Wilkins' remarks on polygamy in India (pp. 179-80).
- 8 W. Lee-Warner, *Life of Dalhousie*, vol. II, pp. 298-9.
- 9 Indian writers generally attribute the impoverishment of Oudh to the system imposed by the British.
- 10 Printed in London in 1858, with an introduction and private correspondence relating to his appointment and journeys. In 1971, an abridged edition, *Sleeman in Oudh*, was published by the Cambridge University Press, with an introduction of exceptional value by P. D. Reeves.
- 11 For a rather damaging picture of Sleeman, and an unfavourable opinion of his work, see J. Pemble, *The Raj, the Indian Mutiny and the Kingdom of Oudh 1801-1859* (Hassocks, 1977), pp. 96-107.
- 12 F. J. Goldsmid, *James Outram: a Biography*, 2 vols. (London, 1880), vol. II, pp. 105-7. J. Pemble writes that 'he merely rummages in the vast ragbag of his predecessor's reports and despatches' (p. 104).
- 13 W. H. Sleeman, *Journey through the Kingdom of Oudh in 1849-1850*, 2 vols. (London, 1858), vol. I, pp. xlv-xlv. See also pp. xxi and xxii.
- 14 J. W. Kaye, *History of the Sepoy War in India*, 3 vols. (London, 1864), vol. I, p. 15.
- 15 Not long after the events recorded here a work was published anonymously and without date under the title *Dacoitee in Excelsis: or, The Spoliation of Oude by the East India Company* (Indian Reprint, Lucknow, 1971). This seems to be part of the campaign carried on in England by the king of Oudh for the restoration of his rights; the worst possible interpretation is put upon all the actions of the British. Many later writers have been prone to make use of the book without the necessary critical investigation.
- 16 Lord Canning rightly understood this aspect of the uprising: 'The struggle which we have had has been more like a national war than a local insurrection. In

its magnitude, duration, scale of expenditure, and in some of its moral features, it partakes largely of the former character' (letter to Sir Charles Wood, dated 8 August 1859).

- 17 R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *History and Culture*, vol. IX, pp. 422–3.
- 18 Quoted in M. MacLagan, "Clemency" *Canning* (London, 1962), p. 68.
- 19 Canning to Granville, 9 April 1857 (E. G. P. Fitzmaurice, *The Life of Granville George Leveson Gower*, 2 vols. (London, 1905), vol. I, pp. 245–6). For all that, Wheler was an efficient soldier. His Christian eccentricities did not interfere with his career; he reached the rank of major-general, and died in India in 1865.
- 20 For further details, see R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *History and Culture*, vol. IX, p. 629, with a quotation from the *Englishman* of Calcutta of 2 April 1857: 'It was no wonder, therefore, that the men should be in an excited state specially when such efforts at conversion are openly avowed.' See also S. B. Chaudhuri, *Civil Rebellion in the Indian Mutinies* (Calcutta, 1957), p. 3.
- 21 Quoted in E. D. Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries* (Cambridge, 1967), p. 37, from *Circular Letters*, vol. II (December 1809), 120. One might add, from the charge delivered to the Reverend C. A. Jacobi by the Venerable T. F. Middleton (later the first bishop of Calcutta) on 23 March 1813, the sage advice 'To knowledge and learning you will add discretion' (*Annual Reports and Correspondence of the SPCK* (1874), 678–9).
- 22 R. Temple, *Men and Events of my Time in India* (London, 1882), p. 31.
- 23 For a devastating account of the extreme impropriety of his actions in relation to Canning and India in 1857–8, see M. MacLagan, "Clemency" *Canning*, pp. 196–9.
- 24 Canning to Granville, 2 July 1857; quoted in M. MacLagan, "Clemency" *Canning*, pp. 114–15.
- 25 Quoted by E. Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society*, 4 vols. (London, 1899–1916), vol. II, p. 223, from a pamphlet written by Dr A. Duff.
- 26 Other aspects of Indian opinion on Christian missions will be dealt with in another chapter.
- 27 G. Smith, *Life of Alexander Duff*, 2 vols. (London, 1879), vol. I, pp. 182–3 and 283.
- 28 M. A. Sherring, *The Indian Church during the Great Rebellion* (London, 1859), pp. 184–5.
- 29 Later, Hindus discovered that silk is a non-conductor of defilement, and that therefore those wearing silk garments could travel without anxiety.
- 30 Quoted in S. N. Sen, *Eighteen Fifty-Seven* (Delhi, 1957), p. 15 and n. 20.
- 31 E. Stokes makes the interesting suggestion that 'the British with their General Service Enlistment Act of 1856 and the use of greased cartridges for their new rifle threatened the monopoly of the traditional high-caste Rajput and Brahmin warrior castes in recruitment to the army, and resentment boiled over in the Mutiny of 1857' (*The Peasant and the Raj: Studies in Agrarian Society and Peasant Rebellion in Colonial India* (Cambridge, 1978), p. 44; a most important book).
- 32 J. W. Kaye, *Sepoy War*, vol. I, p. 490.
- 33 Letter of 22 February 1857 (to Vernon Smith).

- 34 R. B. Smith, *Life of Lord Lawrence*, 2 vols. (London, 1883), vol. II, p. 323. See also p. 316 to Edwardes: 'if anything like compulsion entered into our system of diffusing Christianity, the rules of that religion itself are disobeyed, and we shall never be permitted to profit by our disobedience'.
- 35 J. A. B. Palmer, *The Mutiny Outbreak at Meerut in 1857* (Cambridge, 1966).
- 36 See *ibid.*, p. 155. In Meerut 'Chapel Street was named after and contained the Roman Catholic chapel, for this was near the wooden bridge. This chapel served not only the local English, Eurasian and Indian [Roman] Catholics, but also the very large population of Irish in the Queen's regiments' (*ibid.*, p. 54). Palmer does not mention the nationality of the priest who served this chapel.
- 37 H. B. Edwardes and H. Merivale, *The Life of Sir Henry Lawrence*, 2 vols. (London, 1872), vol. II, pp. 322–3.
- 38 Commenting on this unexpectedness, the great scholar Max Müller notes the extent to which the later generation of officers of the armies in India was ignorant of Indian languages: 'a man need not have been in India to see that in order to govern a people, and to gain the confidence and goodwill of a conquered people, it is necessary to know their language' (N. C. Chaudhuri, *Scholar Extraordinary: the Life of Max Müller* (London, 1974), p. 183). On the value of the older generation of British officer, see the judgement of a writer not generally favourable to the British in India: 'These men became sublimely brave, and capable at once of the leadership that makes men devoted and the chivalry that gives even war nobility' (J. Pemble, *The Invasion of Nepal: John Company at War* (Oxford, 1971), p. 357).
- 39 Many good observers, however, judge that the march on Delhi had been planned from the start.
- 40 S. Wolpert, *New History of India*, 2nd edn (New York, 1982), p. 235.
- 41 E. Stock, *History of the CMS*, vol. II, p. 226.
- 42 The details are given in M. A. Sherring, *The Indian Church during the Great Rebellion* (London, 1859), pp. 17–20. Sherring made a careful study of all the available records. His facts have, I think, never been doubted, though some of his interpretations may be open to question.
- 43 Mr Owen was one of those who escaped with his life.
- 44 I have not found any similar study of the fate of Roman Catholic missionaries during the rising, perhaps because Roman Catholics were at the time few in the area most deeply affected by the troubles. E. D. Maclagan notes (*The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* (London, 1932), p. 371, n. 9) that 'the Roman Catholic bishop of Agra sent in a long list of complaints, of which some were manifestly unreasonable'.
- 45 The whole narrative is given in M. A. Sherring, *Indian Church*, pp. 185–200.
- 46 *Ibid.*, pp. 313–14.
- 47 This theme will be dealt with at greater length at a later stage in our narrative.
- 48 The Memorial Hall in Madras is perhaps the only building in the world put up to commemorate the event which did not happen; it was erected in thankfulness that Madras had been spared the bloodshed and destruction to which other parts of India had been subjected.
- 49 M. Maclagan, "Clemency" Canning, p. 220. See also Sir John Smyth, *The*

Rebellious Rani (London, 1966), and D. V. Thamankar, *The Ranee of Jhansi* (London, 1958).

- 50 For Canning's famous Resolution of 31 July 1857, which earned him the nickname 'Clemency' Canning, and the frenzied outburst of hostility in which it resulted, see M. Maclagan, "*Clemency*" Canning, pp. 324-7 and 132-43.
- 51 Queen Victoria wrote to Canning on 9 September 1861: 'It is most gratifying to the Queen to see how peaceful her Indian Dominions are, and considering the very alarming state of affairs during the years '57, '58 and even '59, it must be a source of undoubted satisfaction and pride to Lord Canning to witness this state of prosperity at the end of his Government.'
- 52 J. W. Kaye, *Sepoy War*, vol. 1, p. 328.
- 53 A careful study of Nānā Sāhīb is P. C. Gupta, *Nana Sahib and the Rising at Cawnpore* (Oxford, 1963). Gupta's considered judgement is that 'it is difficult to see how he can be absolved from responsibility' (p. 120).
- 54 Here I can write with absolute certainty from memories of my own boyhood.
- 55 The evidence has been diligently, but not quite impartially, collected by E. Thompson, *The Other Side of the Medal* (London, 1925).
- 56 The main areas covered by such allegations were the annexation of the Punjab, and the treatment of both *talukdars* and peasants in Oudh.
- 57 Memorandum of Henry Venn, printed in the *C.M. Record*, November 1857.
- 58 Quoted in E. Stock, *History of the CMS*, vol. II, p. 227.
- 59 I have deliberately put in the word 'almost': I cannot be certain that there were no exceptions.
- 60 This information is found in H. Birks, *The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Valpy French*, 2 vols. (London, 1895), vol. 1, pp. 86-124.
- 61 Also grandfather of the famous Knox brothers - Ronald, Dillwyn, Edmund ('Evoe') and Wilfred.
- 62 H. Birks, *Life of French*, vol. 1, p. 91.

NOTES TO APPENDICES

- 1 See, further, *CHI*, vol. v, p. 115.
- 2 Quoted in H. Furber, *Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1976), p. 222.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 225. *Rival Empires* is the most notable and reliable of all books on European trade in the East in the period dealt with in this volume. Especially notable is a passage on p. 321 of Furber's work: the principle laid down by the English Company was that 'redress should be promptly made on the spot in cases of injuries done to the "inhabitants or black merchants", and that those accused of such injuries should remain in India until they have given full satisfaction for the same'. Furber's much earlier work, on Sir John Shore, *The Private Records of an Indian Governor-Generalship* (Princeton, NJ, 1923) is also illuminating, and also rather unusual in expressing profound admiration for the subordinate officials and clerks who guided the machinery of government in those difficult days.
- 4 A recent American writer, S. Wolpert, remarks that 'irreparable damage to

- Anglo-Indian relations was, nonetheless, done by the impulsive *nawab's* underlings' (S. Wolpert, *A New History of India* (New York, 1977), p. 179).
- 5 The Portuguese authorities did not accept this understanding of the situation. As we shall see, at a later date Archbishop Silva Torres tried to revive the full Portuguese claim, and to extend his own authority over all the vicars apostolic.
 - 6 The new prelate was an Austrian from Salzburg. His personal name was Joseph Jacob Geisilmayer.
 - 7 The question never actually arose, since Angelino died on the way to India on 12 July 1786. The materials for a complete study of this complex question have been collected by J. Metzler SJ in a lengthy article, based on familiarity with all the documents issued by Propaganda: 'Propaganda und Missionspatronat in 18 Jahrhundert', *Mem. Rer.*, 2 (1973), 180–235. Reference may also be made to the older work of D. Jann OMC, *Die katholischen Missionen in India, China and Japan* (Palambar, 1915).
 - 8 Fr F. Vannini, *Christian Settlements in Nepal during the Eighteenth Century* (New Delhi, 1977), p. 66.
 - 9 Fr Anselm of Ragusa, in a letter written from Kathmandu on 7 October 1756, refers to 'more than 9,000 infants who took their flight to heaven after baptism given to them *in articulo mortis*' (*NR*, vol. II.2, p. 192). The total up to 1769 seems to have been rather more than 12,000.
 - 10 In 1900 there were 1,302 Christians, almost all Roman Catholics (*Imperial Gazetteer*, 8 (1900), 6). See also W. H. Sleeman, *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, 3rd edn, with notes by V. A. Smith (London, 1915), pp. 11–13.
 - 11 The facts have been collected by H. B. Hyde and are set forth on pp. 155–6 of his work *Parochial Annals of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1901). See also J. Hough, *The History of Christianity in India*, 5 vols. (London, 1845–60), vol. IV, pp. 19–34.
 - 12 *Patres S.J. Provinciae Malabaricae discedere . . . ab ore Piscariae neque coguntur neque cogitant*. Letter from Quilon dated 15 December 1766; quoted by A. Meersman, 'The Fisher Coast under the Portuguese Patronage during the Years 1759–1838', *ICHR* (1977), 223–4.
 - 13 The last of them, Fr Falcão, seems to have died at Manappādu in 1795 (A. Meersman, 'Fisher Coast', p. 226).
 - 14 J. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, 3 vols. (Madras, 1873), vol. II, pp. 578–82. See also M. Edwardes, *British India 1772–1947* (London, 1967) pp. 56 and 83.
 - 15 E. Hodder, *Life of . . . Shaftesbury*, 3 vols. (London, 1886), vol. I, pp. 466 and 475. The speech made by Shaftesbury on this occasion took up seven columns of *The Times*.
 - 16 The best collection of the evidence known to me is that in E. J. Thompson, *Suttee* (London, 1928), pp. 82–126.
 - 17 Sir Francis Tukur, *The Yellow Scarf: the Story of the Life of Major-General Sir William Henry Sleeman KCB 1788–1856*, 2nd edn (London, 1971) p. 46, n. 1, notes that 'British newspapers of 20th October 1954 reported that on 19th October the widow of Brigadier Jabbar Sing, comptroller of the Household of the Maharajah of Jodhpur, committed suttee on her husband's funeral pyre'.
 - 18 J. Clive, *Thomas Babington Macaulay* (Oxford, 1973), p. 377: 'No essential

benefit can be derived by the student of the Meemangsa from knowing what it is that makes the killer of a goat sinless on pronouncing certain passages of the Veds.' Exact text in H. Sharp, *Selection from Educational Records, Part I: 1751–1839* (Calcutta, 1920), pp. 100–1 (address to Lord Amherst, of 11 December 1823). Sharp also prints Macaulay's minute (pp. 107–17), and H. T. Prinsep's Note, dated Sunday, 15 February 1835, on Macaulay's minute, with Macaulay's marginal comments (pp. 117–29).

- 19 Quoted by A. I. Mayhew, *Christianity and the Government of India* (London, 1929), p. 144.
- 20 He was a son of the governor-general, Sir John Shore.
- 21 F. J. Shore, *Notes on Indian Affairs*, 2 vols. (London, 1837), vol. 1, p. 518.
- 22 W. Ward, *Manners and Customs*, vol. 1, pp. 80 and 285.
- 23 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. xx and xxxvi–xxxvii.
- 24 For views of Hindus on the Hinduism of that day, see E. D. Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries* (Cambridge, 1967), p. 7 and n. 2.
- 25 Unfortunately the same cannot be said of the *Farewell Letters to a Few Friends in Britain and America on returning to Bengal in 1821*, which he wrote hastily and published in that year. For a critical estimate of this work, see Appendix 19.
- 26 G. Smith, *Henry Martyn* (London, 1892), p. 170. Martyn seems to have misunderstood Carey: the proposal was for a decennial, not an annual, meeting of missionaries.
- 27 Exactly the same objection was raised to the proposal that a meeting over questions of Faith and Order should be held in 1927.
- 28 Here Miss Rouse has slipped: Kohlhoff's name was John Caspar; he had been ordained in 1790.
- 29 Here I think Miss Rouse is wrong. Sattianadhan's ordination sermon was *printed* in English, but as a translation from Tamil.
- 30 Among these is David Kopf, who works out his ideas on pp. 263–72 of his book *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance* (Berkeley, Calif., 1969); and see the criticism of Kopf by J. Rosselli, *Lord William Bentinck* (Brighton, 1974), pp. 218–19 and 223–5.
- 31 See D. Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance* (Berkeley, Calif., 1969), pp. 271–2. Further attention will be directed to the anti-Western reaction, in chap. 17, which deals with the Indian reaction to the West, and in particular the attitude towards Christian proselytisation.
- 32 But there may be something to be said for the view of S. B. Chaudhuri: 'Who knows that the inception of the nationalist movement was not contained in the rising of 1857 after the fashion of the oak in the acorn? Because the revolt of 1857 was not merely anti-British but a movement expressing profound desires for freedom' (*Civil Rebellion in the Indian Mutinies* (Calcutta, 1957), p. 291). For a serious and temperate consideration of the use of the terms 'nation' and 'national', see W. von Pochhammer, *India's Road to Nationhood* (New Delhi, 1981), chap. 40 ('The Concept of "Nation" in India').

Select Bibliographies

OUTLINE OF A BIBLIOGRAPHY

The writing and rewriting of Indian history, under every aspect, has become a major industry. Any attempt to produce a complete bibliography of Christianity in India would be self-defeating; Bishop Brown's book on the Thomas Christians alone has a bibliography of seven crowded pages.

What has been attempted here is to list a limited number of books which appear to be important and to be relevant beyond the period at which they were written, and almost all of which have extensive bibliographies in a number of languages. It is hoped that, with the system of classification adopted, readers who wish to pursue any subject in greater detail, may be able to find guidance that will lead them to further studies.

Books and articles which have been referred to only once in the text or notes have not in most cases been noted in this bibliography.

GENERAL

Works of Reference

World Christian Encyclopedia, ed. D. B. Barrett (Oxford, 1982)

deals primarily with contemporary situations but contains also historical data of value.

Hastings, J. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, 13 vols. (Edinburgh, 1908–26) is still valuable for articles on Indian peoples, religious movements and sects, some of which have never been surpassed.

The St Thomas Christian Encyclopaedia of India, ed. G. Menachary (Trichur, 1982), vol. 1,

pp. 1–215, deals with the history of the church, mainly from the Roman Catholic point of view. The bibliographies in a number of cases serve as a useful supplement to bibliographies available elsewhere.

Histories of India

For general histories of India in the period 1707–1858, we shall turn first to *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, vols VIII and IX (London, 1977 and 1963)

This is full, accurate and generally impartial, though inclined to be weighted on the Hindu side of Indian history.

We now have to reckon with another immense collective work:

A Comprehensive History of India, Vol. IX: 1712–1772 (Delhi, 1978)

The first volume has not yet appeared. The aims of the Indian History Congress in undertaking this very large work have not yet been made quite clear.

The Cambridge History of India, vols. V and VI (Cambridge, 1929 and 1932) continues to be indispensable. Some chapters are already out of date; but others are of permanent value.

Of the short histories of India the best is without doubt

Spear, P. *A History of India*, 2nd edn, vol. II (Harmondsworth, 1968)

Based on long residence in India, a deep love for the land, the people and the culture, together with an unusually extensive knowledge of the relevant literature, this work can confidently be recommended to the reader who wants to make the acquaintance of the Indian sub-continent.

Wolpert, S. *A New History of India*, (New York, 1977; 2nd edn New York, 1982), based on a fairly extensive acquaintance with the secondary literature, and with only moderate anti-British prejudices, is pleasantly written and includes a number of references to Christianity.

van Pochhammer, W. *India's Road to Nationhood: a Political History of the Subcontinent* (1973), Eng. trans. (Bombay, 1981)

by a German diplomat long resident in India, sticks to the theme indicated in its title, and represents what may be called a cross-bench position. The dry comments of the writer on the errors of both British and Indians are refreshing, but he has little to say about Christianity.

Histories of Missions

In general histories of missions, India is dealt with in

Latourette, K. S. *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, vol. III (*Three Centuries of Advance*), (London, 1940), pp. 247–84

vol. VI (*The Great Century AD 1800 – AD 1914 in Northern Africa and Asia*), (London, 1945), pp. 65–215

Latourette is indispensable for reference, both in the footnotes and in the bibliography; but his work is based almost entirely on books, with few references to periodicals.

Histoire universelle des missions catholiques, ed. Mgr S. Delacroix, vol. III (*Les Missions contemporaines 1800–1957*) (Paris, 1957)
is disappointing, giving in chaps. 1, 4 and 7 only a sketch of developments.

Christianity in India

Hough, J. *History of Christianity in India*, vols. III–V. (London, 1845–60). Vol. V with a valuable memoir of the writer by his son.

Hough displays an astonishing mastery of the sources up to the time of writing. He can rarely be faulted on the facts, but his strong anti-Roman prejudice at times distorts the presentation of the story.

Richter, J. *Indische Missionsgeschichte*, 2nd, much improved, edn (Gütersloh, 1924). There is an English translation of the 1st edn, *A History of Protestant Missions in India* (Edinburgh, 1908)

Richter sticks to his title, and has little to say about Roman Catholic missions, or about the Thomas Christians. He is generally sound and well informed.

No book of equal value from the Roman Catholic side can be listed, but reference may be made to

Piolet, J. B., and Vadot, C. L. *L'Eglise catholique aux Indes*, 2nd edn (Paris, 1907) and to

Jann OMC, D. *Die katholischen Missionen in Indien, China, und Japan* (Paderborn, 1915),

which deals mainly with the hierarchical organisation of the missions.

Two older works deserve mention:

Kaye, J. W. *Christianity in India* (London, 1859)

Smith, G. *The Conversion of India* (London–Edinburgh, 1893)

Firth, C. B. *An Introduction to Indian Church History*, 2nd edn (Madras, 1961)
is an admirable short introduction to the subject.

Thomas, P. *Christians and Christianity in India and Pakistan* (London, 1954)
by an Indian Christian, is less useful than might have been hoped, by reason of its strong anti-Western prejudice.

The Indian Church History Association has promised us a six-volume *History of Christianity in India*.

So far only vol. II, covering the period 1542–1700, has appeared, and no information has been forthcoming as to when further volumes may be expected. It seems likely that the series will supply us with the very detailed mission history which it is not the aim of this present series to provide.

We now come to the period of the great histories of individual missionary societies.

On the Roman Catholic side no one can compare with Launay. Though he deals

with only one society, his extensive quotations bring the reader to the very heart of Roman Catholic missions and their problems:

Launay, Adrien *Histoire générale de la Société des Missions-Etrangères*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1894)

Launay, A. *Histoire des Missions de l'Inde, Pondichéry, Maissour, Coimbatour*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1898)

In the English language, pride of place must be given to the massive

Stock, Eugène *The History of the Church Missionary Society: its Environment, its Men and its Work*, 4 vols. (London, 1899-1916)

Stock's work is selective and slanted (in spite of its title it has a great deal to say about women!); but its scope is not limited to the CMS, and it contains a great deal of information not readily available elsewhere.

Also on the Anglican side,

Pascoe, C. F. *200 Years of the S.P.G. 1701-1900* (London, 1901)

is a miniature encyclopaedia in itself, unreadable but invaluable for reference.

On a smaller scale

Thompson, H. P. *Into All Lands: the History of the [SPG] 1701-1900* (London, 1951)

is commendable.

Also, on a smaller scale,

Hewat, E. G. K. *Vision and Achievement 1796-1956: a History of Foreign Missions of the Churches United in the Church of Scotland* (London, 1960)

gives a good overall picture.

Findlay, G. G., and Holdsworth, W. W. *The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society*, 5 vols. (London, 1921-4)

deals with Methodist missions in many lands, but gives adequate space to India.

Lovett, Richard *The History of the London Missionary Society 1795-1895*, 2 vols. (London, 1899)

Particularly well written, and with a sympathetic understanding of missionary problems. The sequel, dealing with the period subsequent to 1905, by N. Goodall, rivals Lovett in excellence.

From the American side, out of many books two may be selected:

Goodsell, F. F. *Ye shall be my Witnesses* (Boston, Mass., 1959)

Torbet, R. G. *Venture of Faith: the Story of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society and the Women's American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society* (Philadelphia, Pa, 1955)

Germany naturally makes a substantial contribution:

Nottrott, L. *Die gossnersche Mission unter den Kolhs*, 2 vols. (Halle, 1874 and 1888)

Schlatter, W. *Geschichte der Basler Mission 1815–1915*, 3 vols. (Basle, 1916)

For Bible translation,

North, E. M. *The Book of a Thousand Tongues . . . translation into more than a Thousand Languages and Dialects* (New York, 1938)

is still authoritative for the period which it covers. See also

Hooper, J. S. M. *The Bible in India* (London, 1938; 2nd edn 1963)

This is also the era in which periodical literature on all kinds of missionary subjects flourished.

The publications connected with the Danish–Halle mission have been mentioned elsewhere (chap. 2).

Of the periodicals published in England the most important was the *Missionary Register*, 1813–1855. This, edited by a Secretary of the CMS, dealt with the missionary cause through the world, and is the only source for many original records nowhere else available.

The Church Missionary Intelligencer, 1849 onwards, is also indispensable to the student of the period.

On the continent of Europe, the most outstanding periodical was the *Evangelisches Missionsmagazin* of the Basel Mission, which from 1816 produced articles on a vast range of missionary subjects.

The beginnings of extensive publication in India belong to this period.

Most notable of all was *The Friend of India*, put out by the Serampore missionaries as a monthly from 1818 to 1820, as a quarterly from 1820 to 1825. This was revived in 1835 as a weekly by J. C. Marshman and had a long history; it still exists under its changed title *The Statesman*.

Even secular publications, such as the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1806 onwards), a vast repertoire on all kinds of subjects, published from time to time articles on religious subjects by no means unfriendly in tone.

For extensive bibliographies for Bengal, see the books of Dr Sen Gupta, Dr Mohammad Ali, and the Reverend J. Long, listed in the bibliography.

Already for the year 1846, six other journals are recorded as being in circulation in Bengal:

Calcutta Christian Advocate (weekly),

Bengal Catholic Herald (weekly),

Christian Observer (monthly),

Christian Intelligencer (monthly),

Free Churchman (monthly), *Oriental Baptist* (monthly).

Madras and Bombay also were centres of religious publications; I have not found any complete bibliography of Christian periodicals put forth in these centres.

Almost all the missionary societies put out periodicals in the Indian languages for evangelistic and educational purposes.

As usual the Baptists in Serampore were in the forefront with their *Dig-Darshan*, ('the *Signpost*').

Of special interest to me is the *Narpodakam* ('*Good Teaching*'), put out in Tamil by the Anglican missionaries in Tirunelveli, of which my predecessor Bishop F. Western was able to secure a complete set for the Bishop's library in Pālayankōṭṭai. This maintained a high standard, and was specially notable for the translation into Tamil of English theological classics.

This vast literature has never been surveyed and appears as an endless field for the researches of Indian scholars. Their results may not bring about very extensive changes in the general picture of Christian missions, but will certainly fill in many gaps and add to our understanding of the Indian point of view in this creative period of Indian Christian history.

One modern periodical published in India demands special mention: *The Indian Church History Review* (1967–) is growing in competence and value, but the majority of its contributors are still foreigners.

Of the innumerable periodicals published in the West, two may specially be mentioned: *The International Review of Mission(s)* (1912–68; since 1939, *of Mission*) famous for its regular bibliographical summaries. *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* (1945–) perhaps the best missionary research journal in the world.

CHAPTER I INDIA AND POLITICAL CHANGE, 1706–86

The decline of Mughul power has been sympathetically delineated in Spear, T. G. P. *Twilight of the Mughuls: Studies in late Mughul Delhi* (Cambridge, 1951)

This carries on the story up to the removal of the last of the Mughuls, Bahadur Shāh, from Delhi in October 1858.

Sarkar, J. *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, 2nd edn, 4 vols. (Calcutta, 1949) is a classic from the Indian point of view.

For the story of the British advance in India, the basic reading must always be the classic work of

Orme, Robert *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indoostan from the Year MDCCXLV*, 3 vols. (London, 1763–68; many times repr.).

As a background to the entire history of the European penetration of India, one book stands out above all others:

Furber, H. *Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1976)

This book, based on a lifetime of research, and dealing with a wider area than India, cannot be too highly commended.

Of the innumerable lives of Robert Clive, much can be said on behalf of Chaudhuri, N. C. *Clive of India: a Political and Psychological Essay* (London, 1975)

This well-informed study by an Indian scholar almost goes out of its way to be fair to all concerned. It is to be regretted that it lacks references and bibliography.

On Warren Hastings, most English readers will be content with Feiling, K. *Warren Hastings* (London, 1954)

This work of a well-practised historian, though not altogether easy to read, contains all that is essential in the study; but with this should be read

Monckton-Jones, M. E. *Hastings in Bengal 1772-1774* (Oxford, 1928)

For Dundas, a secondary but still important figure in the history, a reference to Furber, H. *Henry Dundas: First Viscount Melville* (Oxford, 1931) will suffice.

A general work, pleasantly and competently written, is

Thompson, E., and Garrett, G. T. *Rise and Fulfillment of British Rule in India* (Allahabad, 1958)

For the nature of British society in Calcutta, no better guide can be recommended than the Memoirs of the rather irreverent lawyer William Hickey: 4 vols. (London 1918-25); new edn by P. Quennell (London, 1960)

Sen, S. P. *The French in India* (Calcutta, 1958)

gives all that is essential from the French point of view.

The British Discovery of Hinduism in the Eighteenth Century, ed. P. J. Marshall (Cambridge, 1970)

is a valuable selection of essays by eighteenth-century writers.

Two notable biographies will add vividness to the picture.

Rocher, R. *Orientalism, Poetry and the Millennium: the Checkered Life of Nathaniel Brassey Halhed 1751-1830* (Delhi-Varanasi, 1983)

Cannon, G. *Oriental Jones: a biography of Sir William Jones (1746-1794)* (New York, 1964),

with excellent bibliography.

To this may be added, from the Indian side,

Mukherjee, S. N. *Sir William Jones: Eighteenth-Century British Attitudes to India* (Cambridge, 1968)

CHAPTER 2 THE TRANQUEBAR MISSION

The Tranquebar Mission is exceptionally well documented, partly by the extensive reports sent by the missionaries to Germany, a number of which were translated into English, partly through carefully written modern works.

Among these modern works pride of place must be accorded to
Lehmann, A. (†1984) *Alte Briefe aus Indien. Unveröffentlichte Briefe von Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg 1706–1719* (Berlin, 1937)

Professor Lehmann has also produced

It Began at Tranquebar (Madras, 1956),
a popular but reliable account of what happened in South India.

An older work,

Fenger, J. F. *Den Trankebarske Missions Historie* (Copenhagen, 1843); English translation, somewhat abridged, *History of the Tranquebar Mission* (Tranquebar, 1863),

is based on excellent original sources.

A great debt is owed to W. Germann for a series of deeply researched studies and reliable biographies:

Germann, W. *Ziegenbalg und Plütschau. Gründungsjahre der Trankebarschen Mission* (Erlangen, 1868)

Germann, W. *J. P. Fabricius* (Erlangen, 1865)

Germann, W. *Missionar Christian Friedrich Schwartz. Sein Leben und Wirken aus Briefen der Halleschen Missionsarchiven* (Erlangen, 1870)

To these may be added

Pearson, H. *Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of the Reverend Christian Frederick Swartz*, 3rd edn, 2 vols. (New York–London, 1835)

A biography of Schwartz, on more modern methods, would probably be very rewarding.

W. Germann has rendered further service by disinterring Ziegenbalg's pioneer work.

The Genealogy of the Malabarian Gods (German original, Madras, 1867; English translation, modified, Madras, 1869)

A. Lehmann has added to his merits a further work

Alte Indiens Post. Briefe der Maria Dorothea Ziegenbalg (Halle, 1959)

CHAPTERS 3 AND II THE THOMAS CHRISTIANS

As before, the best authority is

Brown, L. W. *The Indian Christians of St Thomas*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1981)

Bishop Brown has the advantage of knowing Malayālam, and thus having access to the Malayālam writings, few of which, however, have any critical value.

Two Roman Catholic works throw light on the story at certain points:

Malancharuvil OIC, C. *The Syro-Malankara Church* (Alwaye, 1973),

which is specially valuable for its citation of original documents not previously available, and

Pallipurathkunnel, T. *A Double regime in the Malabar Church 1663–1716* (Alwaye, 1982)

At certain points the unpublished dissertation (Cambridge, 1979) of Kaufmann, Susan 'Popular Christianity, Caste, and Hindu Society in South India: a Study of Travancore and Tirunelveli', is illuminating.

When we come to Anglican-Thomas Christian relationships, the classic is Cheriyan, [Judge] P. *The Malabar Syrians and the Church Missionary Society 1816-1840* (Kōttayam, 1935)

'The book is a model of its kind' - Bishop L. W. Brown. The work needs revision in the light of documents recently made available, but it still takes rank as the first serious contribution by an Indian Christian [layman] to church history.

From the Anglican side

Buchanan, Claudius *Christian Researches in Asia*, 8th edn (Cambridge, 1811) first drew the attention of the English reading public to the Thomas Christians.

Hunt, W. S. *The Anglican Church in Travancore 1816-1916*, vol. 1 (Kottayam, 1920), especially pp. 54-108, is temperate and accurate.

Mackenzie, [Col.] G. T. *State of Christianity in Travancore* (Trivandrum, 1901) is a well-informed statement, by an official who had access to many official papers.

CHAPTERS 4 AND 13 ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS

Reference may be made to the general histories listed in the introduction to this bibliography. Especially valuable in this connection, though brief, are:

Schwager, A. *Die katholische heiden Mission der Gegenwart* (Steyl, 1907)

Schmidlin, J. *Katholische Missionsgeschichte* (Steyl, 1924); English translation, *Catholic Mission History* (Techny, Ill., 1933),

both with good bibliographies up to the date of publication.

Mulders, A. *Missie Geschiedenis* (Antwerp, 1957; German translation 1960) is remarkably well balanced.

A full and historically reliable study of the great period of Roman Catholic recovery is still lacking. Much of the material has to be pursued in journals and in the histories of the various religious orders.

For Madura and the far south, we have

Besse SJ, L. *La Mission de Maduré* (Trichinopoly, 1914), based on original records, but from a strictly Jesuit point of view.

The older book of

Bertrand SJ, J. *La Mission de Maduré*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1847-54) is still indispensable.

Jean SJ, S. *Le Maduré*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1894)

contains much valuable material, but is marred by anti-Protestant polemic in too many of its pages.

For the French missions,

Launay, A. *Histoire des Missions de l'Inde* (see under 'Christianity in India') still ranks high as an authority.

For a biography of one of the most distinguished Roman Catholic bishops of the period, the reader should turn to

Suau, P. *Life of Mgr Canoz* (Paris, 1891)

For Bengal, the best authority is

Josson SJ, H. *La Mission du Bengale occidental*, vol. 1 (Bruges, 1921)

For Bombay and Goa, and the tangled story of the 'Goa schism', the literature is abundant.

Hull SJ, E. R. *Bombay Mission History with a Special Study of the Padroado Question*, 2 vols. (Bombay, 1927 and 1930), and

Gense SJ, J. H. *The Church at the Gateway of India* (Bombay, 1961)

both attempt to give a fair account of the proceedings of this tumultuous and distressing period.

For the great Bishop Hartmann, the primary source is:

Monumenta Anastasiana: Documenta, Vita et Gesta Servi Dei Anastasii Hartmann OFM cap. Episcopi (1803-1866), 5 vols. (Lucerne, 1939-48)

Popular lives are:

Bühlmann OFM Cap., W. *Pionier der Einheit. Bischof Anastasius Hartmann* (Zurich, 1966)

Fr Fulgentius OFM Cap. *Bishop Hartmann* (Allahabad, 1966)

For a broad survey of the Roman Catholic church in India at the very end of the period now under survey

Waigand, G. *Missiones Indiarum Orientalium S.C.P.F. concreditaе, juxta visitationem apostolicam 1859-1862* (Budapest, 1960)

is authoritative.

CHAPTERS 5 AND 12 ANGLICANS AND OTHERS

The general scene is surveyed by two books, neither of which is entirely satisfactory. Chatterton, E. [Bishop of Nāgpur] *History of the Church of England in India* (London, 1924)

is anecdotic, but suffers from lack of precision, of adequate references, and of bibliographical detail.

Gibbs, M. E. *The Anglican Church in India 1600-1970* (London, 1972)

is more robust. Miss Gibbs had seen a great many records never previously made accessible to anyone; but the accumulation of detail makes it difficult to see the sweep of development, and to sense the encounter between different cultures.

The defects in these books are compensated for by the wealth of biographical and other material elsewhere available.

Three writers have gathered together the evidence concerning the three great presidencies:

Ashley-Brown, W. *On the Bombay Coast and Deccan* (London, 1937)

has shown that Bombay was more than a dim shadow of Calcutta.

Hyde, H. B. *Parochial Annals of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1901)

has brought to life the great city which grew up on the mudflats of the Hūglī.

Penny, F. *The Church in Madras*, 3 vols. (London, 1904–22)

has done justice to the strange and varied species of missionaries and chaplains, throughout the period covered by this volume.

Three bishops come out of it not too badly.

Le Bas, C. W. *The Life of The Right Reverend Thomas Fanshaw Middleton D.D. late Lord Bishop of Calcutta*, 2 vols. (London, 1831)

portrays rather solemnly a rather solemn bishop. The bishop's sermons and charges are also printed separately.

There is quite a literature about Bishop Reginald Heber. First,

The Life of Reginald Heber, Lord Bishop of Calcutta, by his widow, 2 vols. (London, 1830);

then, *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India from Calcutta to Bombay 1824–5 (with notes upon Ceylon; an account of a journey to Madras and the Southern Provinces 1826)*, ed. Amelia Heber, 3rd edn, 2 vols. (London, 1828)

One of the best travel books ever written, and the best ever written about India. A quite excellent abridgement of this work is

Bishop Heber in Northern India: Selections from Heber's Journal, ed. M. A. Laird, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1971)

Smith, George *Bishop Heber* (London, 1890)

fills in all the gaps in the other works.

Bateman, J. *The Life of Daniel Wilson D.D. Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan in India*, 2 vols. (London, 1860; 2nd edn, revised and corrected, 1861)

This crusty and at times almost frenetic evangelical, called to India at the age of fifty-four, is vividly brought to life in this detailed account by his son-in-law.

The pious chaplains also do not fare badly:

Simeon, C. *Memorial Sketches of the Rev David Brown, with a Selection of his Sermons* (London, 1816)

Pearson, Hugh *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev Claudius Buchanan*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1817).

Memoirs of the Rt Rev Daniel Corrie, compiled by his brothers (London, 1847)

MacNaughton, A. *Daniel Corrie, his Family and Friends* (London, 1969)

Sargent, J. *Life of the Rev T. Thomason* (London, 1833)

On Henry Martyn there is a large literature:

Sargent, J. *Life and Letters of Henry Martyn*, 3rd edn (London, 1819)

Smith, G. *Henry Martyn* (London, 1892)

Wilberforce, S. *Journal and Letters of Henry Martyn*, 2 vols. (London, 1837)

And a much shorter but admirable work –

Padwick, C. E. *Henry Martyn, Confessor of the Faith* (London, 1922)

The official documents relating to the Indian dioceses have been conveniently collected in

Abbott, W. H. *A Practical Analysis of the Several Letters Patent of the Crown relating to the Bishopricks in the East Indies with a few Forms and some Instructions*, 2nd edn (Calcutta, 1845)

It may be objected that this is a very English list. But Indians, both Christian and non-Christian, will appear in other chapters. In the meantime, it is worth noting that, in four volumes, a distinguished Indian Christian, Rājaich D. Paul, has rescued a number of Indian Christians who were in danger of being forgotten:

Paul, R. D. *Chosen Vessels* (Madras, 1961); *Triumphs of his Grace* (Madras, 1967);

They Kept the Faith (Lucknow, 1968); *Lights in the World* (Lucknow, 1968)

Not all these lights were Anglican.

CHAPTER 6 THE SUPPRESSION OF THE JESUITS

The most recent study in English of the suppression is

Chadwick, O. *The Popes and European Revolution* (Oxford, 1981), chap. 5, 'The Fall of the Jesuits', (pp. 346–91), with ample bibliography.

Chadwick remarks that 'no adequate history of the suppression exists . . . The best of the general histories is Pastor's volumes on Pope Clement XIV . . . but even he was not able to put the suppression in a general perspective.'

Pastor, L. *History of the Popes*, English translation, 40 vols. (London–St Louis, 1924–53), vols. XXXVII, XXXVIII and XXXIX).

Note the criticisms by

Kratz W., and Leturia, P. *Intorno al 'Clemente XIV' del Barone von Pastor* (Rome, 1935)

For the story of the Jesuits in India after the suppression, the best authority is Ferroli SJ, D. *The Jesuits in Malabar*, 2 vols. (Bangalore, 1939–51), vol. II.

But, as elsewhere noted, this work suffers from the lack of references to authorities.

For attempts to replace the expelled Jesuits, reference may be made to

Launay, A. *Histoire des missions de l'Inde* (see under 'Christianity in India'), vol. I.

CHAPTER 7 THE NEW RULERS

For Cornwallis and his period, we are fortunate in having an excellent modern biography:

Wickwire, F. and M. *Cornwallis: the Imperial Years* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1980)
Some of the measures passed by Cornwallis became the subject of almost frenzied controversy, but no one had any doubt of the essential integrity of the man.

Embree, A. T. *Charles Grant and British Rule in India* (London, 1962)
sets Charles Grant in the very centre of the historical picture, and largely replaces the earlier

Morris, H. *The Life of Charles Grant* (London, 1904)

But a full-scale Life of Grant is perhaps still needed.

The researches of

Furber, H. (ed.) *Private Record of an Indian Governor-Generalship, being the Correspondence of Sir John Shore* [Lord Teignmouth] (Cambridge, Mass., 1933)

have done a good deal to restore the reputation of a modest but perhaps underestimated ruler of India.

Hutton, W. H. [Dean of Winchester] *The Marquess of Wellesley, Rulers of India Series* (Oxford, 1893)

has given a compact representation of the 'glorious little man'; while his brother Arthur Wellesley, later Duke of Wellington, comes to life in the vivid pages of Longford, Elizabeth *Wellington: the Years of the Sword* (London, 1969)

Woodruff, Philip *The Men who Ruled India, Vol. I: The Founders of Modern India* (London, 1953)

has given a series of pleasant vignettes of those who were distinguished in their day.

It is difficult to form a clear idea of British society in India in the late eighteenth century. Here the guide *par excellence* is

Spear, T. G. *The Nabobs* (London, 1963),
which includes a useful section on the chaplains, a factor neglected in most of the other books on the period.

The four great administrators of the early nineteenth century have been the subject of biographies typical of their age, and excellent of their kind:

Kaye, J. W. *The Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir John Malcolm GCB*, 2 vols. (London, 1856)

But see also, more popularly,

Pasley, R. *'Send Malcolm': the Life of Major General Sir John Malcolm 1769-1833* (London, 1982)

Colebrooke, T. E. *Life of Mountstuart Elphinstone*, 2 vols. (London, 1884)

Gleig, G. R. *Life and Correspondence of Sir Thomas Munro*, 2nd edn, 2 vols. (London, 1831; 3rd edn, in 1 vol., 1849)

Kaye, J. W. *Life and Correspondence of Charles, Lord Metcalfe*, 2 vols. (London, 1858)

See also

Thompson, E. J. *Life of Charles, Lord Metcalfe* (London, 1937)

Tipu Sultan has found a somewhat belated and somewhat laudatory biographer in Forrest, Denys *Tiger of Mysore: the Life and Death of Tipu Sultan* (London, 1970): 'By the favour of God . . . all the irreligious Christians will be slain' (p. 212).

Inevitably this chapter has dealt mainly with the British (and ostensibly Christian) invaders of India. It must not, however, be forgotten that this period (1768–1830) was also that in which Indian opinion began to be vocal in English and to be mobilised in criticism of the government, though not all were radical in opposition to it. One such, born in 1790 and a founder of the British-India Society, has become known to us in a carefully researched biography:

Kling, B. B. *Partner in Empire: Dwarkanath Tagore and the Age of Enterprise in Eastern India* (Berkeley, Calif., 1976)

Other Indian reformers are dealt with in chap. 16.

CHAPTER 8 GOVERNMENT, INDIANS AND MISSIONS

For the subject treated in this chapter, a convenient overview, not completely reliable, and inadequately supplied with references to authorities, is provided by Mayhew, A. I. *Christianity and the Government of India* (London, 1929)

Lord William Bentinck is now very well recorded in

Rosselli, J. *Lord William Bentinck: the Making of a Liberal Imperialist* (Brighton, 1974)

Philips, C. H. (ed.) *The Correspondence of Lord William Cavendish Bentinck*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1977)

For Macaulay and his influence on Indian education, by far the best source now is the admirable biography by

Clive, J. *Thomas Babington Macaulay: the Making of a Historian* (Oxford, 1973), with comprehensive bibliography.

This gives the clearest analysis known to me of the various trends and opinion on education that existed in Bengal between 1800 and 1835.

For some penetrating insights into the history of the period, see

Stokes, E. *The English Utilitarians and India* (Oxford, 1959)

The evidence relating to *sati* and its abolition has been well collected and set forth by Thompson, E. *Suttee* (London, 1928)

See also

Potts, E. D. *British Baptist Missionaries in India (1793–1837)* (Cambridge, 1967)

Less favourable to Bentinck is

Kopf, D. *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance: the Dynamics of Indian Modernization 1773–1854* (Berkeley–Los Angeles, 1969)

On *thags* and *thagi*,

Sleeman, W. H. *Ramaseeana: or, A Vocabulary of the Language used by the Thugs, with an Appendix Descriptive of the Fraternity* (Calcutta, 1836)

This is now a very rare book.

Sleeman, W. H. *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1844; 3rd edn 1915)

On the meriahs,

Campbell, J. *Personal Narrative of Service amongst the Wild Tribes of Khondistan* (London, 1864)

But see also

Thurston, E. *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, vol. III (Madras, 1909), pp. 356–415, with bibliography

On other beneficent activities of the British government in India, see

Ingham, K. *Reformers in India: an Account of the Work of Christian Missionaries on Behalf of Social Reform, 1793–1833* (Cambridge, 1956)

Smith, D. E. *India as a Secular State*, 2nd edn (Princeton, NJ, 1967)

On slavery, a comprehensive study by an Indian writer is

Banaji, D. R. *Slavery in British India* (Bombay, 1933):

see especially pp. 202–3, for estimates of the number of slaves in India.

CHAPTER 9 BENGAL, 1794–1833

The literature is almost overwhelming in its extent and variety. An extensive and reliable bibliography is provided in

Potts, E. D. *British Baptist Missionaries in India 1793–1837* (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 248–67 (classified but not annotated).

Lives of William Carey are innumerable. Indispensable is

Marshman, J. C. *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward. Embracing the History of the Serampore Missionaries*, 2 vols. (London, 1859)

This traces out the story year by year.

Carey, E. *Memoirs of William Carey* (London, 1836)

is much less satisfactory.

Carey, S. P. *William Carey D.D. Fellow of the Linnaean Society* (London, 1923; and after repr.)

contains original material not elsewhere available.

Oussoren, A. H. *William Carey: Especially his Missionary Principles* (London, 1945)

deals independently with a number of important issues.

Laird, M. A. *Missionaries and Education in Bengal 1793–1837* (Oxford, 1972) is a thoroughly competent study of the entire subject.

Ware, H., and Adam, W. *Queries and Replies respecting the Present State of the Protestant Missions in the Bengal Presidency* (Calcutta, 1824) deals with the subject from an independent and not specifically missionary point of view.

Mullens, J. *Brief Memorials of the Reverend Alphonse François Lacroix* (London, 1862) is a biography of exceptional value

Long, J. *Hand-Book of Bengal Missions in Connexion with the Church of England* (London, 1848) is encyclopaedic up to the date of publication.

From the Hindu point of view

Sen Gupta, K. P. *The Christian Missionaries in Bengal 1793–1833* (Calcutta, 1971) is most valuable. (See Appendix 20.)

For the seminal work

Ali, M. M. *The Bengali Reaction to Christian Missionary Activities, 1833–1857* (Chittagong, 1965), see also bibliography to chap. 16.

CHAPTER 10 NEW BEGINNINGS IN THE SOUTH

For the general background,

Caldwell, R. *A Political and General History of the District of Tinnevelly, in the Presidency of Madras* (Madras, 1881) is still unsurpassed.

A competent survey, with excellent bibliography, is

Frykenburg, R. E. 'The Impact of Conversion and Social Reform upon Society in South India during the late Company Period . . . with special reference to Tinnevelly',

in

Philips, C. H., and Wainwright, M. D. *Indian Society and the Beginnings of Modernization* (London, 1976), pp. 187–243

For the community most affected by Christian propaganda, see
Hardgrave, R. *Nadars of Tamilnadu* (Berkeley, Calif., 1944)

On the missionary propaganda,

Caldwell, R. *Records of the Early History of the Tinnevelly Mission* (Madras, 1881), painstakingly researched in the light of all the then available documents, is indispensable.

This may now be supplemented by

Western, F. 'The Early History of the Tinnevelly Church' (typescript, Archives of the SPG, London, n.d.),
an equally careful piece of work, making use of documents not available to Caldwell.

Appasamy, P. *The Centenary of the CMS in Tinnevelly* (Palamcottah, 1923)
needs to be checked against other sources.

For the Rhenius incident, the primary source is naturally
Memoirs of the Rev. C. T. E. Rhenius, Comprising Extracts from his Journal and Correspondence, by his son (London, 1841)

For other sources, see Appendix 23.

Pettitt, G. *The Tinnevelly Mission of the Church Missionary Society* (London, 1851),

by one who had taken a leading part in the events recorded, is full and charitable.

Perowne, T. T. *A Memoir of the Rev. Thomas Gajetan Ragland* (London, 1861)
gives moving details of a valiant pioneer enterprise.

For the work of the London Missionary Society, the most recent study, based mostly on primary sources, is

Yesudas, R. N. *The History of the London Missionary Society in Travancore 1806–1908* (Trivandrum, 1980)

Dr Yesudas is on the whole very favourable to the missionaries and their work.

Of older books,

Hacker, J. H. *A Hundred Years in Travancore, 1806–1906* (London, 1908),

Mateer, S. 'The Land of Charity' (London, 1871) and

Robinson, W. *Ringeltaube the Rishi* (London, 1908)

are all valuable.

CHAPTER 11: *see under* CHAPTER 3

CHAPTER 12: *see under* CHAPTER 5

CHAPTER 13: *see under* CHAPTER 4

CHAPTER 14 EDUCATION AND THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

For a long time Protestants, and among Protestants Presbyterians, took the lead in Christian education on the higher levels in India. But all non-Roman missions in India had from the start taken the view that faith and education must go hand in hand. The extent of their achievement is clearly shown in an admirable study:

Laird, M. A. *Missionaries and Education in Bengal 1793–1837* (Oxford, 1972)

With this should be read

Adam, W. *Reports on the State of Education in Bengal*, ed. A. M. Basu (Calcutta, 1941), and

One Teacher, One School: the Adam Reports on Indigenous Education in 19th Century India, ed. and introd. Joseph DiBona (New Delhi, 1983)

I do not know of any equally well-informed study of Christian education in other parts of India.

The breakthrough came with the determination of Alexander Duff to make Calcutta the centre of Christian higher education in English. The prior authority on this is Duff, A. *India, and India Missions* (Edinburgh, 1839)

This differs only in some detail from the full account of the pioneer work given by Smith, G. *The Life of Alexander Duff, D.D., LL.D.*, 2 vols. (London, 1879)

For a judicious estimate of the work of Duff, with bibliography, see

Laird, M. A. 'The Legacy of Alexander Duff', *Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research*, 3 (1979), 146–9

With these should be read an admirable but shorter account,

Paton, W. *Alexander Duff* (London, 1923)

Many of those converted under Duff's influence have left records of their experiences; notable among these are

Day, L. B. *Recollections of Alexander Duff DD, LL.D.* (London, 1879)

Further information is in a biographical volume on Day, published in Calcutta in 1969; and see also

Macpherson, G. *Life of Lāl Behāri Day* (Edinburgh, 1900)

The career of K. M. Banerjee will come before us in another connection.

A near rival of Duff, though a better scholar than he, was John Wilson of Bombay, equally fortunate in his biographer:

Smith, G. *The Life of John Wilson D.D., F.R.S.* (London, 1878)

Wilson laid greater stress than Duff on the use of the Indian languages in education.

Braidwood, J. *True Yokefellows of the Mission Field: the Life and Labours of the Rev. John Anderson and the Rev. Robert Johnston traced in the Rise and Development of the Madras Free Church Mission* (London, 1862)

carries the story to the south of India.

Central India was not left far behind the rest:

Smith, G. *Stephen Hislop, Pioneer Missionary* (London, 1889)

tells the story of pioneer work in Nāgpur. Hislop, who died young, had the distinction of being the most notable among the missionaries as a scientist and ethnologist.

For the remarkable work of the blind educationist William Cruikshanks in Tirunelveli, it is necessary to turn to

Appasamy, P. *The Centenary History of the CMS in Tinnevely* (Palamcottah, 1923)

but also to many issues of the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* for fuller details of his work.

Among the innumerable works on education in India, one general and thoughtful study, by one who had been engaged in the process at a high level, is

Mayhew, A. I. *The Education of India* (London, 1926)

It is to be noted that the Roman Catholics entered the field of higher education later than the Protestants; notice is taken of their work in chap. 4, which deals specifically with the Roman Catholic missions.

CHAPTER 15 PROTESTANT EXPANSION IN INDIA

The extremely rapid spread of Anglican and Protestant Christianity in India in the period between 1858 and 1905 is best followed, chronologically, in

Latourette, K. S. *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, vol. VI (London, 1945), pp. 99–200, with extensive bibliographical information;

and in the histories of the individual missionary societies listed in the general bibliography.

As a general history,

Sherring, M. A. *History of Protestant Missions in India 1706–1871* (London, 1875; 2nd edn 1884)

is accurate and useful, though written from a rather definitely Protestant point of view.

In recent years a number of valuable studies have been produced, giving more attention than has usually been given in the past to the sociological and economic factors in the process of Christian expansion. Special attention may be drawn to a series of articles by the Reverend James Alter (†1984) in the *Journal of the Indian Church History Association*, dealing with Presbyterian, Anglican and Methodist approaches to the missionary problem in three cities of North India.

Webster, J. C. B. *The Christian Community and Change in Nineteenth Century North India* (London, 1976), pp. 1–131,

is a good example of this more modern approach to the missionary problem.

Special interest attaches to a detailed study made by an Indian writer:

Natarajan, Naline *The Missionary among the Khasis* (New Delhi, 1977)

We may look hopefully for many studies of this quality and calibre from the pens of Indian writers, both Christian and non-Christian.

CHAPTER 16 INDIAN SOCIETY AND THE CHRISTIAN MESSAGE

The classic work in this field is

Farquhar, J. N. *Modern Religious Movements in India* (London, 1915)

A number of plans have been put in hand for a revised edition of this learned and sympathetic book; but these have not yet apparently been attended by success. Thomas, M. M. *The Acknowledged Christ of the Indian Renaissance* (London, 1969),

written in part at least as a supplement to R. Panikkar's book *The Unknown Christ of Hinduism*, is a valuable survey of a number of Indian approaches to Christianity; only the first two chapters are relevant to the period covered by this book.

There is an extensive literature relating to Rājā Rāmmohun Roy:

The collected *English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy* were published in one volume at Allahabad (1906), and again, edited by K. Nag and D. Burman at Calcutta (1945–58).

Collet, S. D. *The Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy* (London, 1900) is an indispensable source.

The full title of Roy's famous book is *The Precepts of Jesus: the Guide to Peace and Happiness, Extracted from the Books of the New Testament, Ascribed to the Four Evangelists (with translations into Sanscrit and Bengalese)* (Calcutta, 1820)

For an Indian Christian assessment of Roy, see

Parekh, M. C. *Rajamshi Ram Mohan Roy* (Rajkot, 1927)

For the later history of the Brāhmo Samāj, see

Sen, P. K. *Biography of a New Faith*, 2 vols. (Calcutta, 1950), full and impartial.

The Autobiography of Debendranath Tagore, transl. by his son (Calcutta, 1909) is a delightful and intimate work.

Of

Wolff, O. *Christus unter der Hindus* (Gütersloh, 1965)

only the first and last chapters are relevant to the period under study in this volume.

For Hindu and Muslim reactions to Christian work in Bengal, see

Ali, M. M. *The Bengali Reaction* (see under chap. 9)

For an interesting example of intellectual reaction and dispute, see

Young, R. F. *Resistant Hinduism: Sanskrit Sources on anti-Christian Apologetics in Early Nineteenth Century India* (Vienna, 1981)

This has opened up the details of a controversy which was known in general outline before.

CHAPTER 17 TOWARDS AN INDIAN CHURCH

It is significant that it has not been found possible to include in this bibliography under this heading a single work dedicated directly to the question of an Indian church, though it is clear that the subject was frequently discussed among both missionaries and their supporters in the West.

In the section on the Malabar rites, it has been recorded that in 1744 Rome put an end to any desire or impulse to depart at any point from the exact Roman order.

Dr K. Baago, who has an almost fanatical desire to identify 'indigenous' movements, has only been able to identify in his book,

Pioneers of Indigenous Christianity (Bangalore-Madras, 1969), just at the end of the period under review in 1858, a single schism in the Tirunelveli area, which took to itself the title 'The Hindu Church of the Lord Jesus'. Details are in

Hardgrave, R. L. *The Nādārs of Tamilnad* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1969), pp. 75-90.

But the idea of the church was being well ventilated. Rufus Anderson (1796-1880), foreign secretary of the ABCFM from 1832 to 1866, was working on the idea of churches which should be self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating, and which should themselves engage in foreign missions. See

Beaver, R. P. *To Advance the Gospel: Selections from the Writings of Rufus Anderson* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1967)

At almost exactly the same time Henry Venn (1796-1833) chief secretary of the CMS in London from 1841 to 1872, was putting forward almost exactly the same ideas. See

Warren, M. *To Apply the Gospel - Henry Venn* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1970)

The writings of these two men were disseminated far and wide in missionary circles.

The unsuccessful attempt of Mgr de Marion Brésillac to create an Indian priesthood in India is described in

Le Gallen, L. *Vie abrégée du noble prélat, Mgr de Marion Brésillac, Evêque de Prusa, fondateur des Missions Africaines de Lyon 1813-1859* (Lyons, 1927); and, more briefly, in

Todd, J. M. *Africa Missions* (London, 1962)

The successful attempt of John Thomas to create an Indian village priesthood in Tirunelveli is nowhere adequately described, though referred to in

Appasamy, P. *Centenary History of the CMS in Tinnevely* (Palamcottah, 1923), pp. 103-5 and 117-20, and in

Stock, E. *History of the Church Missionary Society*, vol. II, pp. 182-6.

These ideas of an Indian church were germinating, though their development was to be seen only at a later period of this history.

CHAPTER 18 THE GREAT UPRISING

For the political side we are now well served by an excellent biography:

Maclagan, M. *"Clemency" Canning: Charles John, 1st Earl Canning, Governor-General and Viceroy of India 1856-1862* (London, 1962)

A worthy account of 'that great, just and courageous man Lord Canning' (Lord Granville in the House of Lords on 17 June 1862).

Histories of 'the Mutiny' are extremely numerous; only a few can be mentioned here.

Kaye, J. W. *History of the Sepoy War in India*, 3 vols. (London, 1864; frequently repr.)

is universally recognised as being full, accurate and impartial.

Rolleson, G. B. *History of the Indian Mutiny*, 3 vols. (1878-80)

has not won quite equal approval, perhaps because of the change in attitude indicated by the change in title.

Forrest, Sir George *History of the Indian Mutiny*, 3 vols. (London, 1904)
supplements the older works from original documents, official and unofficial, which were not available when the earlier writers were at work.

As a short, rather impressionist work,

Collier, R. *The Sound of Fury* (London, 1963),

based on careful study of the documents, gives a vivid impression.

From the Indian side,

Sen, S. N. *Eighteen Fifty-Seven* (Government of India, 1957),

with very full bibliography, may be taken as the best work so far produced; but some criticisms of this in many ways admirable work have been made by Indian writers, who take a different view of the historical situation.

Naturally there are innumerable references to the Uprising in all mission histories and periodicals which cover the period. I have not found any general study of the effect of the rising on the Roman Catholic church in the areas affected. The most comprehensive study of the fortunes of the other Indian churches is

Sherring, M. A. *The Indian Church during the Great Rebellion* (London, 1859).

To this may be added

Owen, W. *Memorials of Christian Martyrs, and Other Sufferers for the Truth, in the Indian Rebellion* (London, 1859)

and, specifically on the American side,

Walsh, J. J. *A Memorial of the Futteygurh Mission and her Martyred Missionaries* (Philadelphia, Pa, 1859)

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